

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS COMENTARIES.

By CLEMENT EDMVNDES, *Remembrancer of the cittie of* LONDON.


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VENI · VIDI · VICI · ÆTATIS SVÆ · 56.



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To the PRINCE.

SIR:

HAuing ended this taske of Obſeruations, and according to your gratious pleaſure & command, ſupplied ſuch parts as were wanting to make vp the Totall of theſe Commentaries: it doth return again, by the loweſt ſteps of humbleneſſe, to implore the high patronage of your Princely fauour; Emboldened ſpecially becauſe it carieth Cæſar and his Fortunes, as they come related from the ſame Author: which, in the deepe Iudgement of his moſt excellent Maieſty, is preferd aboue all other profane hiſtories; and ſo, commended, by his ſacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maiſter-peece of the Art of warre. And herein, your admired wiſedome, may happely the rather deeme it capable of freer paſſage, in that it is not altogether vnproper for theſe happie dayes; as knowing, that Warre is neuer ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.

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ſo well handled, as when it is made an Argument of diſcourſe in times of ſweete and plentious peace. The bleſſings whereof, may euer crowne your yeares; as the ſoueraigne good of this temporarie life, and the chiefeſt Ornaments of Princely condition.

The humbleſt

of your Highneſſe ſeruants,

CLEMENT EDMONDES.

In Clementis Edmondi *de re militari ad* Iul. Cæſaris *Commentarios Obſeruationes.*

CVr creperos motus, & aperto prælia Marte
Edmondus nobis pace vigente refert?
Cur ſenſus mentéſque Ducum rimatur, & effert?
Diſertéque Anglos bellica multa docet?
Scilicet, vt mediâ meditetur prælia pace,
Anglia bellipotens, nec moriatur honos.
Prouidus hæc certè patriæ depromit in vſus,
Vt patriæ pacem qui cupit, arma parat.

Guil. Camdenus, *Cl.*

To my friend, Maiſter Clement Edmonds.

WHo thus extracts, with more then Chymique Art,
The ſpirit of Bookes, ſhewes the true way to finde
Th' Elixer that our leaden Parts conuart
Into the golden Metall of the Minde.
Who thus obſerues in ſuch materiall kinde
The certaine Motions of hie Practiſes,
Knowes on what Center th' Actions of Mankinde
Turne in their courſe, and ſees their fatalnes.
And hee that can make theſe obſeruances,
Muſt be aboue his Booke, more then his Pen.
For, wee may be aſſur'd, hee men can gheſſe,
That thus doth CÆSAR knowe; the Man of men.
Whoſe Work, improv'd here to our greater gaine,
Makes CÆSAR more then CÆSAR to containe.

Sam. Danyell.

To his worthy friend, Maiſter Clement Edmonds.

OBſeruing well what *Thou* haſt well *Obſerv'd*
In CÆSARS *Workes*, his *Warres*, and *Diſcipline*;
Whether His Pen hath earn'd more Praiſe, or Thine,
My ſhallow Cenſure doubtfully hath ſwerv'd.
If ſtrange it were, if wonder it deſerv'd,
That what *He wrought* ſo faire, *Hee wrote* ſo fine:
Me thinkes, It's ſtranger, that *Thy* learned Line
Should our beſt *Leaders* lead, not hauing *ſerv'd*.
But hereby (*Clement*) haſt Thou made thee knowne
Able to counſaile, apteſt to recorde
The Conqueſts of a CÆSAR of our owne;
HENRY, thy Patron, and my Princely Lord.
Whom (O!) Heav'n proſper, and protect from harmes,
In glorious Peace, and in victorious Armes.

IOSVAH SYLVESTER.

TO MY FRIEND, MAISTER CLEMENT EDMONDES.

Epigramme.

NOt *Cæsars* deedes; Nor all his honors wonne
In these West-parts; Nor, when that warre was done,
The name of *Pompey* for an Enemie;
Cato to boote; *Rome*, and her libertie;
All yeelding to his fortune: Nor, the while,
To haue ingrav'd these Acts with his owne stile;
And that so strong, and deepe, as might be thought
He wrote with the same spirit that hee fought:
Nor that his Worke liv'd, in the hands of foes,
Vn-argu'd then: and (yet) hath fame from those;
Not all these, *Edmondes*, or what else, put to
Can so speake *Cæsar*, as thy Labors doo.
For, where his person liv'd scarse one iust age,
And that 'midst envy and Parts: then, fell by rage;
His deedes too dying, saue in bookes: (whose good
How few haue read! how fewer vnderstood!)
Thy learned hand, and true Promethean Art,
As by a new creation, part by part,
In euerie councell, stratageme, designe,
Action, or Engine, worth a note of thine,
T'all future time, not only doth restore
His Life; but makes, that hee can dye no more.

Ben. Ionson.

Another, of the same.

WHo, *Edmondes*, reades thy booke, and doth not see
What th'antique Souldiers were, the moderne be?
Wherein thou shew'st, how much the latter are
Beholden, to this Master of the Warre:
And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
More then to varie what our Elders knew.
Which all, but ignorant Captaines, will confesse:
Nor to giue *Cæsar* this, makes ours the lesse.
Yet thou, perhaps, shalt meete some tongues, will grutch
That to the world thou shouldst reueale so mutch;
And, thence, depraue thee, and thy Worke: To those
Cæsar stands vp, as from his vrne late rose
By thy great Art: and doth proclame, by mee,
They murder him againe, that enuie thee.

Ben. Ionson.

TO THE READER.

IT may be ſaid, that Many talke of Robin Hood that neuer ſhot in his bow. But it muſt be vnderſtood, that as well incompetent iudges as impertinẽt diſcourſers, are within this compaſſe. Such Martialiſts as are acquainted with the diſcipline of warre, or know what is fitting the cariage of an Armie, are they to whom the iudgement belongeth, that muſt either approoue or diſallow theſe labours. Amongſt whom, the former part of this worke hath alreadie found that paſſage, as by their good fauor, may happely ſerue to drawe the ſequele into the like fortune. Howſoeuer, my deſire is, that ſuch as ſhall be pleaſed to view theſe Eſſayes, will accept the ſame with that minde as I offer them, hauing bent my indeuor to gratifie ſuch as fauour the reading of this Hiſtorie: without either attribute to mine owne, or preiudice to any other mans iudgement. Farewell.

READING AND DISCOVRSE, ARE REQVISITE TO MAKE A SOVLdier perfect in the Arte militarie, how great soeuer his knowledge may be, which long experience and much practise of Armes hath gayned.



HEN I consider the weakenesse of mans iudgment in censuring things best knowne vnto it selfe, and the disability of his discourse in discouering the nature of vnacquanted obiectes; choosing rather to hold any sensible impression, which custome hath by long practise inured, then to hearken to some other more reasonable perswasion: I do not maruell that such soldiers, whose knowledge groweth only from experience and consisteth in the rules of their owne practise; are hardly perswaded, that history and speculatiue learning are of any vse in perfecting of their Arte, being so different in nature from the principles of their cunning, and of so small affinity with the life of action; wherein the vse of Armes and atchieuments of war seeme to haue their chiefest being. But those purer spirits embilished with learning, and enriched with the knowledge of other mens fortunes; wherein variety of accidents affordeth variety of instructions, and the mutuall conference of thinges happened, begetteth both similitudes and differences, contrary natures, but yet iointly concurring to season our iudgment with discretion, and to enstall wisedome in the gouernment of the minde: These men I say, mounting aloft with the winges of contemplation, doe easily discouer the ignorance of such Martialistes, as are only trained vp in the schoole of practise, and taught their rudiments vnder a fewe yeares experience, which serueth to interpret no other author but it selfe, nor can approue his maximes, but by his own authority; and are rather moued to pittie their hard fortune, hauing learned onely to be ignorant, then to enuie their skill in matter of war, when they oppose themselues against so manifest a truth as this: that a meere practicall knowledge cannot make a perfect soldier.

Which propoſition that I may the better confirme, giue me leaue to reaſon a little of the groundes of learning, and diſpute from the habitude of Arts and ſciences; which are then ſaid to be perfectly attained, when their particular parts are in ſuch ſort apprehended, that from the variety of that indiuiduality, the intellectuall power frameth generall notions and maximes of rule, vniting tearms of the ſame nature in one head, and diſtinguiſhing diuerſities by differences of properties, aptely diuiding the whole body into his greateſt and ſmalleſt branches, and fitting each part with his deſcriptions, duties, cautions and exceptions: for vnleſſe the vnderſtanding be in this ſort qualified and able by logiſticall diſcourſe, to aſcend, by way of compoſition, from ſingularitie to catholike conceptions; and returne againe the ſame waie, to the loweſt order of his partitions, the minde cannot be ſaide to haue the perfection of that Arte, nor inſtructed in the true vſe of that knowledge: but guiding her ſelfe by ſome broken preceptes, feeleth more want by that ſhee hath not, then benefite by that ſhee hath. Whereby it followeth, that a ſcience deuided into manie braunches, and conſiſting in the multiplicitie of diuers members, being all ſo intereſſed in the Bulke, that a Mayme of the ſmalleſt part cauſeth either debilitie or deformitie in the bodie, cannot be ſaide to bee throughlie attayned, nor conceiued with ſuch a profiting apprehenſion as ſteeleth the minde with true iudgement, and maketh the ſcholler maiſter in his Arte, vnleſſe the nature of theſe particularities bee firſt had and obtained.

And for as much as no one ſcience or faculty whatſoeuer, in multitude and pluralitie of partes, may anie waie be comparable to the Arte militarie, wherein euery ſmall and vnreſpected circumſtance quite altereth the nature of the Action, and breedeth ſuch diſparitie and difference, that the reſemblance of their equall participating properties is blemiſhed with the diſſimilitude of their diſagreeing partes; it cannot be denied, but he that is acquainted with moſt of theſe particular occurrences, and beſt knoweth the varietie of chances in the courſe of warre, muſt needes be thought a more perfect ſouldier, and deſerueth a title of greater dignity in the profeſſion of Armes, then ſuch as content themſelues with a fewe common precepts and ouer-worne rules: without which, as they cannot be ſaid at all to be ſouldiers, ſo with them and no more, they no way deſerue the name of skilfull and perfect men of war. Now whether meere experience, or experience ioyned with reading and diſcourſe, doe feaſt the minde with more variety and choiſe of matter, or entertaine knowledge with greater plentie of nouelties, incident to expeditions and vſe of Armes, I will vſe no other reaſon to determine of this queſtion, then that which Franciſcus Patricius alleadgeth in his parallely, where he handleth this argument which I intreat of.

He that followeth a warre (ſaith he) doth ſee either the courſe of the whole, or but a part onely. If his knowledge extend no farther then a part, he hath learned leſſe then he that ſawe the whole: but admit he hath ſeene and learned the inſtructions of one whole warre, he hath notwithſtanding learned leſſe then he that hath ſeene the proceeding of two ſuch warres. And hee againe hath not

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ſeene ſo much as another that hath ſerued in three ſeuerall warres: and ſo by degrees, a ſouldier that hath ſerued ten yeares; muſt needes knowe more then one that hath not ſerued ſo long. And to conclude, he that hath receiued 22 yeares ſtipend (which was the iuſt time of ſeruice amongſt the Romans before a ſouldier could be diſmiſt) hath greater meanes of experience than another that hath not ſo long a time followed the campe, and cannot challenge a diſcharge by order and cuſtome: And hence it conſequently followeth, that if in one or more or all theſe warres, there haue happened few or no actions of ſeruice, which might teach a ſouldier the practiſe of Armes; that then his learning doth not counteruaile his labour. And if the warre through the negligence, or ignorance of the chiefe commanders haue beene ill caried, he can boaſt of no knowledge, but that which acquainted him with the corruptions of militarie diſcipline; if the part which he followed were defeated and ouerthrowne, he knoweth by experience howe to looſe, but not how to gaine: And therefore it is not onely experience and practice which maketh a ſouldier worthie of his name, but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which riſe from the variety of humane actions; wherein reaſon and error, like merchants in trafficke, enterchange contrarie euentes of fortune, giuing ſometime copper for ſiluer, and balme for poyſon, and repaying againe the like commoditie as time and circumſtances doe anſwere their directions: And this knowledge is onely to be learned in the regiſters of antiquitie and in hiſtories, recording the motions of former ages.

Caius Iulius Cæſar (whoſe actions are the ſubiect of theſe diſcourſes) after his famous victories in France, and that he had gotten the prouinces of Spaine, broken the ſtrength of the Romaine Empire at Pharſalia, was held a ſouldier ſurmounting enuie and all her exceptions; and yet notwithſtanding all this, the battell he had with Pharnaces king of Pontus, was like to haue buried the glorie of his former conqueſtes, in the diſhonourable memorie of a wilfull ouerthrow: for hauing poſſeſt himſelfe of a hill of great aduantage, he began to encampe himſelfe in the toppe thereof. Which Pharnaces perceiuing, (being lodged likewiſe with his campe vpon a mountaine confronting the Romaines) imbattelled his men, marched down from his campe into the valley, and mounted his forces vp the hill, where the Romaines were buſied about their intrenchments, to giue them battel. All which, Cæſar tooke but for a brauado: and meaſuring the enemie by himſelfe, could not be perſwaded that any ſuch foole-hardines could carrie men headlong into ſo dangerous an aduenture, vntill they were come ſo neere, that he had ſcarce any time to call the legions from their worke, and to giue order for the battell: which ſo amazed the Romaines, that vnleſſe, as Cæſar himſelfe ſaith, the aduantage of the place and the benignitie of the gods had greatly fauoured them; Pharnaces had at that time reuenged the ouerthrow of Pompei and the Senat, and reſtored the Romaine Empire to libertie. Which maie learne vs how neceſſary it is (beſides experience, which in Cæſar was infinit) to perfect our knowlege with variety of chances: and to meditate vpon the effectes of other mens aduentures, that their harmes maie be our warnings, and their happie proceedings our fortunate directions.

And albeit amongſt ſo manie decades of Hiſtorie, which pregnant wits haue

preſented to theſe latter ages, we ſeldome or neuer meete with any one accident which iumpeth in all pointes with an other of the like nature, that ſhall happen to fall out in managing a warre, or ſetting forth of an armie; and ſo doe ſeeme to reape little benefit by that we reade, and make ſmall vſe of our great trauell. Yet we muſt vnderſtand that in the Audit of Reaſon, there are many offices, which through the ſoueraigne power of the diſcourſiue faculty, receiue great commodities by whatſoeuer falleth vnder their iuriſdiction, and ſuffer no action to paſſe without due triall of his nature, and examination of his ſtate; that ſo the iudgment maie not be defrauded of her reuenues, nor the minde of her learning: for notwithſtanding diſagreeing circumſtances, and differences of formes, which ſeeme to cut off the priuiledge of imitation, and fruſtrate the knowledge we haue obtained by reading, the intellectuall facultie hath authoritie to examine the vſe, and looke into the inconueniences of theſe wants and diuerſities, and by the helpe of reaſon to turne it to her aduantage; or ſo to counterpoiſe the defect, that in triall and execution it ſhall not appeare anie diſaduantage. For as in all other ſciences, and namely in geometrie, of certaine bare elements, and common ſentences, which ſenſe admitteth to the apprehenſion, the powers of the ſoule frame admirable Theoremes and Problemes of infinit vſe, proceeding with certaintie of demonſtration, from propoſition to propoſition, and from concluſion to concluſion, and ſtill make new wonders as they go, beſides the ſtrangeneſſe of their Architecture, that vpon ſuch plaine and eaſie foundations, they ſhould erect ſuch curious and beautifull buildings: ſo in the Arte Military, theſe examples, which are taken from hiſtories, are but plaine kinde of principles, on which the minde worketh to her beſt aduantage, and vſeth reaſon with ſuch dexterity, that of inequalities ſhe concludeth an equality, and of diſſimilitudes moſt ſweete reſemblances; and ſo ſhe worketh out her owne perfection by diſcourſe, and in time groweth ſo abſolute in knowledge, that her ſufficiency needeth no further directions: but as Lomazzo the Milineſe, in that excellent worke which he writ of picturing, ſaith of a skilfull painter, that being to drawe a portraiture of gracefull lineaments, will neuer ſtand to take the ſymmetry by ſcale, nor marke it out according to rule; but hauing his iudgment habituated by knowledge, and perfected with the variety of ſhapes and proportions; his knowledge guideth his eie, and his eie directeth his hand, and his hand followeth both with ſuch facilitie of cunning, that each of them ſerue for a rule wherby the true meaſures of nature are exactly expreſſed. The like may I ſay of a skilfull Souldier, or any Artizan in his faculty, when knowledge hath once purified his iudgment, and tuned it to the key of true apprehenſion.

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And although there are many that will eaſily admit a reconciliation of this diſagreement, in the reſemblāce of accidents being referred to the arbitrement of a well tempered ſpirit; yet they will by no meanes acknowledge, that thoſe monſtrous and inimitable exāples of valour & magnanimity (whereof antiquity is prodigall, & ſpendeth as though time ſhould neuer want ſuch treaſure) can anie way auaile the maners of theſe daies, which if they were as they ought to be, would appeare but conterfeit to the luſter of a golden age, nor yet compara-

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ble to ſiluer or braſſe, or the ſtrength of yron, but deſerue no better title then earth or clay, whereof the frame of this age conſiſteth. For what reſemblance (ſay they) is betweene the cuſtoms of our times, & the actions of thoſe ancient Heroes? They obſerued equity as well in warre as in peace: for vertue rather flouriſhed by the naturall diſpoſition of men, then by lawe and authority; the tenure of their Empire was valour in warre and concord in peace; the greateſt treaſure which they eſteemed, were the deedes of armes which they had atchieued for their countrey, adorning the temples of their gods with pietie, and their priuate houſes with glory, pardoning rather then proſecuting a wrong, and taking nothing from the vanquiſhed but ability of doing iniury: But the courſe of our times hath another bias, for couetouſneſſe hath ſubuerted both faith and equity, and our valour affecteth nothing but ambition, pride and cruelty tyrannize in our thoughtes, and ſubtilty teacheth vs to carrie rather a faire countenance, then a good nature; our meanes of getting are by fraud & extortion, and our manner of ſpending is by waſt and prodigality; not eſteeming what we haue of our owne, but coueting that which is not ours; men effeminated and women impudent, vſing ritches as ſeruants to wickednеſſe, and preuenting natures appetite with wanton luxurity; ſupplanting vertue with trecherie, and vſing victory with ſuch impiety, as though *iniuriam facere*, were *imperio vti:* and therefore the exemplarie patternes of former times wherein true honour is expreſſed, may ſerue to be gazed vpon, but no way to be imitated by this age, being too ſubtile to deale with honeſty, and wanting courage to incounter valour. I muſt needes confeſſe, that he that compareth the hiſtory of Liuie with that of Guichardine ſhall finde great difference in the ſubiects which they handle; for Liuie triumpheth in the conqueſtes of vertue, and in euery page erecteth trophes vnto valour, making his diſcourſe like Cleanthes table, where in vertue is deſcribed in her entire maieſtie, and ſo ſweetned with the preſence & ſeruice of the graces, that all they which behold her are rapt with admiration of her excellencie, and charmed with the loue of her perfection: but Guichardine hath more then Theſeus taske to performe, being to winde through the labyrinthes of ſubtilty, and diſcouer the quaint practiſes of polititians, wherein publike and open deſſignes are oftentimes but ſhadowes of more ſecret proiectes, and theſe againe ſerue as foiles to more eminent intentions; being alſo diſcoloured with diſſimulation, and ſo inſnared in the ſleightes of ſubtilty, that when you looke for war, you ſhall finde peace; and expecting peace, you ſhall fal into troubles, diſſentions and wars: So crabbed and crooked is his argument in reſpect of Liuies fortune, and ſuch arte is required to vnfolde the truth of theſe myſteries.

But to anſwere this obiection in a word, and ſo to proceede to that which followeth, I ſay thoſe immortall memories of vertue which former time recordeth, are more neceſſary to be knowne, then any ſtrategems of ſubtlet ages: for equitie and valour being truely apprehended ſo ſeaſon the motions of the ſoule, that albeit in ſo corrupt a courſe, they cannot peraduenture ſtir vp imitation; yet they oftentimes hinder many malicious practiſes, and diueliſh deuiſes, when euill is reproued by the knowledge of good, and condemned by the

authority of better ages. And if we will needs follow those steppes which the present course of the world hath traced, and plaie the Cretian with the Cretian; this obiection hindereth nothing, but that historie, especiallie these of latter times, affordeth sufficient instructions to make a souldier perfect in that point.

Let not therefore anie man despise the sound instructions which learning affordeth, nor refuse the helpes that historie doth offer to perfect the weakenesse of a short experience, especially when no worth can counteruaile the waight of so great a businesse: for I take the office of a chiefe commander, to be a subiect capable of the greatest wisedome that may be apprehended by naturall meanes, being to manage a multitude of disagreeing mindes, as a fit instrument to execute a dessigne of much consequence and great expectation, and to qualifie both their affections and apprehensions according to the accidentes which rise in the course of his directions; besides the true iudgement, which he ought to haue of such circumstances as are most important to a fortunate end, wherein our prouidence cannot haue enough either from learning or experience, to preuent disaduantages, or to take holde of opportunities. Neither can it be denied, but as this knowledge addeth perfection to our iudgment, so it serueth also as a spur to glory, and increaseth the desire of honour in such as beholde the atchieuments of vertue, commended to a perpetuall posteritie, hauing themselues the like meanes to consecrate their memorie to succeeding ages, wherein they may serue for examples of valour, and reape the reward of true honour. Or to conclude, if we thirst after the knowledge of our owne fortune, and long to foresee the ende of that race which we haue taken, which is the chiefest matter of consequence in the vse of Armes; what better coniecture can be made, then to looke into the course of former times, which haue proceeded from like beginnings, and were continued with like meanes, and therefore not vnlikely to sort vnto like endes?

Salust. de bello Iugur.

And now if it be demanded whether reading or practice haue the first place in this Arte, and serueth as a foundation to the rest of the building? Let Marius answere this question, who enuying at the nobilitie of Rome, saith thus. *Qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta Maiorum & Graecorum militaria praecepta legere caperint: homines praeposteri, nam legere quam fieri, tempore posterius, re & vsu prius est.* Whereas (saith he) reading ought to go before practise (although it follow it in course of time, for there is no reading, but of some thing practised before,) these preposterous men, after they are made Consuls and placed at the helme of gouernment, begin to reade, when they should practise that which they had read; and so bewray their insufficiencie of knowledge by vsing out of time that, which in time is most necessarie. This testimonie gaue Marius of reading & booke learning, being himselfe an enemy to the same, for as much as all his knowledge came by meere experience. But howsoeuer his iudgment was good in this point: for since that all motion and action proceedeth from the soule, and cannot well be produced, vntill the Idea thereof be first imprinted in the minde, according to which patterne the outward being and sensible resemblance is duely fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well expres-

ſed, when the minde is not directed by knowledge to diſpoſe it in that ſort, as ſhall beſt agree with the occurrentes of ſuch natures, as are neceſſarily intereſſed both in the meanes and in the end thereof? And therfore ſpeculatiue knowledge as the Tramontane, to direct the courſe of all practiſe is firſt to bee reſpected.

But that I may not ſeeme partiall in this controuerſie, but carrie an equall hand betweene two ſo neceſſarie yoakefellowes, giue me leaue to conclude in a word, the benefite of practiſe, and define the good which commeth from experience; that ſo nothing that hath beene ſpoken may ſeeme to come from affection, or proceede from the forge of vniuſt partiality. And firſt it cannot bee denied, but that practiſe giueth boldneſſe and aſſurance in action, and maketh men expert in ſuch things they take in hand, for no man can reſt vpon ſuch certainty, through the theorike of knowledge, as he that hath ſeene his learning verified by practiſe, and acknowledged by the teſtimony of aſſured proofe: Beſides, there are many other accõplements gotten only by practiſe, which grace the preſence of knowledge, & giue credit to that which we haue read; as firſt to learne the vſe and aduantage of the armes which we beare; ſecondly, by frequent aſpect and familiarity of dangers, and accidents of terrour, to learne to feare nothing but diſhonour, to make no difference betweene heate and cold, ſommer and winter, to ſleepe in all places as on a bed, and at the ſame time to take paines and ſuffer penury, with many other difficulties which cuſtome maketh eaſie, and cannot be gotten but by vſe and practiſe.

And thus at length, I haue brought a ſhallow diſcourſe to an abrupt end, wiſhing with greater zeale of affection then I am able with manifeſt proofe of reaſon, to demonſtrate the neceſſity, that both theſe partes were by our ſouldiers ſo regarded, that neither practiſe might march in obſtinate blindneſſe without learned knowledge; nor this againe be entertained with an idle apprehenſion without practiſe: but that both of them may be reſpected, as neceſſarie partes to make a compleat nature; wherein knowledge as the intellectuall part giueth life and ſpirit to the action, and practiſe as the materiall ſubſtance maketh it of a ſenſible being, and like a skilfull workman expreſſeth the excellency, which knowledge hath fore conceiued: wiſhing no man to deſpaire of effecting that by practiſe which the Theorike of knowledge commendeth. For *Cur deſperes nunc poſſe fieri, quod iam toties factum eſt?*

THE

THE SVMME OF THE FIRST BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES; WITH OBSERVATIONS VPON THE same, discouering the excellencie of *Cæsars Militia.*

THE ARGVMENT.

IN this first booke, are contained the specialities of two great warres, begun and ended both in a Summer: the first, between Cæsar & the Heluetij: the second, between him & Ariouistus, king of the Germans. The history of the Heluetians, may be reduced to three principall heads: vnder the first, are the reasons that moued the Heluetians to entertaine so desperate an expedition, & the preparation which they made for the same. The second, containeth their defeat by Cæsar: and the third, their returne into their Country. That of Ariouistus, diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first giueth the causes that induced Cæsar to vndertake that war: the second, intreateth of the war it selfe, and particularly describeth Ariouistus ouerthrow.

Suitchers.

CHAP. I.

Gallia described: the Heluetians dislike their natiue *seate, and propound to themselues larger territories in* the Continent of Gallia. Orgetorix feedeth *this humour, for his owne ad-* uantage.

ALLIA is all diuided into three parts; whereof the Belges do inhabite one, the Aquitanes another, & those which they call Celtes, & we, Galles, a third: all these do differ each from other in maners, language, & in lawes. The riuer Garun doth separate the Galles from the Aquitans, and Marne & Seine doe bound them from the Belges: of these the Belges are most warlike; as furthest off the ciuilitie & politure of the Prouince, & lesse frequented with Merchãts, or acquainted with such things as are by thẽ imported to effeminate mens minds: as likewise being syted next to the Germans beyond the Rhene, with whõ they haue continuall wars. For which cause also the Heluetians

Matrona. Sequana.

doe excell the reſt of the Galles in deeds of Armes, being in daily conflicts vvith the Germaines, for defence of their owne territories, or by inuading theirs. The part inhabited by the Galles, beginneth at the riuer Rhone, and is bounded vvith Garun, the Ocean, and the confines of the Belges; and reaching alſo to the Rhene, as a Linet from the Sequans & Heluetians, it ſtretcheth northward. The Belges take their beginning at the extreame confines of Gallia, and inhabit the Country which lieth along the lower part of the Rhene, trindling to the North, and to the Eaſt. Aquitania ſpreadeth it ſelf between the riuer Garun & the Pyrenean hils, and butteth vpon the Spaniſh Ocean, between the Weſt and the North.

Amongſt the Heluetians, Orgetorix did far exceed all others, both for noble diſcent and ſtore of treaſure: & when M. Meſſala and M. Piſo were Conſuls, being ſtirred vp with the deſire of a kingdom, he mooued the Nobilitie to a commotion; perſwading the State to goe out of their confines with their whole povver: as an eaſie matter for them, that excelled all other in valour & proweſs, to ſeize vpon the Empire of all Gallia. To which he did the rather perſwade thē, for-that the Heluetians were on euery ſide ſhut vp, by the ſtrength & nature of the place vvherein they dwelt; on the one ſide, vvith the depth and breadth of the riuer Rhene, which diuideth their Country frō the Germaines; on the other ſide, with the high ridge of the hill Iura, which runneth between them & the Sequans: & on the third part, they vvere flanked with the lake Lemanus, & the riuer Rhone, parting their territories from our Prouince.

Hence it happened, that being thus ſtraightened, they could not eaſily enlarge themſelues, or make war vpon the bordering Countries: and thereupon, beeing men wholly bent to Armes and war, were much grieued, as hauing too little elbow-roome for their multitude of people, and the renowne they had got of their valor; their whole country cōtaining but 211 miles in length, & 180 in breadth. Spurred on with theſe inducements, and mooued ſpecially with the authority of Orgetorix, they reſolued to make prouiſion of ſuch things as vvere requiſite for their expedition; bought great number of Carres, and horſes, for cariages; ſowed much tillage, that they might haue plentie of Corne in their iourney; made peace and amity with the confining Countries. For the perfiting and ſupply of vvhich things, they tooke 2 yeers to be ſufficient; and in the third, enacted their ſetting forward by a ſolemne Law, aſsigning Orgetorix to giue order for that which remained.

Curandum vicinis populis vt pax inter vicinos populos colatur.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HE that will examine this expedition of the Heluetians, by the tranſmigrations and flittings of other Nations, ſhall find ſome vnexampled particularities in the courſe of their proceeding: for, firſt it hath neuer beene heard, that any people vtterly abandoned that Country which Nature or prouidence had allotted thē, vnleſs they were driuen thervnto by a generall calamity, as the infection of the aire, the cruelty & oppreſsion of a neighbor nation, as were the Sueuians, who thought it great honor to ſuffer no man to border vpon their confines; or

ſome

ſome other vniuerſall, which made the place inhabitable, and the people willing to vndertake a voluntarie exile. But oftentimes we read, that when the inhabitants of a Countrey were ſo multiplied, that the place was ouer-charged with multitudes of ofspring; and like a poore father, had more children then it was able to ſuſtaine, the abounding ſurplus was ſent out to ſeek new fortunes in forraine Countries, and to poſſeſſe themſelues of a reſting ſeate; which might recompence the wants of their natiue Country, with a plentious reuenue of neceſſary ſupplements. And in this ſort, wee read that Rome ſent out many Colonies into diuers parts of her Empire. And in this manner the ancient Galles disburdened themſelues of their ſuperfluitie, and ſent them into Aſia. The Gothes came from the Ilands of the Baltick ſea, & in Sulla his time, ſwarmed ouer Germanie: beſides many other Nations, whoſe tranſmigrations are particularly deſcribed by Lazius. But amongſt all theſe, we find none that ſo forſooke their Country, but there remained ſome behind to inhabit the ſame; from whence, as from a fountaine, ſucceeding ages might deriue the ſtreame of that ouer-flowing multitude, and by them take notice of the cauſes, which mooued them vnto it. For, their manner was in all ſuch expeditions, and ſending out of Colonies, to diuide themſelues into two or three parts, equall both in equalitie and number: for, after they had parted their common people into euen companies, they diuided their Nobility with as great equalitie as they could, among the former partitions: & then caſting lots, that part which went out to ſeeke new aduentures, left their lands & poſſeſſions to the reſt that remained at home; and ſo by induſtrie, they ſupplied that defect which continuance of time had drawne vpon them. And this was the meanes, which the firſt inhabitants of the earth found out after the floud, to people the vnhabited places, and to keepe off the inconueniences of ſcarcitie and famine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE that would prognoſticate by the courſe of theſe ſeuerall proceedings, whether of the two betokened better ſucceſſe, hath greater reaſon to foretell happineſſe to theſe which I laſt ſpake of, then to the Heluetians; vnleſſe their valour were the greater, and quitted all difficulties which hatred and enuie would caſt vpon them: for, an action which ſauoureth of neceſſitie (which was alwaies vnderſtood in ſending out a Colonie) hath a more plauſible paſport amongſt men, then that which proceedeth from a proud voluntarie motion. For, as men can bee content to tolerate the one, if it concerne not their particular; ſo on the other ſide, they count it gaine to puniſh pride with ſhame, and to oppoſe themſelues againſt the other.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

ORgetorix, thirſting after princely dignitie, diſcouereth the humour of vaine-glorie. For, not contented with the ſubſtance of honour, beeing alreadie of greateſt power amongſt the Heluetians, & ordering the affaires of the State by his owne direction, thought it nothing without the marks and title of dignitie, vnto which the inconueniences of Maieſtie are annexed: not conſidering that the beſt honor, ſitteth not alwaies in imperiall thrones, nor weareth the Diadems of Princes; but oftentimes reſteth it ſelfe in meaner places, and ſhineth better with obſcurer titles.

For proofe whereof, to omit antiquitie, take the familie of the Medices in Florence, and particularlie, Coſimo and Lorenzo, whoſe vertue raiſed them to that height of honour, that they were nothing inferiour to the greateſt Potentates of their time, beeing themſelues but priuate Gentlemen in that State, and bearing their proper names as their greateſt titles. But howſoeuer; the opportunitie of changing their ſoile, was well obſerued by Orgetorix, as the fitteſt meanes to attempt an innouation: but the ſucceſſe depended much vpon the fortunate proceeding of their expedition.

For, as a multitude of that nature, can bee content to attribute a great part of their happineſſe, wherein euery man thinketh himſelfe particularly intereſſed, to an eminent Leader; & in that vniuerſall extaſie of ioy, will eaſilie admit an alteration of their State: ſo, if the iſſue be in any reſpect vnfortunate, no man will acknowledge himſelfe faultie; but, euery one deſiring to diſcharge his paſſion vpon ſome obiect, a chiefe director is likelieſt to be the mark, at which the darts of their diſcontent will be throwne; and then he will find it hard to effect what he intendeth.

CHAP. II.

Orgetorix practices are diſcouered: his death. The *Heluetians continue the reſolution of their ex-*pedition, and prepare themſelues *accordingly.*

Cæſar. *ORgetorix, thereupon, vndertook imploiment to the adioyning States; and firſt perſwaded Caſticus, the ſonne of Catamantalides, a Sequan (vvhoſe father had for many yeeres raigned in that place, and was by the Senate and people of Rome, ſtiled vvith the title of a Friend) to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Signiorie of that State vvhich his Father formerly inioyed: and in like manner, dealt vvith Dumnorix the Heduan, Diuitiacus brother (who at that time was the onely man of that Prouince, & verie well beloued of the*

the Commons) to indeauour the like there; and vvithall, gaue him his daughter in mariage: ſhewing them by liuely reaſons, that it was an eaſie matter to effect their deſignes; for that he being ſure of the ſoueraigntie of his State, there was no doubt but the Heluetians would doe much throughout all Gallia, and ſo made no queſtian to ſettle them in thoſe kingdoms, with his power and forces. Drawne on with theſe inducements, they gaue faith and oath each to other, hoping vvith the ſupport of the ſoueraigntie of three mightie Nations, to poſſeſſe themſelues of all Gallia.

This thing beeing diſcouered, the Heluetians (according to their cuſtomes) cauſed Orgetorix to aunſwere the matter in Durance: whoſe puniſhment vpon the Attaint, was to be burned aliue. Againſt the day of triall, Orgetorix had got together all his Family, to the number of ten thouſand men, beſides diuers followers, and others far indebted, which were many; by whoſe meanes hee eſcaped a iudiciall hearing. The people, thereupon, being much incenſed, agreed, the Magiſtrate ſhould execute their lawes with force of Armes, and to that end, ſhould raiſe the Country: but in the meane time, Orgetorix was found dead; not without ſuſpicion (as was conceiued) that he himſelfe was guilty thereof.

Notwithſtanding his death, the Heluetians did purſue their former deſigne of leauing their Countrey: and when they thought themſelues readie prepared, they ſet fire on all their Townes (vvhich were in number 12) together with foure hundred Villages, beſides priuate houſes, and burnt likewiſe all the Corne, ſaue that they caried with them; that al hope of returne being taken away, they might be the readier to vndergoe all hazards: And cõmaunded that euery man ſhould carie ſo much Meale with him, as would ſerue for three Months.

Moreouer alſo, they perſwaded the Rauraci, the Tulingi and Latobrigi, their neighbour borderers, that putting on the ſame reſolution, they would ſet fire on all their habitations, and goe along with them. And likewiſe tooke vnto them the Boïj, which had dwelt beyond the Rheine, but were now ſeated in the Territories of the Norici, and had taken the capitall towne of that Countrey. There were onely two waies which gaue them paſſage out of their Countrey: the one through the Sequans, very narrow and difficult, betweene the Hill Iura, & the Riuer Rhone, by which a ſingle Cart could ſcarce paſſe; and had a high hill hanging ouer, that a ſmall force might eaſily hinder them. The other, was through our Prouince, farre eaſier and readier; foraſmuch as the riuer Rhone, running betweene the Heluetians and the * Allobroges (vvho were lately brought in obedience to the people of Rome) did giue paſſage in diuers places by Foordes. * Sauoyens.

The vtmoſt towne belonging to the Allobroges, that bordereth vpon the Heluetians, is Geneua; wherevnto adioyneth a bridge leading to the Heluetians; vvho doubted not but to perſwade the Allobroges (that ſeemed as yet to cary no great affection to the people of Rome) or at leaſt, to force them to giue them paſſage. Things beeing now ready for their iourney, they aſsigned a day vvhen all ſhould meete together vpon the banks of Rhone: vvhich day was the firſt of the Calends of Aprill, in the Conſulſhip of Lu. Piſo, and A. Gabinius.

OBSERVATION.

The omiſſion in the Heluetian expedition.

AS theſe prouiſoes were all requiſite; ſo one thing was omitted, which might haue furthered their good fortune more then any thing thought of: which was, to haue concealed by all meanes the time of their departure. For, all the beaſts of the wood muſt needs ſtand at gaze, when ſuch Lions rouſed themſelues out of their dennes; and be then very watchfull of their ſafetie when they knew the inſtant of time, when ſome of their ſpoiles muſt needs bee offered to appeaſe their furie. Or at the leaſt, it behooued them ſo to haue dealt by hoſtages and treatie, that ſuch as were likelieſt, and beſt able to croſſe their deſignements, might haue been no hinderance of their proceedings: conſidering there were but two waies out of their Countrey by which they might goe; the one narrow and difficult, betweene the hill Iura and the riuer Rhone, by the Countrey of the Sequani: the other through Prouence, far eaſier and ſhorter, but not to be taken but by the permiſsion of the Romaines. But how-ſo-euer; their errour was, that after two yeeres prouiſion to goe, and hauing made an exterminating decree which inioyned them to goe, when they came to the point, they knew not what way to goe.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar denieth the Heluetians paſſage through the *Romane Prouince: he fortifieth the paſſage* betweene the hill Iura, and the *lake of Geneua.*

Cæſar.

**Rome.*

*AS ſoone as Cæſar was aduertiſed, that their purpoſe vvas to paſſe thorough our Prouince, he haſted to leaue the *Cittie, & poſting by great iourneys into the further Gallia, he came to Geneua. And inrolling great forces throughout all the Prouince, for that there was but one legion in thoſe parts, he brake downe the bridge at Geneua.*

The Heluetians, hauing intelligence of Cæſars arriuall, they ſent diuers of the beſt of their Nobility, Embaſſadours vnto him, whereof Numeius & Veredoctius vvere the chiefe; to giue him notice, that they had a purpoſe to paſſe peaceably through the Prouince, hauing no other way to goe: & therein to pray his ſufferance and permiſsion.

Cæſar, well remembring how Lu. Caſsius the Conſull was ſlaine, his Armie beaten, and the ſouldiers put vnder the yoke, did not hold it conuenient to grant their requeſt. Neither did hee thinke that men ſo ill affected, could forbeare to offer wrongs & inſolencies, if leaue were giuen them as was required. Howbeit, for the better gaining of time, and getting ſuch forces together as vvere cauſed to

to be inrolled, he anſwered the Commiſsioners that he would take a time of deliberation; and to that end, willed them to returne againe by the Ides of Aprill. And, in the meane time, with that legion he had ready, and the ſouldiers that came out of the Prouince, he made a ditch, and a vvall of ſixteene foot in height, from the lake Lemanus, which runneth into the Rhone, to the hill Iura, that diuideth the Sequans from the Heluetians, beeing in length nineteene miles; and diſpoſed guarizons and fortreſſes along the worke, the better to impeach them, if happely they went about to breake out by force.

At the day appointed, when the Embaſſadours returned, for a reſolution, he vtterly denied to giue any leaue to paſſe through the Prouince; hauing neither cuſtome nor preſident from the people of Rome, to vvarrant him in that kind. And if they ſhould endeauour it by force of Armes, he would oppugne them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis manner of prolonging of time, to renforce the troupes or get ſome other aduantage, as it was then of great vſe to Cæſar, and hath oftentimes been practiſed to good purpoſe; ſo doth it diſcouer to a circumſpect enemie, by the directions in the meane time (which cannot eaſily be ſhadowed) the drift of that delay; and ſo inuiteth him vvith greater courage, to take the opportunitie of that preſent aduantage; eſpecially if tract of time may ſtrengthen the one, and not further the other: which is eaſily diſcerned by the circumſtances of the action.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE requeſt of the Heluetians ſeemed to deſerue a facile anſwer; being in effect no more then Nature had giuen to the riuer Rhone: which was to paſſe through the Prouince, with as much ſpeed & as little hurt as they could. But Cæſar, looking further into the matter, and comparing things already paſt, with occurrences that were to follow after, found the maieſtie of the Romane Empire to be intereſſed in the anſwer; beeing either to maintaine her greatnes, by reſiſting her enemies, or to degenerate from ancient vertue, by gratifying ſuch as ſought her ruine: which in matter of State, are things of great conſequence. And further, hee knew it to be an vnſafe courſe, to ſuffer an enemie to haue meanes of doing hurt; conſidering that the nature of man is alwaies prone to loade him with further wrongs whom hee hath once iniuried: not but that he could peraduenture be content to end the quarrell vpon that aduantage; but fearing the other, whom he wronged, to expect but an opportunitie of reuenge, he gets what aduantage he can before hand, and ſo ceaſeth not, vntill he haue added a bloody end to an iniurious beginning.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

COncerning this maruellous fortification, between the hill & the lake, how ſeruiceable ſuch works were vnto him in all his wars; in what ſort, and in how ſmall a time they were made; I will deferre the treatiſe of them vntill I come to the height of Aleſia, where he gaue ſome ground of that hyperbolicall ſpeech: *An me deleto, non animaduertebatis decem habere lectas quidem legiones populum Romanum, quæ non ſolum vobis obſiſtere ſed etiam cælum diruere poſſent?*

CHAP. IIII.

The Heluetians, failing to paſſe the Rhone, take the *way through the Countrey of the Sequani. Cæſar haſteth* into Italie, and there inrolleth more legions: and re- *turning, ouer-throweth part of them at* the riuer Arar.

Cæſar. *THe Heluetians, fruſtrated of their former hope, went about, ſome vvith boats coupled together, others with Flats (wherof they made great ſtore) the reſt, by foords and places where the Riuer vvas ſhallowe, ſometimes in the day, and oftentimes in the night, to breake out: but beeing beaten back by the helpe of the fortification, and the concourſe of ſouldiers, and multitude of vveapons, they deſiſted from that attempt.*

There was onely another way left, through the Sequans, which they could not take, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe therof, but by the fauour of the Country. And foraſmuch, as of themſelues they were able to preuaile little therein, they ſent Meſſengers to Dumnorix the Heduan, that by his mediation, they might obtaine ſo much of the Sequans. Dumnorix, vvhat through fauour and bountious cariage, was of great power in his Country, much affecting the Heluetians, by reaſon of his mariage with Orgetorix daughter: & drawne on with a deſire of a kingdome, gaue his mind to new proiects; labouring to gratifie many States, to tie them the rather to fauour his courſes. And there-vpon, vndertaking the buſineſſe, got the Sequans to giue the Heluetians leaue to paſſe through their Confines; giuing each other Pledges, that the Sequans ſhould not interrupt the Heluetians in their iourney: nor they, offer any iniury to the Country.

It was told Cæſar, that the Heluetians vvere determined to paſſe through the Territories of the Sequans and Heduans, on the confines of the Santons, vvho are not farre from the borders of the Tholeſans, a people of the Prouince: which if they did, he foreſaw how dangerous it would be, to haue a warlike Nation, and ſuch as were enemies to the people of Rome, to come ſo neere them; and to haue the aduantage of an open and plentious Country.

For

For which cauſes, he left T. Labienus a Legat, to commaund thoſe works, and he himſelfe made great iourneis to get into Italy; vvhere he inrolled twō legions, and tooke 3 more out of their wintering Camps, neer about Aquileia: and vvith with theſe fiue legions, went the next way ouer the Alps, into the further Gallia. Where, by the way, the Centrons, Garocles, and Caturiges, taking aduantage of the open ground, did ſeek to keep the Army from paſſage: but, being beaten and put off by many skirmages, they came in ſeauen daies from Ocellum, a towne in the furtheſt parts of the neerer Prouince, into the confines of the Vocontij, a people of the further Prouince: from whence he led them into the territories of the Allobroges; and ſo vnto the Sabuſians, that are the firſt beyond the Rhene, bordering vpon the Prouince.

By that time, the Heluetians had caried their forces through the ſtraights, and frontiers of the Sequans, into the Dominions of the Heduans, and began to forrage & pillage their Country. Who, finding themſelues vnable to make reſiſtance, ſent Meſſengers to Cæſar, to require aide; ſhewing their deſerts to be ſuch from time to time of the people of Rome, that might challenge a greater reſpect, then to haue their Country ſpoiled, their children led into captiuity, their townes aſſaulted and taken, as it were in the ſight of the Romaine Army. At the ſame inſtant likewiſe, the Ambarri, that had dependancy & alliance with the Heduans, aduertiſed Cæſar, that their Country was vtterly waſted, and they ſcarce able to keep the Enemy from entering their townes. In like manner alſo, the Allobroges, that had farmes and poſſeſsions beyond the Rhone, fled directly to Cæſar, complayning that there was nothing left them but the ſoile of their Country.

*With which aduertiſements, Cæſar was ſo mooued, that he thought it not conuenient to linger further, or expect vntill the fortunes of their Allies were all vvaſted, and that the Heluetians vvere come vnto the Zantones. The * riuer Arar, that runneth through the confines of the Heduans and Sequans, into the Rhone, paſſeth away with ſuch a ſtilneſs, that by view of the eye, it can hardly be diſcerned which vvay the vvater taketh. This riuer did the Heluetians paſſe ouer, by Flotes, & bridges of boats. When Cæſar vvas aduertiſed by his Diſconerers, that three parts of their forces were already paſt the vvater, and that the fourth was left behind on this ſide the riuer; about the third watch of the night he vvent out of the Camp vvith three legions, and ſurpriſing that part vvhich was not as yet gotte ouer the riuer, ſlew a great part of them: the reſt fled into the next vvoods.*

* Soane.

Zuricke.

This part vvas the Tigurine Canton: and the Heluetians beeing all parted into foure diuiſions, this Canton alone, in the memory of our fathers, ſlew L. Caſsius the Conſull, and put his Army vnder the Yoke. So, whether it were by chaunce, or the prouidence of the Gods, that part of the Heluetian State, which gaue ſo great a blowe to the Romaine people, was the firſt that did penance for the ſame. Wherin, Cæſar tooke reuenge, not onely of the publique, but of his particular loſs; foraſmuch as the Tigurines, had in that battell, with Caſsius, ſlaine L. Piſo, the Grandfather of L. Piſo, his father in law.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis defeat beeing chiefely a ſeruice of execution, vpon ſuch as were taken at a dangerous diſaduantage, which men call vnaware, containeth theſe two aduiſoes. Firſt, not to neglect that aduantage which Sertorius by the haires of his horſe taile hath prooued to bee very important; that beginning with a part, it is a matter of no difficultie to ouercome the whole. Secondly, it may ſerue for a caueat, ſo to tranſport an Armie ouer a water, where the enemie is within a reaſonable march, that no part may be ſo ſeuered from the bodie of the Armie, that aduantage may thereby be taken to cut them off altogether, and ſeparate them from themſelues. The ſafeſt and moſt honourable way, to tranſport an Armie ouer a riuer, is by a bridge, placing at each end ſufficient troopes of horſe and foot, to defend the Armie from ſuddaine aſſaults, as they paſſe ouer the water; and thus went Cæſar ouer the Rhene into Germanie, two ſeuerall times.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The manner of their watch.

COncerning the circumſtance of time, when Cæſar went out of his Campe, which is noted to be in the third watch, we muſt vnderſtand, that the Romans diuided the whole night into 4 vvatches, euery watch containing three houres: and theſe vvatches were diſtinguiſhed by ſeuerall notes and ſound of Cornets or Trumpets; that by the diſtinction and diuerſitie thereof, it might eaſily bee knowne what watch was ſounded. The charge and office of ſounding the watches, belonged to the chiefeſt Centurion of a legion, whom they called Primipilus, or Primus Centurio; at whoſe pauilion the Trumpetters attended, to be directed by his houre-glaſſe.

The firſt watch began alwaies at ſunne-ſetting, and continued three houres (I vnderſtand ſuch houres as the night contained, beeing diuided into twelue: for, the Romaines diuided their night as well as their day into twelue equall ſpaces, which they called houres): the ſecond watch cõtinued vntill midnight; and then the third watch began, & contained likewiſe three houres; the fourth was equall to the reſt, and continued vntill ſunne-riſing. So that by this phraſe *de tertia vigilia*, we vnderſtand, that Cæſar went out of his Campe in the third watch; which was after midnight: and ſo we muſt conceiue of the reſt of the watches, as often as we ſhall find them mentioned in hiſtorie.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar passeth ouer the riuer Arar: his horsemen incountred with the Heluetians, and were put to the worse.

Caesar.

AFter this ouerthrowe, he caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer Arar, and caried ouer his Army, to pursue the rest of the Heluetian forces. The Heluetians, much daunted at his suddaine comming, that had gotte ouer the riuer in one day, which they could scarce doe in twentie, sent Embassadours vnto him, of vvhom Dinico was chiefe, that commaunded the Heluetians in the warre against Cassius: who dealt with Cæsar to this effect; That if the people of Rome would make peace with the Heluetians, they would go into any part which Cæsar should appoint them: but, if otherwise he would prosecute warre, that he should remember the ouerthrowe which the people of Rome receiued by their valour; and not to attribute it to their owne woorth, that they had surprized at vnawares a part of their Army, when such as had passed the riuer could not come to succour them. They had learned of their fore-fathers, to contend rather by valour, then by craft and deuices; and therefore, let him beware, that the place vvherein they now vvere, did not get a Name, or carie the marke to all future ages, of an eminent calamity to the people of Rome, & of the vtter destruction of his Army.

To this, Cæsar answered; That he made the lesse doubt of the successe of these businesses, in that he vvell remembred and knew those things, which the Heluetian Commissioners had related: and was so much the rather grieued thereat, because it happened without any cause or desert of the people of Rome; who, if he were guiltie of any wrong done vnto them, it vvere a matter of no difficultie to beware of their practices: but therein was his errour, that he could thinke of nothing which he had committed, that might cause him to feare: neither could he feare without occasion. And, if he would let passe former insolencies, could hee forget those late & fresh iniuries? in that they had attempted to pass through the Prouince by force of Armes, sacked and pillaged the Heduans, Ambars, & Allobrogians? that did so insolently vaunt of their victorie, admiring that these iniuries were suffered so long time to rest vnreuenged; came all in the end to one passe. For, the immortall Gods vvere vvont sometimes to giue happinesse and long impunitie to men; that by the greater alteration of things, the punishment should be the more grieuous for their offences. Howbeit, if they vvould giue Hostages for the performance of those things which were to be agreed vpon, and satisfie the Heduans and Allobrogians, together with their Allies, for the iniuries they had done vnto them, he would be content to make peace with them.

Dinico replied, that they were taught by their Ancestors, to take Hostages, rather then to giue them, whereof the people of Rome were witnesses: and thereupon

vpon departed. The next day they remooued the Campe, and the like did Cæſar, ſending all his horſe before, to the number of foure thouſand (which he had raiſed in the Prouince, and drawne from the Heduans, & there Aſſociates) to vnderſtand which way the Enemy tooke: vvho, proſecuting the reare-ward ouerhotly, were forced to vndertake the Heluetian Caualry, in a place of diſaduauntage; and thereby loſt ſome few of their Company.

The Enemy, made proud with that encounter, hauing with fiue hundred horſe beaten ſo great a multitude, did afterwards make head vvith more aſſurance; and ſometimes ſtuck not to ſally out of the Reareward, and aſſault our Partie. Cæſar kept backe his men from fighting; and held it enough for the preſent, to keepe the Enemy from ſpoiling and harrying the Country: and went on for fifteen daies together, in ſuch manner, as there were but fiue or ſixe miles between the firſt troopes of our Armie, and the Rearward of theirs.

OBSERVATION.

THis example of the Heluetians, may leſſon a Commaunder, not to wexe inſolent vpon euery ouer-throwe which the enemie taketh, but duely to weigh the true cauſes of a victorie gotten, or an ouerthrowe taken; that apprehending the right current of the action, he may neither vaunt of a blind victorie, nor be diſmaied at a caſuall miſhap.

And heerein, let a heedfull warineſſe ſo moderate the ſequells of victorie in a triumphing ſpirit, that the care and iealouſie to keep ſtill that ſweet ſounding fame on foote, may as farre ſurpaſſe the induſtrie which he firſt vſed to obtaine it, as the continuance of happineſſe doth exceede the beginning of good fortunes. For, ſuch is the nature of our ſoule, that although from her infancie, euen to the manhood of her age, ſhe neuer found want of that which ſhee luſted after: yet when ſhee meeteth with a counterbuffe to check her appetite, and reſtraine her affections from their ſatisfaction; ſhee is as much troubled in that want, as if ſhee had neuer receiued any contentment at all: for, our will to euerie obiect which it ſeeketh after, begetteth alwaies a new appetite: which is not ſatisfied with a former quittance; but either ſeeketh preſent paiment, or returneth diſcontentment vnto the mind.

And, as our ſoule is of an euerlaſting beeing, and cannot thinke of an end, to her beginning; ſo ſhee ſeeketh a perpetuall continuance of ſuch things which ſhee luſteth after: which hee that meaneth to hold Fortune his friend, will endeuour to maintaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar ſendeth to get the aduantage of a hill, and ſo *to giue the Heluetians battell: but was put off* by falſe intelligence. The opportunitie beeing *loſt, hee intendeth prouiſion of* Corne.



IN the meane time, Cæſar preſſed the Heduans from day to day to bring in Corne, according to their promiſe: for, by reaſon of the cold temperature of Gallia, which lieth to the Northward, it happened not onely that the Corne was farre frō beeing ripe; but alſo, that there was ſcarce forrage for the horſes. And, the prouiſions vvhich vvere brought along the riuer Arar, ſtood him in ſmall ſteed at that time, foraſmuch as the Heluetians had tooke their iourney cleane from the Riuer, and that he would by no meanes forſake them. Cæſar.

The Heduans, putting it off from one day to another, gaue out ſtill it was vpon comming. But, when Cæſar found the matter ſo long delaied, & that the day of meting out Corne to the ſouldiers was at hand, calling before him the chiefeſt Princes of the Heduans, of whom he had great numbers in his Campe, and amongſt them, Dinitiacus and Liſcus, vvho for that time were the ſoueraigne Magiſtrates (vvhich they call Vergobret, *being yeerely created, & hauing power of life & death) he did greatly blame them, that he was not ſupplied with Corne from them, the Enemy beeing ſo neere, and in ſo needfull a time, that it could neither be bought for money, nor had out of the fields: eſpecially, when for their ſake, and at their requeſt, he had vndertooke that vvarre. Whereat hee was the rather grieued, becauſe he found himſelfe forſaken of them.*

At length, Liſcus, mooued vvith Cæſars ſpeech, diſcouered (which before hee had kept ſecret) that there were ſome of great authority amongſt the Commons, and could doe more being priuate perſons, then they could do being Magiſtrates. Theſe, by ſedicious and bad ſpeeches, did deter the people from bringing Corne: ſhewing it better for them, ſith they could not attaine to the Empire of Gallia, to vndergoe the ſoueraigntie of the Galles, then the Romaines: for, they vvere not to doubt, but if the Romaines vanquiſhed the Heluetians, they vvould bereaue the Heduans of their libertie, with the reſt of all Gallia. By theſe men are our deliberations and counſells, or vvhatſoeuer elſe is done in the Campe, made knowne to the Enemy: neither vvere they able to keepe them in obedience; but knew well withall, what danger hee fell into, by acquainting Cæſar vvith theſe things; which was the cauſe he had kept them from him ſo long.

Cæſar, perceiued that Dumnorix, Dinitiacus brother, was ſhot at by this ſpeech

of Liſcus: but, foraſmuch as hee would not haue thoſe things handled in the preſence of ſo manie, hee ſpeedilie brake off the Councell, and retaining Liſcus, asked priuatly after thoſe things which he had deliuered in the Aſſembly; wherunto he ſpake more freely and boldly then before. And inquiring ſecretlie of others, he found it to be true, that Dumnorix was of great courage, and ſingularly fauoured for his liberalitie of the Common people: Deſirous of nouelties and changes, and for many yeeres, had kept at a lowe rate, the Taxes and Impoſitions of the Heduans, foraſmuch as no man durſt cõtradict what he would haue done. By which courſes, he had increaſed his priuate eſtate, and got great meanes to be liberall: for, a great number of horſemen, did onely liue vpon his entertainement, and vvere continually about him, beeing not onely powerfull at home, but abroad alſo, amongſt diuers of the neighbour States. And for this cauſe, had maried his Mother to a great Rich man, and of a Noble houſe, in the Country of the Bituriges; himſelfe had tooke a wife of the Heluetians, had matched his ſiſter by his Mother, and others of his kinne, into other States. For that affinity, hee fauoured and wiſhed well to the Heluetians: and on the other ſide, hated the Romaines, and ſpecially Cæſar, of all others; for that by their comming into Gallia, his power was weakened, and Dinitiacus his brother reſtored to his auncient honour and dignitie. If any miſcaſualtie happened to the Romaines, his hope was to obtaine the Principalitie by the fauour of the Heluetians: where-as the ſoueraigntie of the Romaines, made him not onely deſpaire of the kingdome, but alſo of the fauour, or what other thing ſoeuer he now inioyed. And Cæſar had found out by inquirie, that the beginning of the flight, when the Caualrie was routed, came from Dumnorix, and his horſemen: for, hee commaunded thoſe troopes which the Heduans had ſent to aide Cæſar, and out of that diſorder, the reſt of the Caualrie tooke a fright.

Which things beeing diſcouered, foraſmuch as theſe ſuſpicions were ſeconded with matters of certaintie, in that hee had brought the Heluetians through the confines of the Sequans, had cauſed hoſtages to be giuen on either ſide, and done all thoſe things, not onely without vvarrant from the State, but vvithout acquainting them there-with. And laſtly, in that he was accuſed by the Magiſtrate of the Heduans, hee thought it cauſe ſufficient for him to puniſh him, or to commaund the State to doe iuſtice vpon him. One thing there was which might ſeem to oppugne all this; the ſingular affection of Dinitiacus, his brother, to the people of Rome; the great loue he bare particularly to Cæſar; his loyaltie, iuſtice & temperancie: and therefore he feared, leaſt his puniſhment might any way alienate or offend Dinitiacus ſincere affection. And therefore, before hee did anie thing, hee called Dinitiacus, and putting aſide the ordinarie Interpreters, hee ſpake to him by M. Valerius Procillus, one of the principall men of the Prouince of Gallia, his familiar friend, and whom hee ſpecially truſted in matters of importance, and tooke notice vvhat Dumnorix had vttered in his preſence, at a Councell of the Galles, ſhewing alſo vvhat informations hee had priuately receiued concerning him: and therefore, by way of aduice, deſired, that without any offence to him, either hee himſelfe might call him in queſtion, or the State take ſome courſe in the ſame.

Diniti-

Dinitiacus, imbracing Cæsar, with many teares besought him, not to take anie seuere course vvith his brother; hee knew vvell that all those things vvere true, neither was there any man more grieued thereat then himselfe. For, whereas he had credit and reputation, both at home and amongst other States of Gallia, and his brother beeing of small power by reason of his youth, was by his aide and assistance, growne into fauour and authoritie, hee vsed those meanes as an aduantage, not onely to weaken his authoritie, but to bring him to ruine: And yet neuertheless, he found himselfe ouer-ruled through brotherly affection, and the opinion of the common people. And if Cæsar should take any strict account of these offences, there was no man but vvould thinke, it vvas done vvith his priuitie, considering the place he held in his fauour; vvherevpon, would consequently follow, on his behalfe, a generall alienation, and distaste of all Gallia.

As hee vttered these things, with many other vvords, accompanied vvith teares, Cæsar, taking his right hand, comforted him, and desired him to intreat no further: for, such vvas the respect he had vnto him, that for his sake, and at his request, he forgaue both the iniurie done to the Common-wealth, and the displeasure which he had iustly conceiued for the same. And therupon, called Dumnorix before him, and in the presence of his brother, shewed him wherein he had deserued much blame and reproofe; told him vvhat he had vnderstood, & what the State complained on; aduised him to auoide all occasions of mislike for the future; that which vvas past, hee had forgiuen him, at Dinitiacus his brothers intreatie. Howbeit, he set espialls vpon him, to obserue his courses, that he might be informed what he did, and with whom he conuersed.

The same day, vnderstanding by the Discouerers, that the Enemie was lodged vnder a Hill, about eight miles from his Campe, he sent some to take a viewe of the Hill, and of the ascent from about the same. Which was found, and accordingly reported vnto him to be very easie. In the third vvatch of the night, hee sent avvay T. Labienus the Legat, vvith two legions, and those Guides that knew the vvay; commaunding him to possesse himselfe of the toppe of that Hill. Himselfe, about the fourth vvatch, marched on after the Enemie, the same way they had gone, sending all his horsmen before.

P. Causidius, that was held for a great souldier, first, in the Army of L. Sylla, and afterwards vvith M. Crassus, was sent before, with the Discouerers. At the breaking of the day, when Labienus had gotte the toppe of the hill, and himselfe vvas come within a mile and a halfe of the Heluetian Campe, vvithout any notice to the Enemie, either of his or Labienus approach (as vvas afterwards found by the Captiues) Causidius came runnning as fast as his horse could driue, and told him, that the Hill vvhich Labienus should haue taken, vvas held by the Galles; vvhich hee perceiued plainelie by the Armes and Ensignes of the Heluetians. Whereupon, Cæsar drew his forces to the next Hill, and imbatteled the Armie.

Labienus (according to the directions hee had from Cæsar, not to fight, vnlesse hee saw his forces neere the Enemies Campe, that they might both at the same time assault them from diuers parts at once) vvhen he had tooke the Hill, kept his men from battell, expecting our Armie.

At length, when it was farre in the day, Cæsar vnderstood by the Discouerers, that the Hill was possessed by his Party; as also, that the enemy was dislodged, & that Caussidius was so astonished with feare, that he reported to haue seene that which he saw not. The same day, he followed the Enemy, at the distance hee had formerly vsed, and incamped himselfe three miles from them. The day following, forasmuch as the Army was to be paid in Corne within two daies next after, & that he was but eighteene miles distant from Bibract, a great and opulent Citty of the Heduans, hee turned aside from the Heluetians, and made towards Bibract.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Places of aduantage in the Romaine warres.

THe getting of this hill, as a place of aduantage, was maruellous important to the happy successe of the battell: for, the aduantage of the place is not onely noted as an especiall cause of easie victorie, throughout this historie; but in all their warres, from the very cradle of their Empire, it cleared their Armies frō all difficulties, to what extremities soeuer they were put. The first reason may bee in regard of of their Darts & Slings, and especally their Piles; which being a heauy deadly weapon, could not any way bee so auaileable, beeing cast countermont or in a plaine leuell, as when the decliuitie and downefall of a swelling banke, did naturally second their violent impression. Neither can the shock at handy-blowes bee any thing so furious (which was a point of great respect in their battels) when the souldiers spent their strength in franchising the iniurie of a rising Mountaine, as when the place by a naturall inclination did further their course.

And to conclude, if the battell succeeded not according to their desire, the fauour of the place afforded them meanes of a strong retreit, in the highest part whereof, they had commonly their Camps well fenced, and fortified against all chaunces. If it be demaunded, whether the vpper ground be of like vse, in regard of our weapons: I answere, that in a skirmish of shotte, I take the aduantage to lie in the lower ground rather then on the hill; for, the pieces being hastily charged, as commonly they are after the first volley, if the bullet chance to lie loose, when the nose of the peece is lower then the breech, it must needes flie at randome, and be altogether vneffectuall: but when the nose shall be raised vpward to the side of a hill, the bullet beeing rammed in with his owne waight, shall flie with greater certaintie and furie; considering the nature of the powder to be such, that the more it is stopt and shut in, the more it seeketh to enlarge his roome, and breaketh forth with greater violence and fury.

Concerning other weapons, I take the vpper ground in the shocke and incounter, to be aduantageous, as well for the sword as the pike, and would deserue as great respect, if the controuersie were decided by these weapons, as sildome times it is.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

BY Cauſidius his demeanour, we ſee that verified which Phyſitions affirme, that Nothing will ſooner carrie our iudgement out of her proper ſeate, then the paſſion of feare: and that amongſt ſouldiers themſelues, whom cuſtome hath made familiarlie acquainted with horror and death, it is able to turne a flock of ſheepe into a ſquadron of Corſelets, & a few canes or Oſiers, into Pikes and Lanciers. Which may ſerue to aduiſe a diſcreet Generall, not eaſily to credit a relation of that nature, when a man of reputation, in ſo perfit a diſcipline, and ſo experienced in the ſeruice of three famous Chiefes, was ſo ſurpriſed with feare, that hee could not diſcerne his friends from his enemies: but I will ſpeake more of this paſſion, in the war with Arioviſtus.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IN euery relation throughout the whole courſe of this hiſtorie, the firſt words are commonly theſe, *Re frumentaria comparata*; as the foundation & ſtrength of euery expedition, without which no man can manage a war, according to the true maximes and rules of the Art Military; but muſt be forced to relieue that inconuenience, with the loſſe of many other aduantages of great conſequence. Which gaue occaſion to Gaſpard de Coligni, that famous Admirall of France, amongſt other Oracles of truth, wherwith his mind was maruellouſly inriched, often to vſe this ſaying; that He that wil ſhape that beaſt (meaning war) muſt beginne with the belly. And this rule was diligently obſerued by Cæſar, who beſt knew how to expreſs the true portraiture of that beaſt, in due proportion & liuely reſemblance. *Their maner of victualling*

The order of the Romans was, at the day of meaſuring, to giue corne to euery particular ſouldier, for a certain time, which was cõmonly defined by circumſtances: and by the meaſure which was giuen thẽ, they knew the day of the next paiment; for, euery footman receiued after the rate of a buſhell a weeke, which was thought ſufficient for him and his ſeruant: for, if they had paied thẽ their whole ſtipend in money, it might haue beene waſted in vnneceſſarie expenſes: but by this meanes they were ſure of prouiſion for the time determined; & the ſequell of the war, was prouidently cared for by the Generall.

The Corne being deliuered out, was husbanded, ground with hand-milles, which they caried alwaies with them, & made into haſty cakes, dainty enough for a ſouldiers mouth, by no other but themſelues and their ſeruaunts. Neither could they ſell it or exchange it for bread; for, Saluſt reckoneth this vp amongſt other diſhonours of the diſcipline corrupted, that the ſouldiers ſold away their corne, which was giuen thẽ by the Treaſurer, & bought their bread by the day. And this maner of prouiſion had many ſpeciall cõmodities, which are not incident to our cuſtome of victualing: for it is impoſsible, that victualers

ſhould follow an Armie vpon a ſeruice, in the Enemies Countrey, twentie or thirtie daies together, with ſufficient prouiſion for an Armie: And by that meanes, the Generall cannot attend aduantages & fitteſt opportunities, which in tract of time are often offered; but is forced either to hazard the whole, vpon vnequall tearmes, or to ſound an vnwilling retreit.

And whereas the Victualers are for the moſt part voluntarie, reſpecting nothing but their gaine; and the ſouldiers on the other ſide, careleſſe of the morrow, and prodigall of the preſent: in that turbulent mar-market, where the ſeller hath an eye onely to his particular, & the buyer reſpecteth neither the publique good, nor his priuate commoditie, there is nothing to be looked for, but famine and confuſion: Where-as the Romains, by their manner of prouiſion, impoſed the generall care of the publique good vpon the chiefe Commaunder, whoſe dutie it was to prouide ſtore of Corne for his Armie; and the particular care vpon euery priuate ſouldier, whom it eſpecially concerned to ſee, that the allowance which the Common-weale had in plentifull manner giuen him, for his maintenance, might not bee waſted through negligence or prodigalitie: which excellent order, the nature of our victuals will no way admit. Their Prouinces, & the next confederate States, furniſhed their Armies continually with Corne; as it appeareth by this place, that for prouiſion of graine, he depended altogether vpon the Hedui: and, when they were in the Enemies Countrey, in the time of harueſt, the ſouldiers went out to reape and gather Corne, and deliuered it threſhed and cleanſed to the Treaſurer, that it might be kept vntill the day of paiment.

But, to leaue this frugall and prouident manner of prouiſion, as vnpoſsible to be imitated by this age, let vs returne to our hiſtorie, and ſee how the Heluetians were ledde, by a probable errour, to their laſt ouerthrowe.

CHAP. VII.

The Heluetians follow after Cæſar, and ouertake *the Rereward. He imbattaileth his legions vpon the* ſide of a hill: and giueth order for *the Battaile.*

Cæſar.

Hereof the Enemy beeing aduertiſed, by certaine fugitiues of the troope of horſe, commaunded by L. Emilius, preſently; whether it were that they thought the Romaines did turne away for feare (and the rather, for that the day before, hauing the aduantage of the vpper ground, they refuſed to fight) or whether they thought to cut them off from prouiſion of Corne, they altered their purpoſe, and turning back againe, beganne to attack our men in the Reare. Which Cæſar perceiuing, hee drew his forces to the next hill, and ſent the Caualrie to ſuſtaine the

the charge of the Enemy: and in the meane time, in the midſt of the hill, made a triple battell, of foure legions of old ſouldiers; and vpon the higheſt ridge therof, he placed the two legions which he had lately inrolled in the hither Gallia, together with the aſſociate forces; filling the whole front of the hill with men, and ſtowing the cariages in one place: which he commaunded to be fenced & guarded by thoſe that were in the vppermoſt battalions.

The Heluetians, on the other ſide, conuaied their cariages and impediments into one place; and hauing beaten back Cæſars horſemen, with a thick-thronged Squadron, they put themſelues into a Phalanx, & ſo preſſed vnder the firſt battell of the Romaine legions.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CONcerning the true ſenſe of this triple battell, which Cæſar made vpon the ſide of the hill, I vnderſtand it according to the ancient cuſtome of the Romaines; who in the infancie of their Militarie diſcipline, diuided their Armie into three ſorts of ſouldiers, *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*: for, I omit the *Velites*, as no part of their ſtanding battels; and of theſe they made three ſeuerall battels, from front to back. In the firſt battell were the *Haſtati*, and they poſſeſſed the whole front of the Armie, and were called *Acies prima*. Behind theſe, in a conuenient diſtance, ſtood the *Principes*, in like ſort and order diſpoſed, and were called *Acies ſecunda*: and laſtly, in a like correſpondent diſtance, were the *Triarij* imbattelled, and made *Aciem tertiam*.

The manner of their imbattelling.

By triplex Acies.

Their legion conſiſted of tenne Companies, which they called cohorts, and euerie cohort conſiſted of three ſmall Companies, which they named *Manipuli*: a maniple of the *Haſtati*, a maniple of the *Principes*, and another of the *Triarij*, as I will more particularly ſet downe in the ſecond booke. And as theſe three kinds of ſouldiers were ſeparated by diſtance of place from front to backe: ſo was euery battell diuided into his maniples; and theſe were diuided by little allies and waies, one from another, which were vſed to this purpoſe: The *Haſtati*, beeing in front, did euer begin the battell: & if they found themſelues too weake to repell the enemy, or were happely forced to a retreit, they drew themſelues through theſe allies or diſtances, which were in the ſecond battell, betweene the maniples of the *Principes*, into the ſpace which was betweene the *Principes* and the *Triarij*; and there they reſted themſelues, whil'ſt the Princes tooke their place, and charged the Enemie. Or otherwiſe, if the Commaunders found it needfull, they fild vp thoſe diſtances of the *Principes*: and ſo, vnited with them into one body, they charged the enemy all in groſſe; and then, if they prenailed not, they retired into the ſpaces between the *Triarij*, and ſo they gaue the laſt aſſault, all the three bodies being ioyned all into one.

Now, if we examine by the current of the hiſtory, whether Cæſar obſerued the ſame order and diuiſions in his warres, we ſhal find little or no alteration at all: for, firſt, this *triplex Acies* heere mentioned, was no other thing but the diuiſi-

diuiſion of the *Haſtati*, *Principes* and *Triarÿ*, according to the manner of the firſt inſtitution. And leaſt any man ſhould dreame of that ordinary diuiſion, which is likewiſe threefold, the two cornets and the battell, and in that ſenſe he might ſay to haue made *triplicem Aciem*, let him vnderſtand, that the circumſtances of the diuiſion haue no coherence with that diuiſion: for, in that hee ſaith of the Heluetians, *ſucceſſerunt Aciem primam*, preſſed neere the firſt battell or Vangard, hee maketh it cleare that the Armie was diuided into a triple battell from front to backe: for, otherwiſe, hee would haue ſaid, *ſucceſſerint dextrum aut ſiniſtrum cornu, aut mediam Aciem:* for ſo were the partes of that diuiſion tearmed. Againe, in the retrait which the Heluetians made to the hill, when he ſaith that the firſt and ſecond battell followed cloſe vpon the enemy, and the third oppoſed it ſelfe againſt the *Boÿ* and *Tulingi*, & ſtood readie at the foote of the hill, to charge the legions in the flanke and on the backs It is manifeſt, that no other diuiſion can ſo fitly be applied to this circūſtance, as that from front to back.

But that place in the firſt of the Ciuill warres taketh away all ſcruple of controuerſie, where he vſeth the verie ſame tearmes of *prima*, *ſecunda*, and *tertia Acies:* for, beeing to incampe himſelfe neere vnto Afranius, and fearing leaſt his ſouldiers ſhould be interrupted in their work, he cauſed the firſt and ſecond battell to ſtand in Armes, & keepe their diſtance, to the end they might ſhroud & couer the third battell (which was imploied in making a ditch behind them) from the view of the enemy; and this kind of imbattelling, Cæſar obſerued in moſt of his fights: by which it appeareth, that he vſeth the very ſame order and diſcipline for imbattailing, as was inſtituted by the old Romaines.

Concerning the auncient names of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarÿ*, which Ramus in his Militia Iulij Cæſaris, vrgeth to be omitted throughout the whole hiſtorie, I grant they are ſildome vſed in theſe Commentaries, in the ſenſe of their firſt inſtitution: for, the *Haſtati*, when the diſcipline was firſt erected, were the youngeſt and pooreſt of the legionarie ſouldiers. The *Principes*, were the luſtie and able bodied men: and the *Triarÿ* the eldeſt, and beſt experienced. But in Cæſars Campe, there was little or no difference either of valour or yeeres, betweene the *Haſtati*, *Principes* or *Triarÿ*; which hee nameth, *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia Acies:* and therefore, were neuer tearmed by thoſe names, in reſpect of that difference.

Notwithſtanding, in regard of order and degrees of diſcipline, that vertue might be rewarded with honour, and that time might challenge the priuiledge of a more worthy place, the ſaid diſtinctions and tearmes were religiouſly obſerued: for, in the battell with Petreius at Ilerda in Spaine, hee mentioneth the death of Q. Fulginius, *ex primo Haſtato legionis quartæ decimæ:* and in the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, he ſaith, that The Eagle-bearer being grieuouſly wounded, commended the ſafetie of his Enſigne to the horſemen, all the Centurions of the firſt Cohort beeing ſlaine, *præter principem Priorem.* And for the *Triarÿ*, there is no tearme more frequent in Cæſar, then *Primipilus*; which name, by the rules of the ancient diſcipline, but to the chiefeſt Centurion of the firſt maniple of the *Triarÿ*: whereby it appeareth, that the maniples

Lib. 1. *de bello Ciuili.*

Lib. 3. *de bello Ciuili.*

ples kept the ſame names in regard of a neceſſary diſtinction, although peraduenture the *Haſtati* were as good ſouldiers, as either the *Principes* or the *Triarij*.

As touching the ſpaces betweene the maniples, whereinto the firſt battaile did retire it ſelfe if occaſion vrged them, I neuer found any mention of them in Cæſar. Excepting once heere in England, where, in a skirmiſh the Brittaines ſo vrged the court of guard, which kept watch before the Romaine Camp, that Cæſar ſent out two other Cohorts to ſuccour them; who making diſtance betweene them as they ſtood, the court of guard retired it ſelfe in ſafetie, through that ſpace into the Campe: otherwiſe, we neuer find that the firſt battell made any retreit into the allies, between the maniples of the ſecond battell; but when it failed in any part, the ſecond and third went preſently to ſecond them: as appeareth in the battell following with Ariouiſtus and in diuers others.

Concerning the vſe of this triple battell, what can be ſaid more then Lipſius hath done? where he laieth open the particular commodities thereof, as farre forth as a ſpeculatiue iudgement can diſcerne of things ſo far remote from the vſe of this age, which neuer imitateth this triple battell, but onely in a march: for, then commonly they make three companies; a vangard, a battell, and a reteward: but in imbattelling, they draw theſe three Companies all in front, making two cornets and the battell, without any other troops to ſecond them. But let this ſuffice concerning Cæſar his manner of imbattelling, and his *triplex Acies*, vntill I come to the ſecond booke; where I will handle more particularly the parts of a legion, and the commoditie of their ſmall battalions.

Lib. 5. de militia Romana

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Macedonian Phalanx, is deſcribed by Polybius, to bee a ſquare battell of Pikemen, conſiſting of ſixteene in flanke, and fiue hundred in front; the ſouldiers ſtanding ſo cloſe together, that the pikes of the firſt ranke, were extended three foote beyond the front of the battell: the reſt, whoſe pikes were not ſeruiceable, by reaſon of their diſtance from the front, couched them vpon the ſhoulders of thoſe that ſtood before them; and ſo locking them in together in file, preſſed forward, to hold vp the ſway or giuing backe of the former ranks, and ſo to make the aſſault more violent and vnreſiſtable.

A Phalanx deſcribed.

The Grecians were very skilfull in this part of the Art Militarie, which containeth order and diſpoſition in imbattelling: for they maintained publique profeſſors, whom they called *Tactici*, to teach & inſtruct their youth the practiſe and Art of all formes conuenient for that purpoſe. And theſe *Tactici*, found by experience, that ſixteene in flanke, ſo ordered as they were in a Phalanx, were able to beare any ſhock, how violent ſo-euer it charged vpon them: which number of ſixteene, they made to conſiſt of foure doubles: as firſt vnitie maketh no order, for order conſiſteth in number & pluralitie; but vnitie doubled, maketh two, the leaſt of all orders, and this is the double: which doubled

againe, maketh the ſecond order, of foure ſouldiers in a file, which doubled the third time, maketh eight, and this doubled, maketh 16, which is the fourth doubling from a vnite; and in it they ſtaied, as in an abſolute number and ſquare, whoſe roote is foure the Quadruple, in regard of both the extreames: for euery one of theſe places, the *Tactici* had ſeuerall names, by which they were diſtinctly knowne. But the particular deſcription requireth a larger diſcourſe, then can be comprehended in theſe ſhort obſeruations. Hee that deſireth further knowledge of them, may read Elianus, that liued in the time of Adrian the Emperour: and Arianus in his hiſtorie of Alexander the great: with Mauritius, and Leo, Imperator; where he ſhall haue the diuiſions of *Tetraphalangia diphalangia*, *Phalangia* vnto a vnite, with all the diſcipline of the Grecians. The chiefeſt thing to be obſerued, is, that the Grecians, hauing ſuch skil in imbattelling, preferd a Phalanx before all other formes whatſoeuer; either becauſe the figure in it ſelfe was very ſtrong: or otherwiſe, in regard that it fitted beſt their weapons, which were long pikes and targets. But, whether Cæſar tearmed the battell of the Heluetians a Phalanx, in regard of their thicke manner of imbattailing onely, or otherwiſe, foraſmuch as beſides the forme, they vſed the naturall weapon of a Phalanx, which was the pike, it remaineth doubtfull. Brancatio, in his diſcourſes vpon this place, maketh it no cõtrouerſie, but that euery ſouldier caried a pike and a target. The target is particularly named in this hiſtorie: but it cannot ſo eaſily be gathered by the ſame, that their offenſiue weapons were pikes. In the fight at the baggage it is ſaid, that manie of the legionarie ſouldiers were wounded through the cart-wheeles, with *tragulas* and *materas*, which are commonly interpreted Speares and Iauelins: and I take them to be weapons longer then common darts; but whether they were ſo long as the Sariſſas of the Macedonians, I cannot tell. Howſoeuer; this is certaine, that the Heluetians haue euer been reputed for the true *Phalangitæ*, next vnto the Macedonians; and that in their thicke and cloſe imbattailing, they failed not at this time of the forme of a Phalanx: for, they roofed it ſo thick with targets, that Cæſar ſaith they were ſore troubled, becauſe manie of their targets were faſtened and tied together, with piles darted through thē. Which argueth, that their Phalanx was very thicke thronged, whatſoeuer their vveapon was.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar ſendeth away al the horſes of eaſe; exhorteth his men; and beginneth the battell.

Cæſar, to take away all hope of ſafety by flight, firſt cauſed his own & then all the priuate horſes of eaſe to be caried out of ſight; and ſo vſing ſome motiues of courage, began the battell. The ſouldiers caſting their Piles, with the aduantage of the hill, did eaſily breake the Heluetians Phalanx, & then with their ſwords betook themſelues to a furious cloſe.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THe ancient Sages found it neceſſary, to a faithfull and ſerious execution of ſuch an action, to prepare the minds of their men with words of encouragement, and to take away all ſcruple out of their conceits, either of the vnlawfulneſſe of the cauſe, or diſaduantage againſt the Enemie: for, if at any time that ſaying be true, that *Oratio plus poteſt quam pecunia*, it is here more powerfull and of greater effect. For, a donatiue or liberanca, can but procure a mercenarie indeauour, euer yielding to a better offer, and doe oftentimes breed a ſuſpicion of wrong, euen amongſt thoſe that are willingly inriched with them; and ſo maketh them ſlack to diſcharge their ſeruice with loyaltie: yea, oftentimes of friends to become enemies. But inaſmuch as ſpeech diſcloſeth the ſecrets of the ſoule, and diſcouereth the intent and drift of euery action, a few good words laying open the iniurie which is offered to innocencie, how equity is controlled with wrong, and iuſtice controlled by iniquitie (for, it is neceſſary that a Cõmander approue his Cauſe, and ſettle an opinion of right in the mind of his ſouldiers, as it is eaſie to make that ſeeme probable which ſo many offer to defend with their bloud; when indeed euery man relieth vpon anothers knowledge, and reſpecteth nothing leſſe the right) a few good words I ſay, will ſo ſtirre vp their minds in the feruentneſſe of the cauſe, that euery man will take himſelfe particularly ingaged in the action by the title of Equitie; and the rather, for that it iumpeth with the neceſsity of their condition. For, men are willing to doe well, when well-doing agreeth with that they would doe: otherwiſe, the Act may formerly be effected, but the mind neuer approueth it by aſſent.

Speeches of incouragement before they gaue battell.

And this manner of exhortation or ſpeech of incouragement, was neuer omitted by Cæſar in any conflict mentioned in this hiſtorie: but hee ſtill vſed it as a neceſsary inſtrument to ſet vertue on foote, and the onely meanes to ſtir vp alacritie. Or if it happened that his men were at any time diſcouraged by diſaſter or croſſe accident, as they were at Gergobia, & at the two ouerthrowes he had at Dyrrachium; he neuer would aduenture to giue battell, vntill he had incouraged them againe, and confirmed their minds in valour and reſolution. But this age hath put on ſo ſcornefull a humor, that it cannot heare a ſpeech in this key, ſound it neuer ſo grauely, without ſcoffing and deriſion: and on the other ſide diſcontinuance of ſo neceſſarie a part, hath bred at length ſuch an *inutilem pudorem* in our chiefe Commanders, that they had rather loſe the gaine of a great aduantage, then buy it with words to be deliuered in publique.

Lib. 7. de bello Gallico.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN this Chapter we may further obſerue the violence of the Romane pile, which being a heauie deadly weapon, could hardly be fruſtrated with any reſiſtance, and in that reſpect was very proper and effectuall againſt a Phalanx, or any other thicke and cloſe battell, or where-

The Romane Pile deſcribed.

whereſoeuer elſe, the ſtroke was certaine, or could hardly deceiue the aime of the caſter: for, in ſuch incounters, it ſo galled the enemy, that they were neither able to keep their order, nor anſwere the aſſault with a reſiſting counterbuffe. By which it appeareth, that the onely remedie againſt the Pile was, to make the ranks thinne; allowing to euery ſouldiour a large podiſme or place to ſtand in, that ſo the ſtroke might of it ſelfe fall without hurt, or by fore-ſight bee preuented; as it ſhall plainely appeare by the ſequell of this hiſtorie, which I will not omit to note, as the places ſhal offer themſelues to the examination of this diſcourſe.

But as touching the Pile, which is ſo often mentioned in the Romaine hiſtorie, Polybius deſcribeth it in this maner; A Pile, ſaith he, is a caſting weapon, the ſtaffe whereof is almoſt three cubites long, and it hath *palmarem diametrum*, a hand breadth in thickneſs. The ſtaues were armed with a head of iron, equall in length to the ſtaffe it ſelfe: But in that ſort, that halfe the head was faſtened vp to the middle of the ſtaffe, with plates of iron, like the head of a Halbert: and the other halfe ſtucke out at the end of the ſtaffe, like a pike, containing a fingers breadth in thickneſſe, and ſo decreaſing leſſe and leſſe, vnto the point, which was barbed. This head was ſo ſlender toward the point, that the waight of the ſtaffe would bend it as it ſtucke, as appeareth in this battell of the Heluetians. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and was called *Pilum*, as Varro noteth of *Pilum* a Peſtell, *quod Hoſtes feriret vt pilum*. Lipſius, finding that *Palmarem diametrum*, was too great a thickneſſe to be managed by any mans hand, interpreteth it to be foure inches in circuit, if the ſtaffe were either round or ſquare, for they had of both ſorts, and ſo hee maketh it very manageable; but nothing anſwerable to the deſcription, giuen by Polybius, either in forme or waight.

Lib. 3. de militia Romana

Lib. 5.

Patricius, in his Paralleli, maketh the ſtaffe to haue *palmarem diametrum* in the butte end, but the reſt of the ſtaffe he maketh to decreaſe taper-wiſe, vnto the head of iron, where it hath the thickneſſe of a mans finger; and ſo it anſwereth both in forme and waight to a Peſtell, as may be ſeene by the figure, and I take it to bee the meaning of Polybius. Patricius in that place ſetteth downe foure diſcommodities of the Pile. Firſt, a furious and hot ſpirited enemie will eaſily preuent the darting of the Pile, with a nimble and ſpeedy cloſe: And ſo wee read, that in the battell which Cæſar had with Ariouiſtus, the Germaines came ſo violently vpon them, that the ſouldiers caſt away their piles, and betooke them to their ſwords. And likewiſe, in that woorthy battell betweene Cateline and Marcus Petreius, they caſt away their piles on either part. The ſecond diſcommoditie was, that the piles being ſo heauie, could not be caſt anie diſtance; but were onely ſeruiceable at hand. Thirdly, they could not bee caſt with any aime, or as they ſay, point blanke. And laſtly, the ſouldiers were to take aduantage of ground backward when they threw them: which might eaſily diſorder their troopes, if they were not very well experienced.

Saluſt.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe laſt thing which I obſerue in this ſpecialitie, is, that the legionarie ſouldiers had no other offenſiue weapon, but one pile or two at the moſt, and their ſwords. By which it may bee gathered, that all their victories came by buckling at handy-blowes; for, they came alwaies ſo neere before they caſt their pile, that they left themſelues no more time then might conueniently ſerue them to draw their ſwords: neither would their Armes of defence, which was compleat, beſides a large target which they caried on their left arme, ſuffer them to make any long purſuit, or continued chaſe, whenſoeuer a light armed enemy did make any ſpeedie retrait; as will more plainly appeare by that which followeth.

CHAP. IX.

The Heluetians, fainting in the battell, retire to a *Hill: the Romans follow after, and the* battell is continued.

(·.·)

IT vvas a great hinderance to the Galles in their fight, that manie of their Targets vvere ſtrooke through, and tied together vvith one fall of a pile: for, ſo it happened, that it could neither be pulled out by reaſon of the bowing of the Iron, nor could they vſe their left hand for the defence of themſelues. Whereby it fell out, that many of them (after a vvearifome toile) did caſt away their targets, and fought naked, and vnarmed. At length, fainting vvith wounds, they began to giue place, and retraited to a Hill a mile off. Cæſar.

The Hill beeing taken, and the Legions following on to driue them frõ thence, the Boÿ and Tulingi, to the number of fifteene thouſand, beeing in the Reare of the Enemy, to guard the lagge of their Army, ſetting on our men, as they vvere in purſuit of the reſt, did charge them vpon the open ſide, and beganne to incloſe them about: which, the Heluetians, that had got the Hill, perceiuing, beganne againe to fal vpon our men, & renewed the battell. The Romaines dividing themſelues, turned their Enſignes two vvaies; the firſt and ſecond Armie fought againſt the Heluetians that returned from the Hill, and the third battell tooke charge of them that ſtood ready to incloſe them about. And heere the fight vvas doubtfull and furious for a long time; vntill at length they were no longer able to indure the violence of the legionarie ſouldiers: and ſo one part betooke themſelues as at the firſt, to the Hill; and the other, to the place where their Carts and baggage were lodged.

And hitherto there vvas not one man ſeene to haue turned his backe in all this conflict; although the fight continued from the ſeauenth houre vntill the euening.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Enſignes of the Romaines.

CONcerning the Enſignes of the Romaines; wee are to vnderſtand that the chiefeſt Enſigne of euery Legion, was an Eagle: which alwaies attended vpon the Primipile or chiefe Centurion of the ſaid Legion. The Enſigne of a Maniple was, either a Hand or a Dragon, a Woolfe or a Sphinx; as it appeareth (beſides the teſtimonie of hiſtorie) by the Columne of Traiane in Rome, wherein the Enſignes are figured, with ſuch purtraitures: ſo that theſe Enſignes, reſembling the proportions of liuing creatures, had their fore-parts alwaies caried that way which the legions were to march, or where they were to fight. And therefore in this hiſtory, by the aſpect and carying of the Enſignes, the front of the Armie was commonly noted: as in this place it is ſaid, that the Enſignes of the firſt and ſecond battell, were caried towards the hill, whither the Heluetians had made their retrait; & the Enſignes of the third battell looked another way, towards the *Boij* and *Tulingi*, which ſtood on the foote of the hill. By which is ſignified, how the legions were diuided to reſiſt the brunt of the double incounter.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The diuiſion of their day.

CONcerning the time of the day: wee are to vnderſtand, that the Romaines vſed not the ſame diuiſion of the day as we commonlie doe: for, they diuided their artificiall (which is the ſpace betweene ſunne riſing and ſetting) into twelue equall parts, which the Aſtronomers called vnequall or planetarie houres. The firſt houre of the day beganne alwaies at ſunne riſing; the ſixt houre was alwaies high noone; and the twelfth houre was ſunne ſetting. And, as the day wexed longer or ſhorter, ſo theſe houres were either greater or leſſe: neither did they agree with equall or equinoctiall houres, ſuch as are now vſed, but onely at the *Aequinoctium*: ſo that by this manner of reckoning, *ab hora ſeptima ad veſperum*, is meant, the battell beganne about one of the clocke, according to our Computation, & continued vntill the euening. The like we muſt vnderſtand, throughout this whole hiſtorie, as often as there is mention made of the circumſtance of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Heluetians continue their fight at the cariages: but at length they left the field, and marched towards Langiers.

(·.·)



N like manner, the fight was kept on foote at the cariages, vntill it was farre in the night; the place beeing fortified vvith Cartes in ſteed of a Rampier: and the Enemy caſting their vveapons from the vpper ground, and vvith darts and lauelins, vnder the vvaggons, and from between the wheeles, did vvound and gall many of our men. After a long conflict, our ſouldiers tooke their cariages and their Campe: vvherein Orgetorix daughter, and one of his ſonnes vvere taken. There vvere ſaued out of that battell, about one hundred and thirtie thouſand perſons; vvho marching continually all that night, and making no ſtay in any place, came the fourth day into the confines of the Lingones: for, by reaſon of the ſouldiers hurts, and the buriall of the ſlaine, wherein there was ſpent three daies, there vvas no purſuit made after them. Caſar. Langres.

OBSERVATION.

IF we conſider the nature of the action, and looke into the true cauſe of their ouerthrow, as farre as the right ſenſe of the hiſtorie ſhall direct our iudgement, wee ſhall find valour not to be wanting in the Heluetians, but rather ſuperlatiuely abounding in the Romans. For, that vehement opinion of their valiancie and manhood, which caried them out of the ſtreights of the Country, to ſeek larger fortunes in other kingdoms, was not ſo abated with the loſſe of the fourth part of their Hoſt at the riuer Arar; nor with the terrible furie of thoſe veteran legions: but it yielded this effect, which Cæſar in his eſtimate of valour thought memorable, that for fiue houres ſpace or more, there was not one man ſeene to haue turned his backe. Their maner of imbattailing, had not the Romaines been the enemie, was vnreſiſtable. For, beeing caſt into a Phalanx, which in the Plaines of Aſia had made Alexander the great and the Macedonians famous, they did as farre ſurpaſſe any other forme of imbattelling (ſuppoſing that the conueniencie of the place did fit that diſpoſition) wherein the ſtrength of the whole is diuided into many particulars, as the violence of a great body exceedeth the force & motion of his parts, when it is diuided into ſmaller cantons. For, as in a phalanx, many particular ſouldiers are by a cloſe & cõpact order incorporated into one entire body: ſo their ſeuerall vertues are gathered into one head, & are as parts vnited into one general force; which eaſily ſwaloweth vp the ability of many other leſ-

quantities, into which a greater ſtrength is equally diuided.

The aduantage of the place which they got by retrait, & the double charge wherewith they ingaged the Romaines, both in front and flank, was able in an indifferent conflict, to haue made Fortune fugitiue, and beare armes on their ſide: or at the leaſt, ſo to haue ſteemed the ſwelling tide of victorie, which carried the Romaines ſo violently in the chaſe, that they might haue beene equall ſharers in the honor of the day; had it not followed from an Ocean of valour, whoſe courſe could not be hindered with any ſtops and oppoſitions, vntill it came to that height, which true valour and vnexampled reſolution affected. And yet the height of this courage, could not ſo allay the heat of the Heluetians furie; but it brake forth into dangerous flames, when it came to the place where their cariages were laid, and coſt much bloud and many mens liues before they quitted the place: for, they fought with that ſpirit and induſtrie, as though they meant to make triall, whether their fortune would proue no better in the night then it had done in the day.

The ouerthrowe of the Tigurine Canton at the riuer Arar, proceeded rather from want of good directions (which is the leſſe to be maruelled at, conſidering they had no chiefe Commaunder as wee read of) then from any defect of valour: for, the rules of Militarie gouernment, require eſpeciall care in paſſing ouer a water; for, then eſpecially, an Armie is in greateſt danger, when it is diſordered and diuided. And therefore the Romaines atchiued this victorie by the horrible vigilancy (as Tully calleth it) of their Cõmander: who alwaies watched *opportunitates rei bene gerendæ*, as neceſſary and ſpeedy meanes to ouercome in all his warres.

CHAP. XI.

Cæſar, after three daies reſpite, followeth after the *Heluetians: he taketh them to mercy, and* ſendeth them backe againe to the Countrey.

Cæſar.

Cæſar ſent Letters and Meſſengers to the Lingones, forbidding to ſupply them, either vvith Corne, or any other thing; vvhich if they did, hee vvould eſteeme of them as of the Heluetians. Himſelfe, after three daies reſpite, followed after vvith all his forces. The Heluetians, preſſed with the want of all neceſſarie prouiſions, ſent Commiſsioners vnto him, to treat of their reddition. Who, meeting him on the vvay, caſt themſelues at his feete; and vvith humble vvords and teares, deſired Peace. Beeing commaunded to attend in the place they then were, they accordingly obaied. Cæſar, being come vp vnto them, required hoſtages, together vvith their Armes and ſeruants; as alſo the fugitiues that vvere fledde vnto them.

While

While thoſe things vvere ſought out, and brought, in the night time, ſix thouſand men or there-abouts, of the Canton, called Verbigene, *vvhether mooued through feare of beeing executed, after their Armes were giuen vp, or induced with hope of eſcaping (as thinking that amongſt ſuch a multitude of people, that were there to be rendred, their flight ſhould not be miſſed, or at leaſt vvould be concealed) did in the beginning of the night, leaue the Heluetian Camp, & made towards the Rhene, and the confines of the Germaines.*

Cæſar, vnderſtanding through whoſe territories they paſſed, commaunded them to ſeeke them out, and bring them back againe, if they would be blameleſſe in that behalfe: And being brought back, dealt with them as enemies. All the reſt, after Hoſtages, Armes and fugitiues were giuen in, hee receiued to mercie; and commaunded the Heluetians, Tulinges, and Latobrigs, to returne into their Country from whence they came. And foraſmuch, as hauing loſt all their prouiſion of Corne, there remained nothing at home to ſatisfie hunger, hee gaue order to the Allobroges to ſupply them with Corne; and willed the Heluetians to reedifie their Townes and Citties, that they had before deſtroied & forſaken. Which he did ſpecially for this cauſe; that the Germaines inhabiting beyond the Rhene, might not be inuited vvith the richneſſe of that ſoile, to ſeate themſelues ſo neer neighbours to the Prouince of Gallia, and the Allobroges. The Boij, at the mediation of the Heduans, as knowing them to be men of great valour, were permitted to dwell in their Country; to whom they gaue lands and poſſeſſions, and receiued them into the ſame liberties and immunities, as they themſelues inioyed.

In the Heluetian Campe was found a Liſt, or Regiſter, vvrit in Greeke, and brought to Cæſar, containing by pole, the vvhole number that left their Country, how many of them were able to beare Armes: & in like maner, the boies, old men and women, were inrolled apart by themſelues. The ſummary wherof was, that the whole number of the Heluetians, amounted to 263 *thouſand, the Tulinges to* 36 *thouſand, the Latobriges to* 14, *the Rauracks to* 23, *the Boij to* 32. *Of theſe there were that bare Armes,* 192 *thouſand. The totall of all, vvere* 368 *thouſand. A view being taken by Cæſars appointment, of thoſe that returned home, there were found* 110 *thouſand.*

OBSERVATION.

THe directions concerning their rendry & returne, were very ſound, and of good conſequence. For firſt, in that he cõmanded them to attend his comming, in the place where they were, hee tooke away all motions of new trouble, which often remoues might haue cauſed, by the opportunity of ſome accident which might haue happened: aſſuring himſelfe, that their aboad in that place would increaſe their miſeries, and conſequently ripen that deſire of peace which they made ſhew of; cõſidering that the Lingones, in whoſe territories they were, durſt not for feare of Cæſars diſpleaſure, furniſh them with any neceſſaries in that extremitie. Touching the ſecuritie, which the Romaines required, of the loyaltie of ſuch people as they conquered; their maner was to take as hoſtages, a ſufficient number of the men

children of the chiefeſt men of that Nation: whoſe liues depended vpon their Parents fidelitie, and ended with the firſt ſuſpicion of their rebellion. Which cuſtome, beſides the preſent good, promiſed the like or better ſecuritie to the next age; when as thoſe children by conuerſation and acquaintance ſhould be ſo affected to the Romaine Empire, that returning to their own country, their actions might rather tend to the aduauncement thereof, then any way be preiudiciall to the ſame. And, leaſt the loue of libertie and freedome, ſhould preuaile more with them, then that affection which Nature had inioyned them to beare to their children; he did what hee could to take away the meanes and inſtruments of their rebellion, by cauſing them to deliuer vp ſuch Armes & weapons as were there preſent: and ſo to become ſutable to that petition of peace which they had made.

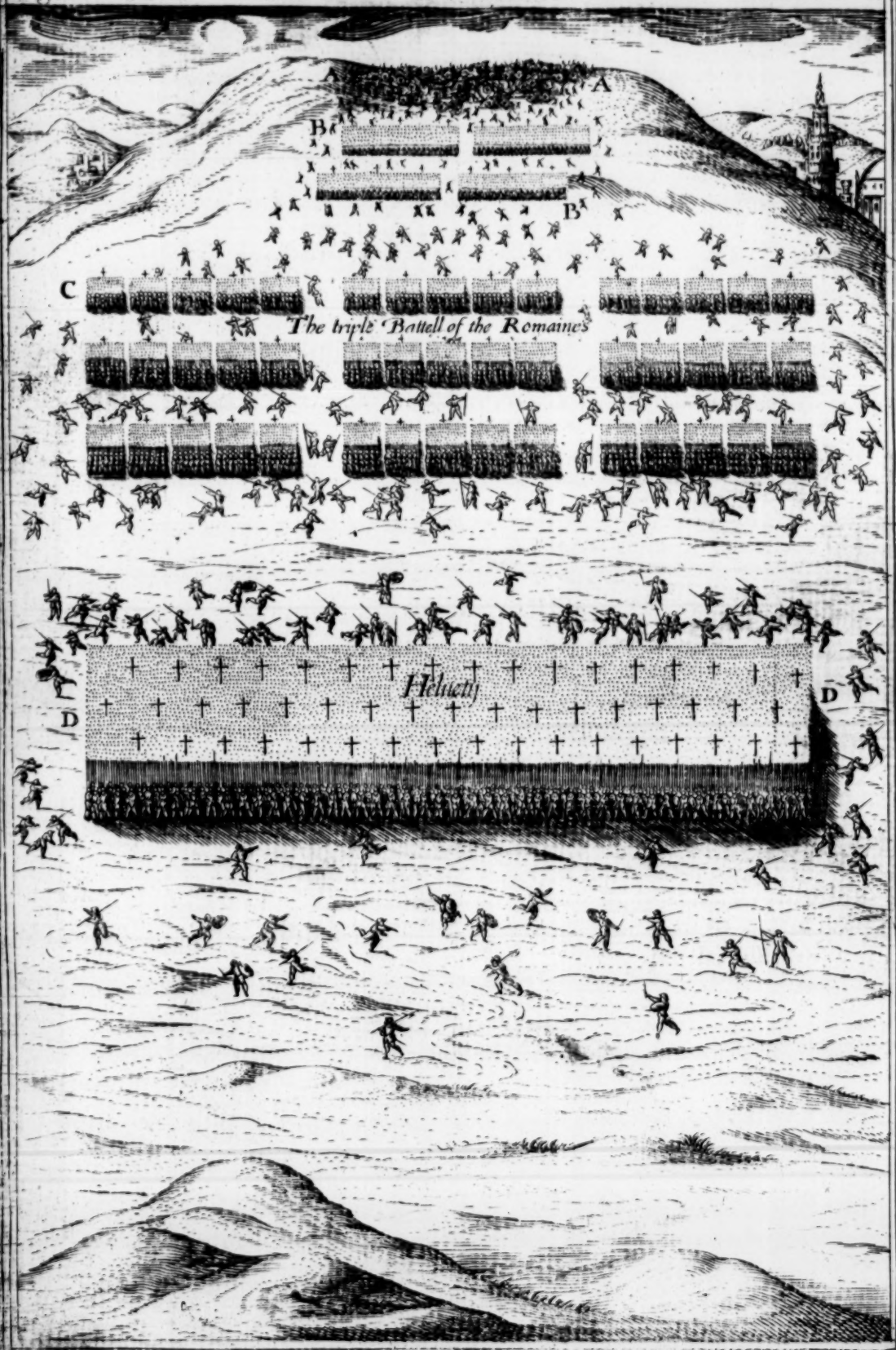
The ſumme of all is this; he corrected the inſolencie of a furious people, and reduced them to a feeling of their owne madneſſe. He kept them from ſacking the poſſeſsions of many thouſands, in the continent of Gallia; and ſent them backe againe to continue their name and Nation, in the place where they firſt inhabited; which continueth vnto this day. And thus we ſee, that there is no humour ſo head-ſtrong, nor ſo backt with ſtrength of circumſtances, but it may meete with a remedie to qualifie the inſolencie thereof, and make it ſubiect to correction and controlement.

CHAP. XII.

The States of Gallia congratulate Cæſars victorie: *they call a councell, and diſcouer their inward* griefe, concerning Ariouiſtus and *his forces.*

Cæſar. *THe Heluetian warre beeing thus ended, the Princes and chiefe men of all the States of Gallia, came to Cæſar, to congratulate the happineſſe of this victorie; inſomuch as they vvell vnderſtood, that albeit the people of Rome, had by the courſe of this warre reuenged the iniuries vvhich heere-to-fore they had done vnto them: yet neuertheleſſe, the iſſue thereof did redound no leſſe profitable to the peace of Gallia, then to the Romaine Empire; foraſmuch as the Heluetians, left their houſes and Country, abounding with all plenty and proſperitie, for no other purpoſe, but to inuade the vvhole Country of Gallia, & to bring it in ſubiection to themſelues; and, chuſing out of that large Continent, ſome fitte, and fruitefull place of habitation, to make the reſt of the States their Tributaries: And required further, that with his good leaue they might call a generall aſſembly at a day prefixed, of all the States of Gallia, foraſmuch as they had matters of great importance to be handled, which they deſired (with a common conſent) to*

THE BATTEL WHICH CÆSAR HAD



WITH THE HELVETIANS.



to preferre to his consideration. Which beeing graunted, and the day of meeting appointed, they bound themselues by oath, not to reueale the causes of their assembly, but to such as should be designed by common Councell.

The Parlement beeing broken vp, the same Princes returned to Cæsar, and desired that they might in secret treat vvith him, of the safety of themselues, & all the rest: vvhich beeing granted, cast themselues in lamentable manner at his feete, contending vvith as great earnestnes, that those things vvhich they deliuered, might not be reuealed, as they did to haue their petition graunted: forasmuch as they saw, that the discouerie of such declarations as they propounded, would necessarily pull vpon them most grieuous afflictions.

Dinitiacus the Heduan, in the name of the rest, deliuered; that Gallia was diuided into two factions: the Hedui were the head of the one, and the Auerni of the other. These two States, contending many yeeres for the principalitie, the Auerni, with the Sequans their Clients, hired the Germaines to take their part; of whom, at first, there passed ouer the Rhene some fifteene thousand: but afterwards, these barbarous people, hauing tasted the plentie & ciuilitie of the Galles, drew ouer many more, that now there were no lesse then one hundred & twentie thousand. With these, the Hedui & their Clients, had once or oftener fought; but the successe sorted to their owne calamitie, & the vtter ouerthrowe of their Nobilitie and Senate: vvith which losses, they were so broken and decaied, that where-as heeretofore, as well by their owne credit, as by the fauour of the people of Rome, they strooke a great stroake throughout all Gallia, they vvere now driuen to deliuer the chiefest of their State, as pledges to the Sequans, and to binde themselues by oath, neuer to seeke their release or freedome, nor to implore the aide of the people of Rome, nor to seeke meanes to free themselues from their soueraignty; onely himselfe, of all the Heduans, could not be brought to take that oath, or to giue his children as hostages: for which cause he fled to Rome, and besought helpe of the Senate, beeing no way obliged to the contrary, either by oath or hostages.

But it so fell out, that the victorie became more grieuous to the Sequans then to the Heduans; for-that Arioui∫tus, king of the Germaines, was planted in their territories: and beeing alreadie possest of a third part of their Country, vvhich vvas the best part of all Gallia, did now require the Sequans to forgoe another third part, for-that a few months before, there vvere come vnto him twentie-foure thousand Harudes, to whom lands and possessions vvere to bee allotted. Whereby it vvould come to passe within a few yeeres, that all the Galles vvould be driuen out of their dwellings, and all the Germaines vvould come ouer the Rhene; for, there was no comparison betweene Gallia and Germanie, either in richnesse of soile or fashion of life.

Concerning Arioui∫tus, after he had once defeated the Galles in a battell, neer Amagetobrig, he caried himselfe very cruelly, and insolently, requiring the children of all the Nobility for hostages, & shewing strange examples of torture vpon them. If any thing vvere done, not according to his commaund or desire, hee would easilie shew himselfe to be a barbarous, fierce and hasty man; whose tyrannie they could no longer indure: and vnlesse there were help to be found in Cæsar and

and the people of Rome, all the Galles muſt as the Heluetians did, forſake their Countrey, and ſeeke new houſes, and ſeates of habitation, farre remote from the Germaines, and try their fortunes, what-euer befell them. If theſe things ſhould happely be diſcouered to Arioviſtus, he would doubtleſſe take a ſeuere reuenge of all the pledges in his cuſtodie. Cæſar might by his owne authority, or the preſence of his Armie, or by the renowne of his late victory, or by the countenaunce of the people of Rome, keepe the Germaines from tranſporting any more Colonies into Gallia, and defend it from the iniuries of Arioviſtus. This ſpeech beeing deliuered by Dinitiacus, all that were preſent, vvith much weeping beſought Cæſar to giue them reliefe.

Cæſar obſerued, that onely the Sequans of all the reſt, did no ſuch matter, or were ſo affected as the others vvere; but with their heads hanging downe, looked mournefully vpon the ground: and wondering at it, asked them the cauſe thereof. To vvhich they made no reply, but ſtood ſilent, with the ſame countenaunce of ſorow. And hauing oftentimes iterated his demaund, without gaining any word of aunſwere; Dinitiacus the Heduan, replied, that the ſtate of the Sequans, was heerein more miſerable and grieuous then the reſt; that they of all others, durſt not complaine, or implore aide, although it were in ſecret: as hauing before their eyes the crueltie of Arioviſtus being abſent, no leſſe then if he were preſent. And the rather, for that other men had ſafe meanes of flying away: but the Sequans, hauing receiued Arioviſtus into their Country, and made him Maiſter of their townes, were neceſſarily to vndergoe all miſeries.

Theſe things being knowne, Cæſar incouraged the Galles with good vvords, and promſed them to haue a care of that matter, as hauing great hope, that by his meanes and power, Arioviſtus ſhould bee forced to offer no further iniuries. And thereupon diſmiſſed the Councell.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN this relation, there are diuers points woorthily recommended to the diſcretion of ſuch, as are willing to bee directed by other mens miſaduentures. As firſt, into what extremities ambition doth driue her thirſty fauourites, by ſuppreſsing the better faculties of the ſoule, and ſetting ſuch vnbridled motions on foote, as cary men headlong into moſt deſperate attempts. For, as it had deſerued commendation in either faction, ſo to haue caried their emulation, that by their owne meanes & ſtrength applied to the rule of good gouerment, their authoritie might wholly haue ſwaied the inclination of the weaker ſtates: ſo was it moſt odious in the Sequani, to call in forraine forces, to ſatisfie the appetite of their vntempered humor; and in the end, were accordingly rewarded.

Secondly, it appeareth how dangerous a thing it is, to make a ſtranger a ſtickler in a quarrell which ciuill diſſenſion hath broched, when the partie that called him in, ſhall not be as able to refuſe his aſsiſtance vpon occaſion, as he was willing to entertaine it for aduantage. Laſtly, the often diſcontents of theſe

these States shew the force of a present euill, which possesseth so vehementlie the powers of the soule, that any other calamitie, either already past, or yet to come, how great soeuer, seemeth tolerable and easie, in regard of that smart which the present griefe inflicteth.

So the Sequani, chose rather to captiuate their libertie to the Barbarisme of a sauage Nation, then to indure the Hedui to take the hand of them. And againe, to make themselues vassalls to the Romans, rather then indure the vsurping crueltie of the Germaines. And finally (as the sequell of the historie will discouer) to hazard the losse of life and Country, then to suffer the taxes & impositions of the Romans: So predominant is the present euill in mens affections, and so it preuaileth at the seate of out iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

The reasons that mooued Cæsar to vndertake this warre.

Caesar.

MAny vvere the inducements which mooued him to take that businesse to hart; As first, that the Heduans, who were oftentimes stiled by the Senate with the title of Bretheren, Cosins and Allies, vvere in the seruitude and thraldome of the Germaines, and that their hostages vvere with Ariouistus and the Sequans: vvhich in so great a soueraigntie of the people of Rome, he tooke to be very dishonourable, both to himselfe and the Common-weale; as also, for-that hee saw it very dangerous for the Romaine Empire, that the Germaines should accustome, by little and little, to flocke in such multitudes into Gallia. Neither did he thinke he could moderate or restraine such fierce & barbarous people; but, that hauing possessed all the Continent of Gallia, they would, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, breake out into the Prouince, and so into Italy: especially the Sequans; beeing diuided from the Prouince but with the riuer Rhone.

These things he thought fitte with all speede to preuent: and the rather, for-that Ariouistus vvas growne to that pride and arrogancie, as was not to be suffered. For vvhich respect, he thought it expedient to send Embassadours vnto him, to appoint some indifferent place for parlee; for-that he had to treat vvith him, concerning publique affaires, and some matters that did much import both of them.

OBSERVATIONS.

The authoritie of the Romã Generals.

I May heere take an occasion, to speake somewhat concerning the authoritie of the Roman Generals, which we see to be very large; considering that Cæsar of himselfe, without any further leaue of the Senate & people of Rome (for what may be gathered by this historie) did

did vndertake a warre of that conſequence, and put in ieopardie the Legions, the Prouince, or what other intereſt the Romans had in Gallia.

Wherein we are to vnderſtand, that when the ſtate of Rome did allotte the gouernment of any Prouince to a Proconſull, they did likewiſe recommend vnto him, the carefull managing of ſuch accidents, as might any way concerne the good of that regiment. For, conſidering that ſuch cauſes as may trouble a well ordered gouernment, are as well externall and forraine, as internall, and bred within the bounds of that Empire: it had been to ſmall purpoſe, to haue giuen him onely authoritie, to maintaine a courſe of wholeſome gouernment at home; and no meanes to take away ſuch oppoſitions, which forraine accident might ſet vp againſt him. And ſo we ſee, that Cæſar vndertooke the Heluetian warre, in regard of the ſafetie of the Prouince: and this againe with Arioviſtus, leaſt the Germans ſhould ſo multiply in Gallia, that the Prouince it ſelfe might at length bee indangered. Neither had their Generals authoritie onely to vndertake theſe warres: but the abſolute diſpoſition alſo of the whole courſe thereof, whether it were to treat, capitulate, compound, or what els they thought conuenient for the aduauncement of the Common-weale, did wholly reſt vpon their direction; *repub. bene geſta*, beeing the ſtile of the warrant for all their actions.

Neither may we thinke, that any ſubordinate or depending authoritie, can be ſo powerfull in the courſe of buſineſſes, as that which abſolutely commaundeth without controlement, and proceedeth according to the opportunitie of time and occaſion, further then either preſcription or limitation can direct it. And therefore, whenſoeuer the Romaine affaires were diſtreſſed, and driuen to an exigent, they created a Dictator, that had *regiam poteſtatem*, ſuch an abſolute commaund, that whatſoeuer power reſted either in the Conſuls, or in the Tribunes, in the Senate, or in the people, it gaue way to the greatneſſe of that Magiſtrate; that there might bee no let or retracting power to weaken that courſe, which nothing but an abſolute cõmaund could eſtabliſh, for the good of the Common-weale. And yet notwithſtanding this abſolute gouernment, they attributed ſuch power to the courſe of humane actions, that by the puniſhment which they inflicted vpon diſſolute and vnfortunate Leaders, they ſeemed to acknowledge, that no man, how circumſpect ſoeuer, could promiſe more then likelihoods or probabilities of good fortune, as farre foorth as his meanes and induſtry could atchieue it. For, old M. Fabius, pleading for the life of his gallant ſonne, and oppoſing the rigour of Papyrius the Dictator, with examples of antiquitie, ſaith: *Populi quidem, penes quem poteſtas omnium rerum eſſet, ne iram quidem vnquam atrociorem fuiſſe in eos qui temeritate atque inſcitia exercitus amiſiſſent, quàm vt pecunia eos multaret: capite anquiſitum ob rem malè geſtam de imperatore nullum ad eam diem eſſe.* The people, ſaith he, in whom the ſoueraigne power of things conſiſteth, neuer ſhewed greater diſpleaſure againſt ſuch, as had loſt an Armie, either by raſhneſſe or vnskilfulneſſe, then impoſing a fine vpon them: but, to bring the life of a Generall in queſtion for failing in his indeauours, was neuer heard of to that day.

Liuie lib. 8.

The condition of the inferiour Officers of their Campe, was farre otherwiſe in

in regard of Militarie diſcipline: for, preſcription guided them in all their ſeruices, and the chiefeſt part of their duetie was obedience; although they ſaw euident reaſon to the contratie, and found their directions vnperfect in that behalfe: and therefore Cæſar ſaith vpon that occaſion: *Aliæ ſunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad præſcriptum, alter liberè ad ſummam rerum conſulere debet.* The office of a Legate or Lieutenant, diſſereth from that of a Generall: the one doing all things by preſcription; & the other freely deliberating of whatſoeuer may concerne the cauſe. And this courſe the Romans held, concerning the authoritie of their Generals. *Lib. 3. de bello Ciuili.*

CHAP. XIIII.

Arioviſtus his anſwere: a ſecond Embaſſage, *with the ſucceſſe thereof.*

(·.·)

TO that Embaſſage, Arioviſtus anſwered; That if his occaſions had required Cæſars aſſiſtance, he vvould haue furthered them with his owne preſence: and hee thought it as reaſonable, that if it vvere in his meanes to pleaſure the Romans, Cæſar ought not to thinke much of the like labour. For his owne part, hee durſt not come into thoſe parts of Gallia vvhich Cæſar poſſeſſed, vvithout an Armie; nor could draw an Armie to a head without great trouble & expence. The thing that he moſt wondered at, was, that the Romaines, or Cæſar, had to doe in that part of Gallia, vvhich the law of Armes had made his inheritance. Cæſar.

Vpon the returne of this aunſwere, Cæſar framed a ſecond Embaſſage; the purport vvhereof was: Foraſmuch as he thus requited the honour vvherewith the people of Rome had beautified his beſt dignity (for, in Cæſars Conſulſhip, the authoritie of their Empire had vouchſafed to eſteeme of him, as a King in his dominions, & as a friend vnto their State) & that he diſdained to admit of a Parlee, concerning the cõmon good; let him knowe, that theſe vvere the things that he required to be performed by him: Firſt, that hee ſhould not ſuffer any more troopes of Germaines to be tranſported ouer the Rhene into Gallia. Secondlie, that he ſhould deliuer vp thoſe Hoſtages which hee had of the Heduans and Sequans; & ſhould ceaſe to moleſt them further vvith war or other iniuries. Theſe things if he did performe, Cæſar vvould aſſure him of a gratefull acceptance on the behalfe of the people of Rome: otherwiſe, foraſmuch as in the Conſulſhips of M. Meſſala, and L. Piſo, the Senate had decreed, That he that ſhould obtaine the gouernment of the Prouince, ſhould as neere as it would ſtand vvith the good of the Common-vveale, indeauour the defence of their Aſſociates and Friends: therefore he would not neglect the iniuries done vnto the Heduans.

To theſe Mandates, Arioviſtus replied: The law of Armes kept this tenure amongſt

mongſt all Nations; That a Conquerour might gouerne a ſubdued people, according as he thought beſt for his owne ſafetie. The people of Rome, did not direct the courſe of their gouernment, by another mans preſcript, but by their own arbitrement: and, as he had not directed the Romans, ſo ought not they to meddle with his proceedings.

The Heduans, hauing tried the fortune of vvarre, vvere by right become his Stipendaries; wherin Cæſar offered great wrong, for-that his comming thither, had made their tribute much leſſe vnto him then before. Touching their Hoſtages; his purpoſe was ſtill to retaine them. Neither vvould hee make any vniuſt warre vpon any of their Aſſociates, if they obſerued the Articles of agreement, and paid their yeerely tribute: but if they failed in that, the fraternity of the Romaines would come too late to their ſuccour. If Cæſar vvould needs vndertake their quarrell; Hee was to let him knowe, that no man euer contended with Arioviſtus, but to his owne deſtruction. Try vvhen he would, he ſhould find what valour conſiſted in the Germaines, that for foureteene yeeres ſpace, were neuer couered with other roofe then the Heauens.

OBSERVATION.

AND thus farre proceeded Cæſar with Ariouiſtus, in debating the wrongs and agrieuances of the Hedui. Wherein appeareth the difference betweene a matter handled according to morall ciuilitie, in tearmes of mildneſſe and pleaſing accent, and that which is rudely deliuered, & dependeth rather vpon the plainneſſe of the project, then ſuted with words fitte for perſwaſion. For, that which Ariouiſtus alleadged, to make good his intereſt in Gallia, was as conſonant to reaſon, as any thing to the contrary vrged by Cæſar.

But as the Lacedemonian ſaid of one, That hee ſpake the truth otherwiſe then it ſhould be ſpoken: ſo it may be ſaid of Ariouiſtus aunſwere, that it wanted that ſweeting humanitie which giueth credit to veritie it ſelfe; foraſmuch as it proceedeth from a well tempered ſpirit, wherin no turbulent paſſion ſeemeth to cõtroll the force of reaſon, nor hinder the ſentence of true iudgement; but rather, ſeaſoning her conceptions with humilitie, doth couertly complaine of open wrong, and ſtrengthen her aſſertions with a pleaſing deliuerie. And therefore, how great ſoeuer the controuerſie be, that partie which exceedeth not the boundes of modeſtie, but maketh mildneſſe his chiefeſt aduocate, will ſo preuaile in any auditorie, that albeit equitie doth diſallow her title; yet the manner of his cariage will cleare him from offering wrong, in that he vſeth the ſequels of innocencie, to proue his intereſt in that which he demaundeth. But to leaue this circumſtance, as onely to be noted, let vs proceed to the vvarre it ſelfe, which I made the ſecond part of this hiſtorie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The *Treuiri* bring newes of one hundred townes-ſhips *of the Sweui, that were come to the Rhene. Cæſar* taketh in Beſanſon: his ſouldiers are ſurpriſed *vvith an extreame feare of the* Germaines.

AT the ſame time, as this anſwere vvas returned to Cæſar, there came likewiſe Embaſſadours from the Heduans and Treuires. The Heduans complained, that the Harudes, lately tranſported into Gallia, did depopulate and waſte their borders, and that they could not buy their peace of Arioviſtus, vvith giuing of Hoſtages for their alleageance. The Treuires brought newes of one hundred townes-ſhips of the Sweui, that vvere come to the riuer Rhene, to ſeeke a paſſage into Gallia, conducted by Naſua and Cimberius, two bretheren. Whereat, Cæſar beeing exceedingly mooued, thought his beſt meanes of preuention to conſiſt in celeritie, leaſt the difficulty of reſiſting ſhould growe greater, when thoſe new forces of the Sweui, vvere ioyned with the power vvhich was already with Arioviſtus. And therefore, hauing prouided Corne, hee made haſte to ſeeke the Germaines. And hauing gone three daies iourney on his way, he had intelligence, that Arioviſtus with all his forces, was gone to take in Beſanſon, the greateſt towne of the Sequans; and that hee vvas three daies iourney on his way already. Cæſar.

Cæſar, knowing how much it imported him to preuent that diſaduantage (foraſmuch as the Towne abounded vvith all neceſſarie prouiſions for vvarre, and vvas ſo ſited, that hee that commaunded it, might prolong the warre at his owne pleaſure: beeing incircled vvith the riuer Alduabis; exeepting a ſmall ſpace of ſixe hundred foote, vvhich was fortified vvith an exceeding high Hill, the foote whereof did at each end ioyne vnto the Riuer, and the Hill ſtrengthened with a wall, and ſo ioyned to the towne) made all the haſte hee could to take the towne, and there left a guarizon. And as hee reſted there a few daies, to make prouiſion of Corne, and other neceſſaries, the Romaines inquiring of the Galles and Marchants, concerning the qualitie of the Germaines; vnderſtood that they were men of a huge ſtature, of courage inuincible, and of great practice and experience in feates of Armes; vvhereof the Galles had oftentimes made triall: For, when they incountered them, they vvere not able to indure ſo much as the ſterneneſſe of their countenaunce, or the fiereeneſſe of their lookes. The vvhole Armie conceiued ſuch a feare thereat, that all mens minds were wonderfullie appalled. This feare beganne firſt amongſt the Tribunes and Commaunders of horſe, and ſuch others as for friendſhip ſake followed Cæſar from Rome, & had ſmall or no skill in matter of vvar. Theſe men, faining ſome one excuſe, & ſome another, of very earneſt buſineſs, which called thē home, deſired leaue to depart. Some others, whō ſhame would not ſuffer to forſake the Campe, bewraied the like le doux.

paſsion in their countenances & hauiour: for, hiding themſelues in their Tents, they either bewailed their deſtanie ſecretly to thẽſelues, or otherwiſe, with their acquaintance and familiar friends. They lamented the danger they were all like to fall into; ſo that throughout the vvhole Campe, there was nothing but making and ſigning of Teſtaments. And through the talke and fearefulnes of theſe men, the old ſouldiers and Centurions, and ſuch as had great experience in the Campe, beganne by little and little to apprehend the terrour wher-with the reſt were amazed: and thoſe that would ſeeme to be leſſe fearefull, ſaid, they feared not the enemy, but the narrowneſſe of the waies, & the greatneſſe of the woods, that were betweene them and Arioniſtus; or otherwiſe they caſt doubts vvhere they might haue proniſion of Corne. And many ſtuck not to tell Cæſar, that vvhenſoeuer he ſhould giue commaundement to march forward, or aduaunce the Standarts, the ſouldiers would refuſe to doe it.

OBSERVATION.

WHerein, for that we find a ſtrange alteration, no way anſwerable to that courage, which a late gotten victorie doth vſually breed in noble ſpirits; it ſhall not bee amiſſe, a little to inſiſt vpon the qualitie of the accident, and to gather ſuch breefe inſtructions from their weakeneſſe, as may beſt ſerue to qualifie the amaſement of horrour, and mittigate the frenſie of ſo violent a paſſion. And albeit my ignorance in the works of Nature, cannot promiſe any ſuch learning, as may diſcouer the true meanes and ſecret motions, whereby a ſore conceiued feare doth trouble the ſenſes, and aſtoniſh the mind; yet ſith the hiſtory offereth it to our ſcanning, giue me leaue onely to note the ſtrangeneſſe of the circumſtance, and rudely to delineat the purtraiture of a beaſt oftener ſeene then wel knowne, vſing the vnwieldie pile for my penſile, and ſuting my ſpeech to a warlike auditorie. I knowe not how it happeneth, but thus it may happen, that when the ſenſes receiue intelligence of an eminent euill, which may either diſpoſſeſſe the ſoule of this earthly manſion, or trouble the quiet wherein ſhee reſteth; the ſpirits (as it ſeemeth) by the direction of their ſoueraigne Miſtreſſe, retire themſelues into the inner cabiners and ſecreter pauillions of the body, where the chiefeſt part of the ſoule is moſt reſident: & ſo they leaue the frontier quarters of her kingdome, naked and vnguarizoned, the better to ſtrengthen that capitall Cittie of the heart, out of which the life cannot flie, but to the vtter ruine and deſtruction of the whole bodie. For, feare is not onelie a perturbation of the ſoule, proceeding from the opinion it hath of ſome euill to come: but it is alſo a contraction, and cloſing vp of the hart, when the blood and the ſpirits are recalled from the outward partes, to aſſiſt that place which giueth life and motion to all the reſt. In this Chaos and confuſion of humours and ſpirits, when the multiplicitie of faculties (which otherwiſe require an ordinate diſtinction in their ſeruice, and by the order of nature, ſhould bee diſpoſed into ſeuerall inſtruments, and be dilated throughout the bodie)

body) are thus blended confuſedly together, the conceptions of the mind, which preſently riſe from theſe aduertiſements, are ſuddenly choaked vvith the diſordered mixture of ſo many ſeuerall properties, and are ſtifled as it were in the throng, before they can be tranſported to our iudgement, or examined by reaſon, for want of that ordinate vniformitie of place which nature requireth in the powers of the mind. And hence proceedeth that amazedneſſe and aſtoniſhment, which ſo daunteth the harts of men, when they are taken with this paſsion, that becauſe the ſoule giueth no counſell, the body can afford no motion, but ſtandeth frozen through the extremitie of the perturbation, benummed in ſenſe, and forſaken of the ſpirits. So we read, that Theophilus the Emperour, in an ouerthrowe which he had giuen him by the Hagerans, was ſtrooken with ſuch an exceſſiue feare, that hee could not betake himſelfe to flight (*Adeo pauor etiam auxilia formidat*) vntill one of his chiefe Commanders ſhaking him by the ſhoulder, as though he were to awake him out of a deep ſleep, threatned him with preſent death, if he would not preuent the ruine of the Empire, by vſing that meanes which was onely left for his ſafetie.

Againe, if in that turbulent conſiſtory, the ſpirits chance diſtinctly to receiue any apprehenſion proceeding from the forging facultie of the ſoule, they carie it preſently to execution, before it be examined by reaſon, and follow the action with ſuch vehemencie, that they leaue no place for better aduice and reknowledgement. And this is the cauſe, that oftentimes through extreamitie of feare, to auoid one euill, we run headlong into a worſe, and find a greater danger in the meanes wee vſe to auoid a leſſe; becauſe reaſon did not firſt trie the apprehenſion, before it was deliuered to externall Agents. And ſo we find in the battell betweene Germanicus and the Almaines, that two groſſe troopes of ſouldiers were driuen into ſuch an extaſie of feare, that taking contrarie courſes to auoid one and the ſame danger, they either of them fledde to that place, which the other had quitted: neither could they bee aduiſed by each others flight, that the places which they ſought after, afforded them no remedie.

And, albeit reaſon be called to counſell, whē a parlee is ſummoned of compoſition, yet it beareth ſo ſmall a ſway in the conſultation, that the will of it ſelfe concludeth to betray vertue to dishonour; and ſo to purchaſe peace, with the loſſe of the ſoules chiefeſt treaſure: which ought euer to bee eſtimated at a higher rate, then any other happineſſe which can betide the mind. For among all the ſenſible things of this world, there is no creature that hath ſuch a confuſed feare, or is more amazed therewith, then man is: neither is there any miſerie greater, or any bondage more ſhamefull, ſeruile, or vile, then this, which maketh men very abiects of all other creatures, to redeeme the euill which the danger threatneth: and then doth ſhame follow after ſo baſe a part, and aggrauate the burthen of the ſinne with lothſome diſgrace, and penitent diſcontentment; adding oftentimes Aloes to Wormewood, and making the end grieuouſer then the beginning. And thus doth danger breed feare, and feare yieldeth to dishonour, and dishonour bringeth ſhame, and ſhame beeing alwaies mingled with wrath & anger, reuengeth it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, & bringeth more perrill then the firſt danger could threaten.

Whereby it appeareth, that as the affections of the mind are bred one of another: ſo, on the contrarie part, ſome are bridled and reſtrained by others; for, as enuie, hatred, & anger, riſe oftentimes of loue, ſo is ioy leſſened with griefe, enuie with mercie, and feare with ſhame.

But, foraſmuch as all ſuch perturbations, proceede of ignorance and inconſiderateneſſe, whereby we thinke that the euill is greater then indeede it is; let vs conſider what diſpoſition of our iudgement, beſt moderateth the violent heat of theſe affections. And firſt, touching the paſſages, whereby the ſoule receiueth her aduertiſments, as they are of diuers natures, the chiefeſt whereof are the eye and the eare: ſo are their auiſos different in qualitie, and require a ſeuerall conſideration to be rightlie diſcerned. The intelligence by the eye, is more certaine then that which commeth by the way of hearing; foraſmuch as the eie is a witneſſe it ſelfe of euery action, whereof it taketh notice; neither is it deceiued in her proper obiect: and therefore, the iudgement is not much troubled, to determine definitiuely how great or how ſmall the danger is, when the relations carie alwaies that certaintie. And, albeit the eare in like manner bee not deceiued in her proper obiect; for it faithfully giueth vp that ſenſe, which ſound hath deliuered vnto it: yet, foraſmuch as the fantaſie hath greater ſcope to coine her vaine conceptions, in regard of the abſence of the action, it is neceſſarie, that the diſcourſing facultie, bee called for an aſſiſtant, before the iudgement can truly determine: and then it will appeare, that the truth doth not alwaies aunſwere the report which is made thereof; inaſmuch as diſeaſed ſpirits, will not ſtick to dilate or qualifie relations, according to the key wherein they themſelues are tuned. And therefore, this firſt commeth to be conſidered of in all ſuch violent commotions, by which of theſe two ſenſes the firſt intelligence was receiued. But concerning the iudgement it ſelfe, this is moſt certaine, that the more it is infected with the corruptions of the fleſh, the more violent are the affections of the ſoule. And againe, the purer the iudgement is, & the higher it is lifted vp from earthly natures, being no further intereſſed therein, then to hold a reſolution of well dooing; the fewer and lighter are the affections, which trouble and moleſt it: for, then it better diſcerneth the truth and falſehood, good or euill that is in things.

To redreſſe this inconuenience, Cæſar betooke himſelfe to the fitteſt & moſt proper remedie: which was by the authoritie of his ſpeech, to reſtore reaſon to her former dignitie, and by diſcourſe, which feare had interrupted in them, to put downe a vſurping paſsion, which had ſo troubled the gouernment of the ſoule; recalling it to the meane of true reſolution, which was to moderate audacitie with warineſſe, but not to choake valour with beaſtly cowardice: for, theſe Oratorie inducing perſwaſions, were not the leaſt point of their diſciplines; conſidering how they framed the inward habite of the mind (beeing the fountaine and beginning of all motion) to giue life and force to thoſe actions, which the ſeueritie of outward diſcipline commanded. For, as lawes and conſtitutions of men, inforce obedience of the bodie: ſo reaſon, and perſwaſions, muſt winne the ſoules conſent: according to that ſaying; *Homines duci volunt, non cogi.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæſar his ſpeech to the Armie, concerning *this feare.*



Cæſar being informed of theſe things, he called a Councell of vvarre, admitting all the Centurions, of what degrees or orders ſoeuer, vnto the ſame: And, beeing thus aſſembled, he greatly blamed them; Firſt, that any man ſhould be ſo inquiſitiue, as to imagine to himſelfe, whither, and vpon what ſeruice they vvere caried. Concerning Arioviſtus, he had in the time of Cæſars Conſulſhippe, moſt earneſtly ſued for the friendſhip of the people of Rome: and why then ſhould any man miſdeeme, that he ſhould ſo vnaduiſedly goe back from his duetie? For his owne part, he was verily perſwaded, that if Arioviſtus once knew his demaunds, & vnderſtood the reaſonable offers that he would make him, he would not eaſily reiect his friendſhip, or the fauour of the people of Rome. But if he were ſo madde, as to make warre vpon them, why ſhould they feare him? or why ſhould they deſpaire, either of their own proweſs, or of Cæſars diligence? For, if it came to that point, the enemie that they vvere to incounter, had beene tried what he could doe twice before; firſt, in the memorie of their fathers, when the Cimbri and Teutoni were vanquiſhed by Marius, at vvhat time the Army merited no leſſe honour then the Generall: and now of late againe, in Italie, at the inſurrection of the bondmen; who were not a little furthered through the practice and diſcipline they had learned of the Romaines. Whereby it might be diſcerned, how good a thing it is to be conſtant & reſolute; inaſmuch, as whom for a time they feared without cauſe, beeing naked and vnarmed, the ſame men afterwards (although well armed, and Conquerers withall) they nobly ouercame. And to be ſhort, theſe vvere no other Germaines, then thoſe whom the Heluetians had vanquiſhed in diuers conflicts; and not onely in their owne Country, where the Heluetians dwelt themſelues, but alſo euen at home at their own doores: and yet the ſame Heluetians were not able to make their party good againſt our Armies.

If any man vvere mooued at the flight and ouerthrowe of the Galles, vpon inquirie he ſhould find, that being wearied with continuall warres (after that Arioviſtus had for many monthes together kept himſelfe within his Campe, in a boggie and fenny Country) and deſpairing of any occaſion of battell, he ſuddenly ſet vpon them as they were diſperſed, and ſo ouercame them, rather by policie then by force. Which, although it tooke place againſt ſauage and vnskilfull people, yet was not Arioviſtus ſo ſimple, as to thinke that hee could inſnare our Armies with the like ſubtilties. As for thoſe that fained the cauſe of their feare, to bee the difficultie of prouiſion of Corne, and the dangerouſneſſe of the way, they ſeemed very arrogant in their conceits, in preſuming to direct their Generall, as if he had not knowne what pertained to his dutie. The Sequans and Lingons, had vndertooke that charge; beſides that, Corne was almoſt ripe euery where in the fields: and what the waies were, ſhould ſhortly be ſeene.

Where-as it vvas giuen out, that the ſouldiers would not obey his Mandates, nor aduaunce their Standarts, he little valued it; for, he was well aſſured, that if an Army refuſed to be obedient to their Generall, it was either becauſe he was thought to be vnfortunate in his enterpriſes; or elſe, for that he was notoriouſly conuicted of Auarice: but the vvhole courſe of his life, ſhould witneſſe his innocencie; and the ouerthrowe of the Heluetians, his happineſſe. And therefore, that which he was minded to haue put off for a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hand; for, the night following, at the fourth watch, hee would diſlodge frō thence: that without further delay, he might vnderſtand, whether ſhame, and reſpect of their dutie, vvould preuaile more vvith them, then feare or cowardiſe. And though he wiſt that no man elſe would follow him; yet notwithſtanding, he would goe with the tenth legion alone, of whom he had no doubt or ſuſpicion, and would take them as a guard to his perſon. Cæſar had chiefely fauoured this legion, and put much truſt in them for their valour.

Vpon the making of this ſpeech, the minds of all men were wonderfully changed; for, it bredde in euery one a great alacritie and deſire to fight: neither did the tenth legion forget to giue him thanks by their Tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them; aſſuring him of their readineſſe to ſet forward to the warre. And then likewiſe, the reſt of the legions made meanes, by the Tribunes of the ſouldiers and Centurions of the firſt Orders, to giue Cæſar ſatisfaction; proteſting, they neither doubted nor feared, nor gaue any cenſure of the iſſue of that vvarre, but alwaies left it to the wiſedome of the Generall.

Their ſatisfaction beeing taken, and a view beeing made of the waies by Dinitiacus (whom, of all the Galles, he beſt truſted) and report being by him made, that in fetching a compaſſe of fiftie miles, hee might carie his Armie in open and champaine Countries; in the fourth watch of the night, according to his former ſaying, he ſet forward.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the ſpeech it ſelfe, are preſented many ſpecialities, both concerning their diſcipline and Militarie inſtructions, which deſerue examination; amongſt which I note, firſt, the extraordinarie number admitted to the Councell; *Omnium ordinum adid concilium adhibitis Centurionibus:* Where-as there were vſually no more admitted to their councell of warre, but the Legates, Queſtor, Tribunes, and the Centurions of the firſt Orders; which I vnderſtand to be the firſt *Haſtate*, the firſt *Princeps*, and the firſt *Pilum* of euery legion. And this is manifeſtly prooued out of the fift Commentarie, where Cicero was beſieged by Ambiorix: in which, amongſt other, there were two valiant Centurions, Pulfio, and Varenus; betweene whom, there was euery yeere great emulation for place of preferment: *& iam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, ſaith Cæſar, that is, they had paſſed by degrees, through the lower orders of the legion, and were very neere the dignitie of the firſt cohort; wherein, as in all the reſt, there were three maniples, and in euery maniple, two orders.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE firſt motiue which he vſeth to recall their exiled iudgement, diſcouered their breach of diſcipline: for, contrarie to the courſe of Militarie gouernment, they had preſumed not onely to make inquirie, but to giue out, whether, and vpon what ſeruice they were caried; which in the rigour of Camp-policie, could not paſſe without due puniſhment: for, what can more contradict the fortunate ſucceſſe of an expedition, then to ſuffer to bee meaſured with the vulgar conceit? or weighed in the ballance of ſuch falſe iudgments? eſpecially, when thoſe weake Cenſors are to be Actors, and Executioners of the deſſigne: for, then, euery man will ſute the nature of the action according to his owne humour; although his humour be led with blindneſſe, & haue no other direction, then an vncertaine apprehenſion of profit, or diſaduantage.

And in this caſe, there cannot be a better preſident then Nature hath preſcribed: for, as naturall Agents, whilſt they concur to produce a worke of abſolute perfection, neither know what they do, nor can diſcerne the things they look vpon; but yield themſelues to be guided by a Moderator of infinite knowledge: ſo ought a multitude to ſubmit their ability to the direction of ſome wiſe and prudent Captaine, that beholdeth the action in true honour; and balanceth the loſſe of many particulars, with the health and ſafetie of the publique good. For, if euery man ſhould preſcribe; who ſhould obay? *Tum neſcire quædam milites, quàm ſcire oportet*, ſaith Otho in Tacitus, vpon the like diſorder: and againe, *Parendo potiùs quam imperia ducum ſciſcitando, res militares continentur.* Which proueth, that the greateſt vertue which is required in a ſouldier, is obedience; as a thing wherein the force of all diſcipline conſiſteth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Whether men haue greater courage in their owne or in a ſtrangers Country.

IN the reaſon which he vſeth to proue their diſparitie of valour, in regard of the Romans, being ſuperiour to the Heluetians, that had oftentimes ouerthrowne the Germans; hee ſtrengtheneth the argument with the aduantage of the place: and ſaith, that the Heluetians had put them to the worſt; not onely where the Heluetians dwelt themſelues, but euen in their owne Country, and at home at their owne doores: as though an enemie were charged with greater furie in the preſence of a mans owne Country and deareſt friends, then in a ſtrange & vnknowne land.

This queſtion was handled in the Romaine Senate, by Fabius Maximus, & Scipio, ſurnamed Africanus, when they ſate in councell how to ridde their Country of that ſubtile Carthaginian, that for ſixteene yeeres ſpace, had fretted like a canker the beautie of Italie, waſted the land, and brought it to deſolation, ſacked their confederates, or alienated them from their dutie, ouerthrowne their Armies, ſlaine their Conſuls, and threatned their imperiall Cittie with ruine and deſtruction. Fabius, vpon the motion to make warre in Africk,

ſtrick, thought it agreeable to nature, firſt to defend that which was their owne, before they atte mpted other mens poſſeſſions: when peace was eſtabliſhed in Italy, then let warre be ſet on foote in Africk; and firſt let them be without feare themſelues, before they went about to terrifie others: for, thoſe forces afforded little hope of victorie in another kingdom, that were not able to free their owne Country from ſo dangerous an enemie. Alcibiades ouerthrew the Athenian Common-weale with the like counſell: and concerning Hannibal, let them be ſure of this, that they ſhould find him a ſorer enemy in his own Country, then in another kingdome.

Scipio, on the other ſide, caried on with the honour of ſo glorious an enterpriſe, wanted neither reaſons nor examples to impugne Fabius his authoritie: for, he ſhewed that Agathocles, the Syracuſian king, beeing a long time afflicted with the Punick warre, auerted the Carthaginean from Cicily, by tranſporting his forces into Africk: but how powerfull it was to take away feare, by retorting danger vpon the Oppreſſor, could there bee a preſenter example then Hanniball? There was great difference in the nature of the action, betweene the ſpoile and waſte of a ſtrangers Country, and to ſee their owne natiue Country waſted with ſword and deſtruction: *Plus animi eſt inferenti periculum, quàm propulſanti.* For, he that inuadeth anothers kingdome, eaſily diſcouereth both the aduantage which may be taken againſt the enemy, and the ſtrength wher-vpon he reſteth. And amongſt the variable euents of warre, many vnexpected occaſions ariſe, which preſent victorie to him that is ready to take it; and many ſtrange chances ſo alter the courſe of things, that no foreſight can diſcerne what may happen.

With theſe, and the like remonſtrances, this queſtion of no leſſe doubt then importance, was handled by two famous & woorthy Captaines, whoſe minds (as it ſeemed) were intangled with ſuch particular affections for the preſent, as might rather draw them to wreſt reaſon to their owne humour, then to determine in ſinceritie of iudgement, vpon what ſpecialities the truth was grounded, in the contrarietie of their poſitions. But, to leaue other commodities or diſaduantages, which are annexed vnto either part, I will onely ſet down ſome reaſons, to proue how valour and courage may either grow or be abated, by the accidents which riſe in a warre of that nature. And firſt, this cannot be denied, the teſtimonie of an vnfallible truth beeing grounded vpon the propertie of mans nature; that as aduantage bringeth hope of victory, and hope conceiueth ſuch ſpirits as vſually follow, when the thing which is hoped for, is effected; and thereby the courage becommeth hardie and reſolute in victorie: ſo on the other ſide, diſaduantage and danger breed feare, and feare ſo checketh valour, and controlleth the ſpirits, that vertue and honour giue place to diſtruſt, and yield vp their intereſt to ſuch directors, as can afford nothing but diffidencie and irreſolution.

Neither can it be denied, but he that ſetteth vpõ an enemy in a ſtrange countrey, and ſo preuenteth ſuch attempts as might be made vpon his owne territories, hath that aduantage which giueth life vnto action, and ſteeleth his enterpriſe with reſolution. For, beſides the commoditie of leauing when he liſt, and

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proceeding as farre foorth as hee ſhall find his meanes able to fortunate his attempts; he knoweth that the ſtrife & controuerſie is not for his natiue Country, which he quietly enioyeth, & is reſerued at all times to entertaine him, howſoeuer Fortune ſhall fauour his deſſignes: but, for a Strangers kingdom, which his ambition thirſteth after; wherein, foraſmuch as the riches and wealth of that State, are laid before them, as the recompence of their labour, beſides the honour which is atchieued thereby, euery mans valour ſoareth at a high pitch, and their courage is increaſed, without any trouble or diſturbance of the other faculties of the mind. But, when a Prince ſhall be aſſaulted in his owne kingdome, and in the ſight of his ſubiects haue his land conſumed with ruine and deſtruction; the danger will ſo diſturbe the powers of the ſoule, that through the turbulent diſorder of the weaker parts, the better faculties will loſe their prerogatiue of aduiſing how the enemy may bee beſt reſiſted; when as euerie man ſhall apprehend the terrour of the danger, and few or none conceiue the true meanes to auoide it.

And albeit the preſence of ſuch things as are deareſt to his ſoule, as the pietie and reſpect of aged parents, the tender affection towards wife and children, are ſufficient to raiſe valour to the higheſt point of reſolution; yet the motiues are of ſuch weight, as will rather make them diffident of their owne worth, as vnſufficient to maintaine ſo great a cauſe, then hold them in that key which true honour affecteth: foraſmuch as the terrour and feare of ſo great a danger, will preſent a greater meaſure of woes to their mind, then the hope of victorie can afford them ioy.

Hence therefore groweth the difference, between him that ſeeketh to maintaine that eſtate which he hath in poſſeſsion by force of Armes; and an other, that ſeeketh to increaſe his meanes by valour. For, the former is preſented with the danger of loſing all his eſtate; which affrighteth and troubleth, hauing no other reward propounded vnto him: and the other looketh vpon the aduantage which hee gaineth by ouercomming; which much increaſeth his valour, without any loſſe or diſaduantage, if hee chance to bee put to the worſt. And therefore, there is alwaies great odds betweene him that hath already loſt his goods, and is by that meanes become deſperate, hauing nothing further to loſe; and another, that yet keepeth his ſubſtance, but is in danger to loſe it: for, feare will ſo diſmay his mind, that he will rather diſtruſt his owne abilitie, then entertaine a reſolution of valour.

To prooue this, wee neede not ſeeke other examples, then thoſe imperiall Citties, in whoſe cauſe this controuerſie was firſt mooued. For, when Hannibal was come into Italie, and had defeated Sempronius the Conſull at Trebeas, the Romaines were driuen into ſuch an extaſie of terrour, that they beliued verily, that the enemie was then comming to aſſault the Citty; neither had they any hope or aide in themſelues, to keep or defend the ſame. On the other ſide, Scipio was no ſooner landed in Affrick, but there was ſuch a tumult in Carthage, as though the Cittie had beene alreadie taken: neither could the opinion of victorie, which Hanniball by a conquering Armie in Italie had confirmed for ſixteene yeeres together, preuaile in the apprehenſion of ſo immi-

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nent a danger. And then that which Fabius borrowed of Nature to teach the Romans (that firſt men ought to defend their owne, before they ſeeke other mens poſſeſsions) was carefully followed by the Carthaginians: for, with all ſpeed they ſent for Hannibal out of Italy, to be their Champion againſt young Scipio. If therefore other things bee correſpondent (as there are many other particularities concerning the power and ſtrength of either Nation to be conſidered) I take it much better for a Prince to inuade an enemy in his own country, then to attend him at home in his owne kingdome.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

THe laſt circumſtance which I note in this ſpeech, was the truſt which he repoſed in the tenth legion, being in it ſelfe peraduenture as faultie as any other: wherin he ſhewed great Art and ſingular Wiſdom. For, he that hath once offended, & is both burdened with the guilt of conſcience, and vpbraided with the reproache of men, can hardly be perſwaded that his fault can be purged with any ſatisfaction. And although the puniſhment be remitted, yet the memorie of the fact will neuer be blotted out with any vertuous action; but ſtill remaineth, to caſt diſhonour vpon the offender, and to accuſe him of diſloialtie.

And therefore, it oftentimes happeneth, that an errour beeing once raſhlie committed, through deſpaire of remiſsion, admitteth no true penitencie, but either draweth on more grieuous crimes, confirming that of the Poet, *Scelere ſcelus luendum eſt*; or maintaineth his errour by wilfull obſtinacie: as it is ſaid of the Lion, that beeing found by Hunters in a Caue, will rather die in the place then quit it, for ſhame that he was found in ſo baſe a place of refuge; and therefore his propertie is thus expreſſed, *ingrediendo cæcus, exeundo protervus.* This did Cæſar wiſely preuent, by cleering the tenth legion of that, which he accuſed the reſt of the Armie; which made them the more earneſt to anſwer his expectation, inaſmuch as they were witneſs to themſelues of a common errour: and the other legions, enuying at their fortune, reſolued to ſhew as great alacritie in the ſequell of the warre, and to deſerue more then the iudgement of the Emperour had imputed to their fellowes.

CHAP. XVII.

The treatie betweene Cæſar and *Arioviſtus.*

Cæſar. *THe ſeauenth day, as hee continued on his march, his Eſpialls brought him word, that Arioviſtus with all his forces, vvas within twentie foure miles of that place: who as ſoone as he vnderſtood of Cæſars comming, ſent Embaſſadours vnto him; Declaring that foraſmuch as hee was come ſome-vvhat neerer, and that he might doe it without danger, he was content*

tent to admit of a parlee. Cæſar refuſed not the offer; thinking now to find him reaſonable, in that he offered of his owne accord, vvhat he had formerly denied at Cæſars requeſt: and thereby was in good hope, that vnderſtanding vvhat was required, he would in the end, conſider of the many fauours he had receiued frõ the people of Rome, and deſiſt from ſuch wilful courſes.

The fift day following was appointed for the Treaty. In the meane time, there paſſed often Meſſages reciprocally betweene them. Arioviſtus required, that Cæſar would not bring any footmen to the parlee, for that hee feared to be circumuented by treacherie; and therefore thought fitte, that either partie ſhould come onely with their Caualrie: otherwiſe he vvould not giue meeting.

Cæſar, not vvilling to put off the Treatie for any ſuch cauſe, nor yet daring to put himſelfe in truſt to the French horſe, thought it moſt conuenient to leaue the French Riders behind him; and to ſet the ſouldiers of the tenth legion (whom he beſt truſted) vpon their horſes: that if he ſtood in need, he might haue a faithfull guard of his friends about him. Whereupon, one of the ſouldiers ſaid prettily, that Cæſar had doone more for them then he had promiſed; for, hee had ſaid before, he would make the tenth legion as a guard to his perſon, and now he had inrolled them all for horſemen.

There vvas a great and open Plaine, and in the midſt thereof a riſing Mount, vvhich was almoſt in the mid-way, betweene both the Campes: and thither, according to the agreement, they came to parlee. The legion vvhich Cæſar had brought vvith him on horſebacke, hee placed two hundred paſes from the ſaid Mount: and likewiſe the horſemen of Arioviſtus, ſtood in the ſame diſtance. Arioviſtus requeſted, they might talke on horſeback, and bring each of them tenne perſons to the conference. At their meeting, Cæſar beganne his ſpeech vvith a commemoration of the fauours and benefites the Senate had done vnto him; in that hee vvas by their authoritie, intituled by the name of a King and a Friend: & ther vpon, had receiued great gifts. Which fauour fell but vnto a few, and was by the Romaines giuen onely to men of great deſert: Whereas hee, vvithout anie occaſion of acceſſe vnto them, or other iuſt cauſe on his behalfe, had obtained thoſe honours, through his curteſie, and the bountie of the Senate.

Hee ſhewed him further, vvhat ancient and reaſonable cauſes of amitie, tied them ſo firme to the Heduans: What Decrees & orders of Senate, had oftentimes been made in their fauour and behoofe: That from all antiquity, the Heduans had held the principalitie of Gallia; and that, long before they vvere in amitie vvith the Romaines. The people of Rome had alwaies this cuſtome, not onelie to indeauour that their Allies and Confederates ſhould not loſe any thing of their proper; but alſo, that they might increaſe in dignitie and reputation: and therfore, vvho could indure to ſee that forced from them, which they quietly poſſeſſed, when they entered league with the Romaines?

In like manner, he required the performance of ſuch things, which he had formerly giuen in charge to his Embaſſadours; that hee ſhould not make vvarre, either vpon the Heduans, or their Aſſociates. That he ſhould reſtore their hoſtages: and if hee could not returne any part of the Germaines backe againe ouer the Rhene, yet he ſhould forbeare to bring any more into that Country.

Arioviſtus

Arioui∫tus made little anſwere to Cæſars demaunds, but ſpake much of his owne vertues and valour; That he was come ouer the Rhene, not out of his owne deſire, but at the mediation and intreatie of the Galles; that hee had not left his houſe and kindred but with great hope of high rewards; the poſſeſsions hee had in Gallia, were giuen him by themſelues; their hoſtages vvere voluntarily deliuered vnto him; he tooke tribute by the law of Armes, which was ſuch, as Conquerours might lay vpon the vanquiſhed; he made no war vpon the Galles, but the Galles made warre vpon him: All the States of Gallia came to fight againſt him, and had put themſelues into the field; whoſe forces vvere in one battell all diſperſed and ouerthrowne. If they were deſirous to make another triall, he was ready to vndertake them: but if they would haue peace, it vvere an iniury to retract that tribute, which of their owne accord they had paid vntill that time. He expected that the Amitie of the people of Rome, ſhould be rather an honor and a ſafety, then a loſſe vnto him, and that he had ſought it to that end: but if by their meanes, the tribute due vnto him ſhould be retracted, hee would as willingly refuſe their friendſhip as he had deſired it. In that hee had brought ſo many Germans into Gallia, it was rather for his own defence, thē of any purpoſe to ſubdue the Country; as might appeare, by that he had not come thither but vpon intreatie, & ſet no war on foot but for his own defence. He was ſeated in Gallia before the Romaines came thither; neither had the people of Rome before that time, caried their Army beyond the bounds of their Prouince: and therefore he knew not what he meant to intrude himſelfe into his poſſeſsions. This was his Prouince of Gallia, as that was ours: and as it was not lawfull for him to commaund in our quarters; ſo it was not fitting, that they ſhould diſturb his gouernment.

In that hee alleadged, the Heduans were by decree of Senate adopted into the amitie of the people of Rome; he was not ſo barbarous, or vnacquainted with the courſe of things, as to be ignorant, that in the laſt warre of the Allobroges, they were ayding and aſsiſting to the Romaines: and in the quarrell the Heduans had with the Sequans, the Romans were in like manner aſsiſting vnto them. Whereupon he had good occaſion to ſuſpect, that Cæſar, vnder pretence of league & amity, kept his Army in Gallia for his ruine and deſtruction: and that if hee did not depart and withdraw his Army out of thoſe Countries, hee would no longer take him for a friend, but for an enemy. And if his fortune were to ſlay him, hee ſhould performe a very acceptable ſeruice to many noble & cheefe men of Rome: as he had well vnderſtood by Letters and Meſſengers he had receiued from them, whoſe fauour and amity hee ſhould purchace, by taking away his life. But if hee would depart, and leaue him the free poſſeſsion of Gallia, hee would gratifie him with great rewards: and what warr ſoeuer hee deſired to be vndertaken, ſhould be gone through withall, without his perill or charge.

Many things were ſpoken by Cæſar, to ſhew why he could not deſiſt from that courſe; for, neither was it his vſe, nor the cuſtome of the people of Rome, to forſake their wel-deſeruing Aſſociates: neither could he think, that Gallia did rather belong to Arioui∫tus then the Romans. The Aruerns and Rutenes, were in due courſe of warr ſubdued by Q. Fabius Maximus: whō the people of Rome had pardoned, and not reduced to a Prouince, or made them ſtipendaries. And if antiquitie

tiquitie were looked into, the people of Rome had good claime to that Countrey: but, forasmuch as the intention and will of the Senate was, they should remaine a free people, they were suffered to be gouerned by their owne lawes, and left vnto themselues, notwithstanding any former conquest by force of Armes.

Whilst these things were treated of in parlee, it was told Cæsar, that Ariouistus horsmen did approach neerer to the Mount, and that accosting our men, they assaulted them with stones and other vveapons: whereupon he brake off, and betooke himselfe to his Party, commaunding them not to cast a weapon at the enemie. For, albeit hee well perceiued, hee might without perill of that elect legion, giue battell to his Caualry; yet he thought fit to refraine, least it should be said, he had intrapped them with a parlee, contrary to faith made, and agreement. After it was reported amongst the vulgar souldiours, how arrogantly Ariouistus had caried himselfe in the treaty; forbidding the Romaines to frequent any part of Gallia, and that their Caualry had assaulted our men, and that thereupon the parlee brake off: the Army was possessed vvith a greater alacrity and desire to fight, then before. Two daies after, Ariouistus sent Messengers to Cæsar, signifying, that he desired to treat with him, cõcerning those things which were left vnperfit, & therupõ willed him to appoint another day of meeting; or if he liked not that, to send some vnto him with authority, to cõclude of such things as should be foũd expedient. Cæsar was vnwilling to giue any further meeting; & the rather, for that the day before, the Germaines could not be restrained from violence, & force of Armes: Neither did hee think hee might safely expose the person of any of his followers, to the inhumanity of such barbarous people; and therefore thought it fittest, to send vnto him M. Valerius Procillus, the sonne of C. Valerius Caburius, a vertuous yong mã, & wel bred, whose father was made free of Rome by C. Valer. Flaccus: which he did, the rather in regard of his singular integrity, & his perfectnes in the French tongue, which Ariouistus through long continuance had learned; & that the Germans had no cause of offence against him. And with him he sent M. Titius, that was familiarly acquainted with Ariouistus; with instruction to heare what was said, and to make report thereof to Cæsar. Whom, as soone as Ariouistus saw come into his Campe, hee cried out in the presence of his Army; demaunding wherfore they came thither? and whether they were not sent as Spies? And as they were about to make answere, hee cutte them off, and commaunded them to be put in Irons.

The same day he remooued his Campe, and lodged himselfe vnder a hill, sixe miles from Cæsar. The next day, he brought his forces along by Cæsars Campe, and incamped himselfe two miles beyond him; of purpose to cut off all such corne and convoies, as should be sent to the Romaines by the Heduans and Sequans. From that day forward, by the space of fiue daies together, Cæsar imbattelled his men before his Campe; to the intent, that if Ariouistus had a mind to giue battell, hee might doe it vvhen he would. But Ariouistus all this while, kept his Armie vvithin his Campe, and dailie sent out his horsemen to skirmish vvith the Romaines.

This was the maner of fighting which the Germans had practiced: there were 6000 horsmen, & as many strong and nimble footmen, whom the horsemen had

ſelected out of the vvhole hoſt, euery man one for his ſafeguard: theſe they had alwaies at hand vvith them in battell, and vnto theſe they reſorted for ſuccour. If the horſemen vvere ouer-charged, theſe euer ſtept in to helpe them. If any one vvere wounded or vnhorſed, they came about him, & ſuccoured him. If the matter required either to aduenture forward, or to retire ſpeedily back againe, their ſwiftneſſe vvas ſuch (through continuall exerciſe) that hanging on the horſemane by the one hand, they would runne as faſt as the horſes.

OBSERVATION.

Footmen intermingled amongſt horſemen.

IT may ſeeme ſtrange vnto the ſouldiours of our time, that the footmen ſhould be mingled pell mell amongſt the horſemen, without hurt and diſaduantage to themſelues; ſo vnlikely it is, that they ſhould either ſuccour the horſmen in any danger, or annoy the enemie: and therefore ſome haue imagined, that theſe footmen in the incounter, caſt themſelues into one bodie, and ſo charging the enemy, aſſiſted the horſemen. But the circumſtances of this place, and of others which I will alleage to this purpoſe, plainly euince that theſe footmen were mingled indifferentlie amongſt the horſemen, to aſſiſt euery particular man, as his fortune and occaſion required: and therefore, the choiſe of theſe footemen, was permitted to the horſemen, in whoſe ſeruice they were to be imploied; that euery man might take his friend, in whom he repoſed greateſt confidence. When they were ouercharged, theſe ſtept in to helpe them; if any man were wounded, or vnhorſed, he had his footman ready to aſſiſt him: and when they were to goe vpon any ſpeedy ſeruice, or ſuddainly to retire vpon aduantage, they ſtaied themſelues vpon the mane of the horſes, with one hand, & ſo ran as faſt as the horſmen could go. Which ſeruices, they could not poſsibly haue performed, without confuſion & diſorder, if the footemen had not ſeuerally attended vpon thē, according to the affection ſpecified in their particular election.

The principall vſe of theſe footmen of the Germaines, conſiſted in the aide of their owne horſemen vpon any neceſsitie, not ſo much regarding their ſeruice vpon the enemie, as the aſsiſtance of their horſemen. But the Romans had long before practiced the ſame Arte, to a more effectuall purpoſe; namely, as a principall remedy not onely to reſiſt, but to defeat far greater troopes of horſe, then the enemy was able to oppoſe againſt them. Whereof the moſt ancient memorie which hiſtorie mentioneth, is recorded by Liuie, in the ſecond Punick warre, at the ſiege of Capua, vnder the regiment of Quintus Fuluius the Conſull: where it is ſaid, that in all their conflicts, as the Romaine legions returned with the better; ſo their caualrie was alwaies put to the worſt: & therefore they inuented this meanes, to make that good by Arte, which was wanting in force.

Out of the whole army were taken the choiſeſt young men, both for ſtrength and agilitie, and to them were giuen little round bucklers, and 7 darts apeece in ſtead of their other weapons; theſe ſouldiers practiced to ride behind the horſemen,

men, and ſpeedilie to light from the horſes at a watch-word giuen, and ſo to charge the Enemie on foote. And when by exerciſe they were made ſo expert, that the nouelty of the inuention no whit affrighted them, the Romaine horſemen went forth to incounter with the enemy, euery man carying his foot ſouldiour behind him; who at the encounter ſuddainly alighting, charged vpon the enemy with ſuch a furie, that they followed them in ſlaughter to the gates of Capua. And hence, ſaith Liuie, grew the firſt inſtitution of the Velites: which euer after that time were inrolled with the legions. The author of this ſtratagem, is ſaid to be one Q. Nauius, a Centurion, and was honourablie rewarded by Fuluius the Conſull, for the ſame.

Saluſt, in the hiſtorie of Iugurth, ſaith, that Marius mingled the Velites with the Caualrie of the aſſociates, *vt quacunque inuaderent equitatus hoſtium propulſarent.* The like practice was vſed by Cæſar, as appeareth in the 3 book of the Ciuil war; ſauing that in ſtead of the Velites, he mingled with his horſmen, 400 of the luſtieſt of his legionarie ſouldiers, to reſiſt the caualrie of Pompey, while the reſt of his Armie paſſed ouer the riuer Genuſum, after the ouerthrow he had at Dyrrachium: *qui tantum profecere*, ſaith the text; *Vt equeſtri prælio commiſſo, pellerent omnes, complures interficerent, ipſique incolumes ad agmen ſe reciperent.* Many other places might bee recited: but theſe are ſufficient to proue, that the greateſt Captaines of auncient times, ſtrengthened their caualrie with footmen diſperſed amongſt them. The Romane horſemen, ſaith Polibius, at the firſt, caried but a weake limber pole, or ſtaffe, & a little round buckler; but afterwards, they vſed the furniture of the Grecians: which Ioſephus affirmeth to be a ſtrong launce or ſtaffe, and three or foure darts in a quiuer, with a buckler, and a long ſword by their right ſide. The vſe of their launce was moſt effectuall when they charged in troope, pouldron to pouldron; and that manner of fight afforded no meanes to intermingle foot-men: but when they vſed their dartes, euery man got what aduantage of ground hee could, as our Carbines for the moſt part do, & ſo the foot-men might haue place among them: or otherwiſe, for ſo good an aduantage, they would eaſily make place for the foot-men to ſerue among them. But, howſoeuer it was, it appeareth by this circumſtance, how little the Romaines feared troopes of horſe, conſidering that the beſt meanes to defeate their horſe, was by their foote companies. But to make it more plaine, of many examples I will onely alleage two; the one out of Liuie, to proue that the Romaine horſemen were not comparable for ſeruice to foot-men: the other out of Hirtius, to ſhew the ſame effect againſt ſtrangers, and Numidian horſemen.

Lib.6.

Lib.3. de excid.

Lib.3.

De bello Africano.

In the Conſulſhips of L. Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, Valerius, hauing fortunately ouerthrowne the Equi and the Volſci, Horatius proceeded with as great courage in the warre againſt the Sabines; wherein it happened, that in the day of battell, the Sabines reſerued two thouſand of their men to giue a freſh aſſault vpon the left Cornet of the Romaines, as they were in conflict: vvhich tooke ſuch effect, that the legionarie foote-men of that Cornet were forced to retreit. VVhich the Romaine horſemen (beeing in number ſix hundred) perceiuing, and not being able with their horſe to make head againſt the

enemy; they presently forlooke their horses, and made haste to make good the place on foote; wherein they caried themselues so valiantly, that in a moment of time they gaue the like aduantage to their footemen, against the Sabines; and then betooke thēselues againe to their horses, to pursue the enemy in chase as they fled. For the second point; the Numidians, as Cæsar witnesseth, were the best horsemen that euer he met with, and vsed the same Arte as the Germaines did, mingling among them light-armed footemen. An Ambuscado of these Numidians charging the legions vpon a suddaine, the historie saith, that *primo impetu legionis Equitatus & leuis armatura hostium, nullo negotio, loco pulsa & deiecta est de colle.* And, as they sometimes retired, and sometimes charged vpon the rereward of the Armie, according to the maner of the Numidian fight; the historie saith, *Cæsariani interim, non amplius tres aut quatuor milites veterani si se conuertissent & pila viribus contorta in Numidas infestos coniecissent, amplius duorum millium ad vnum terga vertebant.* So that to free himselfe of this inconuenience, he tooke his horsemen out of the rereward, and placed his legions there, *ita vim hostium per legionarium militem cōmodius sustinebat.* And euer as he marched, he caused 300 souldiers of euery legion to be free and without burthen, that they might bee ready vpon all occasions, *Quos in Equitatum Labieni immisit. Tum Labienus, conuersis equis, signorum conspectu perterritus turpissimè contendit fugere, multis eius occisis, compluribus vulneratis, milites legionarij ad sua se recipiunt signa, atque iter inceptum ire cæperunt.* I alleage the very words of the history, to take away all suspicion of falsifying, or wresting any thing to an affected opinion. If any man will looke into the reason of this disparitie, he shall find it to be chiefely the worke of the Romaine pile (an vnresistable weapon) and the terrour of horsemen; especially, when they were cast with the aduantage of the place, & fell so thick, that there was no meanes to auoide them.

But to make it plaine, that any light armed footmen could better make head against a troope of horse, then the Caualrie of their owne partie, although they beare but the same weapons: Let vs consider how nimble and ready they were that fought on foote, either to take an aduantage, or to shunne and auoide anie danger; casting their darts with far greater strength and more certaintie, then the horsemen could doe. For, as the force of all the engines of old time, as the *Balistæ, Catapultæ* and *Tolenones*, proceedeth from that stabilitie and resting Center, which nature affordeth, as the onely strength and life of the engine: so what force soeuer a man maketh, must principally proceede from that firmenesse and stay, which Nature, by the earth, or some other vnmoueable rest, giueth to the body, from whence it taketh more or lesse strength, according to the violence which it performeth; as hee that lifteth vp a waight from the ground, by so much treadeth heauier vpon the earth, by how much the thing is heauier then his body. The footmen therefore, hauing a surer stay to counterpoise their forced motion, then the horsemen had, cast their darts with greater violence, and consequently with more certaintie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar preuenteth Ariouistus of his purpose, by *making two Campes.*

Cæsar.

WHen Cæsar perceiued that Ariouistus meant nothing lesse then to fight, but kept himselfe within his Camp: least peraduenture he should intercept the Sequans, & others of his Associates, as they came with conuoies of Corne to the Romaines, beyond that place wherein the Germaines abood; about six hundred paces from their Camp, he chose a ground meet to incamp in: and marching thither in three battells, commaunded two of them to stand ready in Armes, and the third to fortifie the Campe. Ariouistus sent sixteene thousand foote, and all his horse, to interrupt the souldiers, and hinder the intrenchment. Notwithstanding, Cæsar, as he had before determined, caused two battells to withstand the enemy, and the third to goe through with the worke: vvhich beeing ended, he left there two legions, & part of the associate forces, and led the other foure legions backe againe into the greater Campe.

The next day, Cæsar, according to his custome, brought his whole power out of both his Campes; and marching a little from the greater Campe, hee put his men in array, and profered battell to the enemie: but perceiuing that Ariouistus vvould not stirre out of his trenches; about noone, hee conuaied his Armie into their seuerall Campes. Then at length, Ariouistus sent part of his forces to assault the lesser Campe. The incounter continued very sharp on both parts, vntill the euening; and at sunne-setting, after many wounds giuen and taken, Ariouistus conuaied his Army againe into their Campe. And as Cæsar made inquirie of the Captiues, what the reason vvas that Ariouistus refused battell, hee found this to be the cause. The Germaines had a custome, that the women should by casting of Lots, and Southsaying, declare whether it were for their behoofe to fight or no: and that they found by their Arte, the Germaines could not get the victorie, if they fought before the new Moone.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIrst, we may obserue what especiall importance, this manner of incamping carried in that absolute discipline which the Romans obserued, and by which they conquered so many Nations: for, besides the safetie which it affoorded their owne troops, it serued for a hold well fenced and manned, or as it were a strong fortified towne in any part of the field, where they saw aduantage: and as oft as they thought it expedient, either to fortifie themselues, or impeach the enemy, by cutting off his passages, hindering his attempts, blocking vp his Campe, besides many other aduantages, all auerring the saying of Domitius Corbulo: *dolabra vincendũ esse hostẽ:*

a thing long time neglected, but of late happily renewed, by the Commaunders of ſuch forces as ſerue the States, in the vnited Prouinces of Belgia: whom time and practice of the warres hath taught to entertaine the vſe of the ſpade, & to hold it in as great reputation as any weapons whatſoeuer, which may bee thought worthy executioners of the deeds of Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the ſecond place wee may obſerue, that there was no Nation ſo barbarous (for, I vnderſtand the Germaines to bee as barbarous, in regard of the motions of religion, as any knowne Nation of that time, beeing in a Climate ſo neere the North, that it afforded no contemplation at all) that could not make vſe in their greateſt affaires, of that ſuperſtition to which their mind was naturally inthralled; and forge propheſies and diuinations, as well to ſtir vp, as to moderate the irregular motions of a multitude, according as they might beſt ſerue to aduantage their proceedings. Neither did Cæſar let ſlippe the occaſion of making vſe of this their religion: for, vnderſtanding by their priſoners, that their diuinations forbadde them to fight before the new Moone, he vſed all the meanes he could to prouoke them to battell; that their religious opinion of miſchieuing, might preiudice their reſolution to returne Conquerers. Which may ſerue to prooue, that a ſuperſtitious people are ſubiect to many inconueniences, which induſtry or Fortune may diſcouer to their ouerthrowe.

It is recorded, that Columbus, beeing Generall of ſome forces, which Ferdinando king of Caſtile ſent to diſcouer the Weſt Indies, and ſuffering great penurie for want of victuals in the Ile of Iamaica: after that hee had obſerued how the Ilanders worſhipped the Moone, and hauing knowledge of an Eclipſe that was ſhortly after to happen; hee told the inhabitants, that vnleſſe they would furniſh him with ſuch neceſſaries as he wanted for the time, the vvrath of their God ſhould quickly appeare towards them, by changing his bright ſhining face into obſcuritie and darkneſſe: which was no ſooner happened, but the poore Indians, ſtrooken with a ſuperſtitious feare of that which the courſe of nature required, kept nothing backe that might aſsiſt their enemies, to depopulate and ouer-runne their owne Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæſar ſeeketh meanes to giue them battell, *and the Germans diſpoſe themſelues* thereunto.

THe next day, Cæſar left a ſufficient Guarizon in each of his Campes; and, foraſmuch as the number of his legionarie ſouldiers vvas ſmall, in reſpect of the multitude of the Germaines, hee placed all the Auxiliarie troopes for a ſhew, before the leſſer Camp: and putting his legions in a triple battell, he marched towards the Camp of Ariouiſtus. And then at length, vvere the Germaines conſtrained to bring out their power, ſetting eucrie Tribe and people by themſelues, in like diſtance and order of battell (as, the Harudes, Marcomans, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Seduſians and Sweuians) and inuironing their vvhole Army with Cartes and cariage, that there might be no hope at all left to ſaue any man by flight. And in theſe they placed their vvomen, that they by their out-ſtretched hands and teares, moouing pittie, might implore the ſouldiers, as they deſcended by courſe to the battell, not to deliuer them into the bondage and thraldome of the Romaines. Cæſar.

Cæſar, aſſigned to euery legion a Legat and a Queſtor, that euery man might haue an eye-witneſſe of his valour: and he himſelfe, began the battell vvith the right Cornet, foraſmuch as he perceiued that part of Ariouiſtus Armie to be the vveakeſt.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines, euen from the infancie of their ſtate, were euer zealous admirers of true honour, and alwaies deſired to behold with the eye, to what meaſure of vertue euery man had attained; that the tongue with greater feruencie of ſpirit, might ſound out the celebration of *Macte virtute*; which imported more honour then any wealth that could be heaped vpon them. Neither was this the leaſt part of their wiſedome; conſideting that the moſt pretious things that are, loſe much much of their worth, if they be not ſuted with other correſpondent natures, whoſe ſympathy addeth much more excellencie then is diſcerned, when they appeare by themſelues without ſuch aſſiſtance. For, how ſmall is the beautie which Nature hath giuen to the eye-pleaſing Diamond, when it is not adorned with an artificiall forme? or what perfection can the forme giue, without a foile to ſtrengthen it? or what good is in either of them, if the light doe not illuminate it? or what auaile all theſe, where there wanteth an eye to admire it, a iudgement to value it, and an hart to imbrace it? Such a vnion hath Nature imprinted in the diuerſitie

ſitie of creatures concurring to perfection, and eſpecially in morall actions, in whoſe cariage there is a far greater exactneſſe of correſpondencie required to approue them honorable, then was requiſite to make the iewel beautifull. And this did Cæſar in all his battels; amongſt the reſt, that at Aleſia is particularlie noted in this manner, *Quod in conſpectu imperatoris res gerebatur, neque rectè aut turpiter factum celari poterat, vtroſque & laudis cupiditas & timor ignominiæ ad virtutem excitabat.* And when Liuie would expreſſe how valiantly an action was caried, hee ſaith no more but *in conſpect imperatoris res gerebatur:* which is as much to ſay, that foraſmuch as the Romaines were diligent obſeruers of euery mans worth, rewarding vertue with honour, and cowardice with reproch; euery man bent his whole indeauour to deſerue the good opinion of his Generall, by diſcharging that dutie which he owed to the Commonwealth, with all loyaltie and faithfulneſſe of ſpirit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines had foure formes of the front of their battell: the firſt was called *Acies recta*, when neither the cornets nor the battell was aduaunced one before another, but were all caried in a right line, and made a ſtraight front; and this was their moſt vſuall manner of imbattailing.

The ſecond forme of the front was called *obliqua*, when as one of the cornets was aduanced neerer vnto the enemy then the reſt, to beginne the battell: and this was commonly as Vegetius noteth, the right cornet: for the right cornet of an Army had great aduantage againſt the left of the enemies, in regard of their vveapons and furniture. But Cæſar did it in this place, becauſe he perceiued that the enemy was weakeſt in that part; following a maxime of great authoritie, that the weakeſt part of an enemie, is in the beginning to be charged with the ſtrength of an Armie: for, ſo fauourable are mens iudgements to that which is already happened, that the ſequell of euery action, dependeth for the moſt part vpon the beginning. *Dimidiũ facti qui bene cæpit habet*, ſaith a Poet: and not without great reaſon, ſo forcible continually is the beginning, and ſo connexed to the ſequell by the nature of a precedent cauſe, that the end muſt needs erre from the common courſe, when it doth not participate of that qualitie which was in the beginning. Neither can there be any good end without a good beginning: for, although the beginning be oftentimes diſaſtrous & vnluckie, and the end fortunate and happy, yet before it came to that end, there was a fortunate beginning: for, the bad beginning, was not the beginning of a good, but of an euill end. And therefore, that his men might foreſee a happy end in a good beginning, it behooued him with the beſt of his Army to aſſault the weakeſt part of the enemie.

The third forme of the front, is called *Sinuata*, when both the cornets are aduanced forward, and the battell ſtandeth backward off from the enemy, after the faſhion of a halfe moone. Scipio vſed it in Spaine, hauing obſerued ſome daies

daies before, that the enemy continually ſo diſpoſed of the battell, that his beſt ſouldiers were alwaies in the midſt; and therefore Scipio put all his old ſouldiours in the cornets, and brought them out firſt to charge vpon the weakeſt part of the enemy, that thoſe might decide the controuerſie, before the other that were in the midſt could come to fight.

The laſt forme is called *gibboſa*, or *gibbera Acies*; when the battell is aduanced, and the two cornets lag behind. This forme did Haniball vſe in the battell of Cannas; but with this Art, that hee ſtrengthened his two cornets with the beſt of his ſouldiers, and placed his weakeſt in the middeſt, that the Romaines following the retreit of the battell, which was eaſily repeld, might bee incloſed on each ſide with the two cornets.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell betweene Cæſar and Ariouiſtus.

THe ſigne of the battell being thereupon giuen, our men charged vpon the enemy very fiercely; and they on the other ſide, returned ſo ſpeedy a counterbuffe, that the legions had no time to caſt their piles, and in that regard, made haſte to betake themſelues to their ſwords: But the Germaines, according to their manner, putting themſelues into a Phalanx, receiued the force of their ſwords. In the battell, there were many legionary ſouldiours ſeene to leape vpon the Phalanx, and to pull vp with their hands, the targets that couered it, and ſo to wound and kill thoſe that were vnderneath: and ſo the left Cornet of the enemy was ouerthrowne and put to flight. Cæſar.

Now, while the right Cornet was thus buſied, the left Cornet was ouercharged vvith an vnequall multitude of the Germaines: vvhich young Craſſus the Generall of the horſe no ſooner perceiued (hauing more ſcope and libertie then any of the Commaunders that vvere in the battell) hee ſent tertiam Aciem, *the third battell, to reskew and aide their fellowes that were in danger; by meanes whereof, the fight vvas renewed, and all the enemy was put to flight, and neuer looked backe, vntill they came to the Rhene, which was about fiue miles from the place where they fought. Where, ſome few of them ſaued themſelues by ſwimming: others found ſome boate, and ſo eſcaped. Ariouiſtus, lighting vpon a little Barke tied to the ſhore, recouered the other ſide, & ſo ſaued himſelfe: the reſt, were all ſlaine by the horſemen. Ariouiſtus had two vviues: one a Sweuian, whom he brought with him from home; and the other, of Noronberge, the ſiſter of King Voccion, ſent vnto him by her brother into Gallia, and maried there: both theſe periſhed in that fight. His two daughters likewiſe being there, one was ſlaine, and the other taken.*

As Cæſar purſued the Germaine horſemen, it was his chaunce to light vpon Valerius Procillus, as he was drawne vp and downe by his Keepers, bound in three chaines: which accident, was as gratefull to him as the victorie it ſelfe; beeing

ſo fortunate to recouer his familiar friend, and a man of ſort in the Prouince, vvhom the barbarous enemy (contrary to the law of Nations) had caſt in priſon. Neither vvould Fortune by the loſſe of him, abate any thing of ſo great pleaſure and contentment: for, he reported, that in his owne preſence, they had three ſeuerall times caſt lots, whether he ſhould be burned aliue; and ſtill eſcaped by the fortune of the lots: And M. Titius was found in like manner, and brought vnto him. The fame of this battell being caried beyond the Rhene, the Sweuians that vvere come to the banks of Rhene, returned home againe: vvhom the inhabitants neere vpon that riuer purſued, finding them terrified and diſtracted, and ſlew a great number of them.

Cæſar, hauing thus ended two great vvarres in one Sommer, hee brought his Armie into their vvintering Campes, ſome-what ſooner then the time of the yeere required: and leauing Labienus to commaund them, himſelfe returned into the hither Gallia, to keepe Courts and publique Diets.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis Phalanx, here mentioned, can hardly be proued to be the right Macedonian Phalanx; but wee are rather to vnderſtand it to bee ſo tearmed, by reaſon of the cloſe and compact imbattailing, rather then in any other reſpect: and it reſembled much a *teſtudo*, as I ſaid of the Heluetian Phalanx. Secondly, I obſerue, that Cæſar kept the old rule concerning their diſcipline in fight: for, although the name of *Triaries* be not mentioned in his hiſtorie; yet he omitted not the ſubſtance: which was, to haue *primam, ſecundam, & tertiam Aciem*; and that *prima Acies* ſhould beginne the battell, and the ſecond ſhould come freſh and aſsiſt them: or peraduenture if the enemy were many and ſtrong, the firſt and ſecond battell vvere ioyned together, and ſo charged vpon the enemie with greater furie and violence; but at all aduentures, the third battell was euer in *ſubſidio*, as they tearmed it, to ſuccour any part that ſhould be ouercharged: which was a thing of much conſequence, and of great wiſedome. For, if wee either reſpect the incouragement of the ſouldiours, or the caſualtie of Fortune, what could bee more added to their diſcipline in this behalfe, then to haue a ſecond and a third ſuccour, to giue ſtrength to the fainting weakeneſſe of their men, and to repaire the diſaduantage which any accident ſhould caſt vpon them? or if their valour were equally ballanced, and victorie ſtood doubtfull which of the two parties ſhe ſhould honour, theſe alwaies ſtept in, beeing freſh, againſt wearie & ouerlaboured ſpirits, and ſo drew victorie in deſpight of caſualtie, vnto themſelues.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The vſe of lots.

COncerning vſe of lottes, it ſhall not be amiſſe to looke into the nature of them; beeing in former times ſo generall, that there was no Nation, ciuill or barbarous, but were directed in their greateſt affaires, by the ſentence of lots. As wee may not refuſe for an vndoubted

doubted truth, that which Salomon ſaith in the 16 of Prouerbs; The lottes are caſt into the lap, but the direction thereof belongeth to the Lord: through the knowledge whereof, Ioſua was directed to take Achan, the Mariners Ionas, & the Apoſtles to conſecrate Matthias; So, whether the heathen and barbarous people, whoſe blindneſs in the way of truth, could direct them no further then to ſenſeleſſe ſuperſtition, & put them in mind of a dutie which they owed; but could not tell them what it was, nor how to be performed: whether theſe, I ſay, were perſwaded that there was any ſupernaturall power in their lotteries, which directed the action to the decree of deſtinie, & as the Gods would haue it, it remaineth doubtfull.

Ariſtotle, the wiſeſt of the heathen, concerning things naturall, nameth that euent caſuall, or proceeding from Fortune, of which the reaſon of man could aſsigne no cauſe, or (as he ſaith) which hath no cauſe. So that whatſoeuer happened in any action, beſides the intent of the agent and workman, was tearmed an effect of Fortune, or chance of hab-nab: For, all other effects, which depended vpon a certaintie and definite cauſe, were neceſſarily produced; and therfore could not be caſuall, or ſubiect to the inconſtancie of chance. And becauſe many and ſundry ſuch chances daily happened, which like *terræ filij* had no Father, and could not be warranted as lawfull children, either to nature, or to reaſon, by the appearance of an efficient cauſe, they reduced them all to the power of Fortune; as the principall efficient and ſoueraigne Motor, of all ſuch vnexpected euents: that is, they made nothing elſe the Gouerneſſe, and directreſſe of many things. Which afterward grew to ſuch credit amongſt men, that it ſurpaſſed in dignity all naturall cauſes, and was deified with celeſtial honour, as the Poet ſaith: *Nos te facimus Fortuna deam cæloque locamus.* By the prouidence of this blind Goddeſſe, which held her Deitie by the tenure of mens ignorance, were all caſuall actions directed, and eſpecially lots; the euent whereof, depended onely vpon her pleaſure and decree: neither could their direction be aſsigned to any other power; for, then their nature had been altered from chance to certaintie, and the euent could not haue beene called *Sors*, but muſt haue been reputed in the order of neceſſarie effects, whereof diſcourſe of reaſon acknowledgeth a certaine foregoing cauſe. Whereby we ſee vpon how weake an axletree, the greateſt motions of the godleſſe world were turned, hauing irregularitie and vncertaintie, for the *intelligentiæ*, that gouerned their reuolutions. All heerein all ſorts of men (although in diuers reſpects) reſted as well contented, as if an Oracle had ſpoken vnto them, and reuealed the myſteries of fatall deſtinie.

Rome directed the maine courſe of her gouernment, by the fortune of this mocke deſtinie: For, although their Conſuls & Tribunes were elected by the people, who pleaſed their owne fancie with the free choice of their Commanders, and ſuted their obedience with a well liking authoritie: yet the publique affaires, which each Conſull was ſeuerally to manage, was ſhared out by lots. For, if an enemy were entered into their confines, to depopulate and waſte their territories, the lots aſsigned this Conſull for the gouernment of the Citty; and the other to commaund the legions, and to manage the war.

If

If forces were to be ſent into diuers Prouinces, & againſt ſeuerall enemies, neither the Senate nor the people could giue to either Conſull his taske: but their peculiar charges were authoriſed by lottes. If any extraordinary action were to be done in the Cittie, as the dedication of a Temple, the ſanctifying of the Capitoll after a pollution, *Sors omnia verſat*, did all in all. And yet (notwithſtanding the weake foundation of this practiſe in their Theologie and deepeſt diuinity) we may not thinke but theſe skilfull Architectors of that abſolute gouernment, wherein vertue ioyned with true wiſedome, to make an vnexampled patterne: we may not thinke, I ſay, but they foreſaw the manifold danger, which in the courſe of common actions could no otherway be preuented, but by the vſe of lots. For, when things are equally leueled between diuers obiects, and runne with indifferencie to equall ſtations, there muſt be ſome controlling power, to draw the current towardes one Coaſt, and to appropriate it vnto one chanell, that the order of Nature bee not inuerſed, nor a well eſtabliſhed gouernment diſturbed: So the ſtate of Rome, caſting many things with equall charge vpon her two ſoueraigne Magiſtrates, which could not be performed but by one of them; what better meanes could there be inuented, to intereſſe the one in that office, and to diſcharge the other, then to appoint an Arbiter, whoſe decree exceeded humane reaſon? Of which, it could not bee ſaid why it was ſo, but that it was ſo: for, if the wiſedome of the Senate had been called to counſell, or the voices of the people calculated to determine of the matter; it might eaſily haue burſt out into ciuill diſcord, conſidering the often contentions betweene the Senate and the people, the factions of Clients, and the conſtant mutabilitie of euerie mans priuate affections neceſſarily inclining vnto one, although their worth were equall, & by true reaſon indiſcernable; which might haue made the one proud of that which peraduenture he had not, and caſt the other lower then would haue well beſeemed his vertues: and therefore to cut off theſe, with many other inconueniences, they inuented lots; vvhich without either reaſon or will, might decide ſuch controuerſies.

By this it appeareth, how little the ancient Law-makers reſpected the ground and reaſon of an ordinance, ſo the commoditie were great, and the vſe important to the good of the State: for, as they ſaw the thing it ſelfe to be caſuall, ſo they ſaw that caſuall things are ſometimes more neceſſarie, then demonſtratiue concluſions: neither ought the nature, and ſpeculatiue conſideration of Lawes and Statutes, belong to the common people: but the execution and obedience thereof, maketh the Common-weale flouriſh. And thus endeth the firſt Commentarie of Cæſar his warre in Gallia.

THE

THE SECOND COMMENTARIE OF THE WARS IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

LIke as when a heauy bodie lyeth vpon the skirt of a larger continued quantity, although it couer but a ſmall parcell of the whole ſurface; yet the other quarters are burthened & kept vnder with a proportionable meaſure of that waight; and through the vnion and continuation which bindeth all the parts into one totality, feele the ſame ſuppreſſion which hath really ſeaſed but vpon their fellow part: In like maner the Belgæ, inhabiting the furtheſt skirt of that triple continent, ſeemed to repine at that heauy burthen, which the Romaine Empire had laide vpon the Prouince, the Hedui, and other ſtates of that kingdome. And leaſt it might in time be further remoued and laide directly vpon their ſhoulders, they thought it expedient whileſt they felte it but by participation to gather their ſeuerall forces into one head, and trie whether they coulde free their neighbour nations from ſo greeuous a yoak; or at the leaſt keepe it frō comming any neerer vnto themſelues: And this is the Argument of this ſecond booke, which deuideth it ſelfe into two partes: the firſt containing the warres betweene Cæſar and all the ſtates of Belgia vnited togither: the ſecōd recording the battailes which he made with ſome of the ſtates thereof in particular, as time and occaſion gaue him meanes to effect it.

CHAP. I.

Cæſar haſteth to his army, marcheth towardes the *confines of the Belgæ, & taketh in the men of Rheims.*

THE report of this confederacie being brought vnto Cæſar, whileſt he wintred beyond the Alpes, as well by letters from Labienus, as by the common hearesay of the worlde: hee leuied two new legions in Lumbardie, and ſent them by Q. Pedius into Gallia, and aſſoone as there was any forrage in the fieldes he himſelfe came to the armie. At his arriuàl, vnderſtanding by the Senones & the reſt of Cæſar.

the Galles that bordered vpon the Belgæ (to whom he gaue in charge to learne what was done amongſt them,) that there was nothing in Belgia but muſtering of ſoldiours, and gathering their forces into one heade: he thought it not ſafe to make anie further delaie, but hauing made prouiſion of corne, he drewe out his army from their wintering campes, and within fifteene daies he came to the borders of the Belgæ. Aſſoone as he was come thither, which was much ſooner then was looked for; the men of Rheimes being the vttermoſt of the Belgæ, next adioining to the Celtæ, thought it beſt to entertaine a peaceable reſolution, and ſent Iccius and Antebrogius, two of the cheefe men of their ſtate, vnto Cæſar, to ſubmit themſelues and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romaine Empire; affirming that they were innocent both of the counſel of the Belgæ, and of their conſpiracie againſt the Romaines: For prooſe wherof they were ready to giue hoſtages, to receiue them into their towns, and to furniſh them with corne or what other thing they ſtood in neede of. That the reſt of the Belgæ were al in armes, and the Germains on the other ſide of the Rhene had promiſed to ſend them ſuccour: yea their madneſſe was ſo great, that they themſelues were not able to hold backe the Sueſſones from that attempt, being their brethren and kinſmen in bloud, and vſing the ſame lawes and cuſtomes as they did, hauing both one magiſtrate and one forme of gouernment; but they would needs ſupport the ſame quarrel which the reſt of the Belgæ had vndertaken.

THE OBSERVATION.

I Might heere take occaſion to ſpeake ſomwhat of a particular reuoult in a generall cauſe; and howe a confederate ſtate may in regarde of their owne ſafetie forſake a common quarrell, or whatſoeuer the vniuerſall ſocietie hath enacted preiudiciall to their common weale: but that I onely intende to diſcouer warlike practiſes, leauing theſe queſtions of lawe and policie to men of greater iudgement and better experience. Onlie I obſerue in the behalfe of the Romaine gouernment, that ſuch cities as yeelded to the Empire, and became tributarie to their treaſury (howſoeuer they were otherwiſe combined by confederacy) ſeldome or neuer repented them of their facte, in regard of the noble patronage which they found in that ſtate, and of the due reſpect obſerued towards them.

CHAP. II.

The power of the Belgæ, and their preparation for this warre.

Cæſar.

Cæſar inquiring of the Ambaſſadors which came frõ Rheimes what the ſtates were that had taken armes, and what they were able to do in matter of war: found the Belgæ to be deſcended from the Germaines; who paſſing ouer the Rhene time out of minde, droue away the Galles and ſeated themſelues in their poſſeſſions: and that theſe only of al the Galles kept the Cimbri and Teutoni frõ entering into their

their country: and in that regard they chalenged to themselues great authoritie, & vaunted much in their feats of armes. Concerning their number they had these aduertisements; the [a] *Bellouaci exceeded all the Belgæ in prowesse, authoritie, and number of men, and promised 60000. men: and in that regard they demanded the administration of the whole warre. The* [b] *Suessones inhabiting a large and fertile countrey, and hauing 12. walled towns, promised to set out 50000. The* [c] *Neruij as many; the* [d] *Attrebatij 15000. the* [e] *Ambiani 10000. the Velocassij, and* [f] *Veromandui as many; the* [g] *Morini 25000. the Menapij 7000. the Caletani 10000. the Catuaci 19000. the* [h] *Eburones, Condrusones, and others 40000. Cæsar incouraging the men of Rheimes to persist their faithfulnes to the Romaine Empire, propounded vnto them great offers and liberall promises of recompence, and commaunded all their senate to come before him, and bring with them their noble mens sonnes to be giuen vp for hostages, which they diligently performed by a day appointed. And hauing receiued two especial aduertisements from the men of Rheimes, the one concerning the multitude of the enemy; and the other touching the singular opinion which was generally held of their manhood: hee prouided for the first by perswading Diuitiacus the Heduan, that it much imported the whole course of those businesses, to keepe asunder the powre of the enemy; and to withhold their forces from making a head, that so he might auoide the danger of incountering so great a power at one instant. Which might easilie be brought to passe, if the Hedui woulde enter with a strong power into the marches of the Bellouaci, and sacke their territories with sword and confusion, which Diuitiacus promised to performe, and to that purpose he speedily returned into his country. Vpon the second aduertisement which presented vnto him the great valour and manhood of his enemies, he resolued not to be too hastie in giuing them battell, but first to proue by skirmishing with his horsemen what his enemies by their prowesse could do, and what his own men durst dot.*

[a] *The country about Beauuois.*
[b] *The country about Soissons*
[c] *The people about Turnai*
[d] *Arras.*
[e] *Amyens.*
[f] *Vermandois.*
[g] *Terwene*
[h] *Leige. 296000. in al.*

THE OBSERVATION.

THis rule of making triall of the worth of an enemy, hath alwaies been obserued by prudent and graue commanders, as the surest principle whereon the true iudgment of the euent may be grounded. For if the doctrine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the worde *non putabam* was neuer heard out of a wise mãs mouth, haue any place in the course of humane actions, it ought especiallie to be regarded in managing these main points, whereon the state of kingdomes and empires dependeth. For vnlesse we be perswaded that blind chance directeth the course of this worlde vvith an vncertaine confusion, and that no foresight can swaie the balance of our hap into either part of our fortune; I see no reason why we should not by al meanes indeuor to grounde our knowledge vpon true causes, and leuel our proceedings to that certainty which riseth from the things thẽ selues. And this is the rather to be vrged, inasmuch as our leaders are oftentimes deceiued when they look no further then to match an enemy vvith equalitie of number, referring their valour to bee tried in the battell; not considering that the eye of it selfe cannot

diſcerne the difference betweene two champions of like preſence and outward cariage, vnleſſe it ſee their ſtrength compared together and waied as it were in the ſcale of triall: which Cæſar omitted not diligently to obſerue, before he would aduenture the hazard of battell. For beſides his owne ſatiſfaction, it gaue great incouragement to his men, when they ſawe themſelues able to countermatch an enemie, and knew their taske to be ſubiect to their ſtrength: Neither did he obſerue it onely at this inſtant, but throughout the whole courſe of his actions; for we finde that he neuer incountered any enemie, but with ſufficient power, either in number or in valour to make head againſt them: which equality of ſtrength, being firſt laide as a ſure foundation, he vſed his owne induſtrie and skill, and the diſcipline wherein his men were trained, as aduantages to ouerſway his aduerſarie: and ſo drew victorie maugre fortune vnto himſelfe, and ſeldome failed in any of his battels.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar paſſeth his Armie ouer the riuer *Axona, *leauing Titurius Sabinus incamped on the* other ſide with ſixe cohorts.

*La diſne.

Cæſar.

ASSOONE as Cæſar vnderſtood, as well by his diſcouerers, as from the men of Rheimes, that all the power of the Belgæ was aſſembled together into one place, and was now making towardes him no great deſtance off; he made all the haſte he could to paſſe his Armie ouer the riuer Axona, which deuided the men of Rheimes from the other Belgæ. Wherby he brought to paſſe, that no enemie could come on the backe of him to worke any diſaduantage: and that corne might be brought vnto him from Rheimes, and other citties without danger. And further, that he might command the paſſage backe againe, as occaſion ſhould ſerue to his beſt aduantage, he fortified a bridge which he found on the riuer, with a ſtrong garriſon of men, and cauſed Titurius Sabinus a Legate, to incampe himſelfe on the other ſide of the riuer with ſixe cohortes, commaunding him to fortifie his campe with a rampier of 12 *foote in altitude, and a trench of* 18 *foote in breadth.*

OBSERVATION.

IF it be demaunded, why Cæſar did paſſe his Armie ouer the riuer, leauing it on his backe; and did not rather attend the enemie on the other ſide, and ſo take the aduantage of hindering him, if he ſhould attempt to paſſe ouer? I will ſet downe the reaſons in the ſequell of this warre, as the occurrences ſhall fall out to make them more euident. In the meane time let vs enter into the particularitie of theſe ſixe cohortes, that wee maie the better iudge of ſuch troupes which were imploied in the ſeruices of this warre: but that wee may the better coniecture what number of ſouldiers theſe

these sixe cohortes did containe, it seemeth expedient, a little to discourse of the companies and regiments, which the Romans vsed in their Armies.

A legion what it was. Lib. 4. De vita Romuli.

And first we are to vnderstand, that the greatest and chiefest regiment in a Roman Armie, was tearmed by the name of Legio: as Varro saith, *quod leguntur milites in delectu:* or as Plutarch speaketh, *quod lecti ex omnibus essent militares*; so that it taketh the name Legio of the choise and selecting of the soldiers. Romulus is said to be the first author & founder of these legions, making euerie legion to containe 3000 soldiers: but shortly after they were augmented, as Festus recordeth vnto 4000: and afterward againe from 4000 to 4200. And that number was the common rate of a legion vntill Hanniball came into Italie, and then it was augmented to 5000, but that proportion continued onely for that time. And againe, when Scipio went into Africke, the legions were increased to 6200 footmen, and 300 horse. And shortly after the Macedonian warre, the legions that continued in Macedonie to keepe the Prouince from rebellion, consisted of 6000 footmen and 300 horse. Out of Cæsar it cannot be gathered, that a legion in his time did exceede the number of 5000 men; but oftentimes it was short of that number: for he himselfe saith, that in this warre in Gallia his soldiers were so wasted, that he had scarce 7000 men in two legions. And if we examine that place out of the 3. of the ciuill war, where he saith, that in Pompei his Armie were 110 cohorts, which amounted to the nũber of 55000 men: And being manifest as well by these number of cohortes, as by the testimonie of diuers authors, that Pompei his Army consisted of 11 legions; if we deuide 55000 into 11 partes, we shall finde a legion to consist of 5000 men. Which number or thereabout, being generally knowne to be the vsuall rate of a legion, the Romans alwaies expressed the strength of their Armie by the number of legions that were therein: as in this warre it is said, that Cæsar had eight legions, which by this account might arise to 40000 men, besides associates, and such as necessarily attended the Armie. Further we are to vnderstand, that euery legion had his peculiar name, by which it was knowne and distinguished from the rest, and that it tooke either from their order of muster, or inrolment; as that legion which was first inrolled, was called the first legion; and that which was second in choice, the second legion; and so consequently of the rest; and so we reade in this historie, the seuenth, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleuenth and twelfth legion: or otherwise from the place of their warfare, and so we read of *legiones Germanicæ, Panonicæ, Britannicæ*, and such others; and sometime of their Generall, as *Augusta, Claudia, Vitellianæ, legiones*, and so forth. Or to conclude, from some accident or qualitie, as *Rapax, Victrix, Fulminifera* and such like. And this much of the name and number of a legion, which I must necessarilie distinguish into diuers kindes of souldiers, according to the first institution of the olde Romans, and the continuall obseruation thereof vnto the decay of the Empire, before I come to the description of these smaller partes, whereof a legion was compounded.

Liu. lib. 22.

Tacitus 3. hist.

Velites.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that after the Consuls had made a generall choise and sworne the souldiers, the Tribunes chose out the youngest and poorest of all the rest, and called them by the name of Velites. Their place in

in regard of the other ſouldiers was both baſe & diſhonorable: not only becauſe they fought a farre off, and were lightly armed; but alſo in regard they were commonly expoſed to the enemy, as our forelorne hopes are. Hauing choſen out a competent number for this kinde, they proceeded to the choiſe of them which they called Haſtati, a degree aboue the Velites, both in age and wealth, and tearmed them by the name of Haſtati; foraſmuch as at their firſt inſtitution they fought with a kind of Iauelin, which the Romaines called Haſta: but before Polybius his time they vſed Piles; notwithſtanding their ancient name continued vnto the latter time of the Empire. The third choiſe which they made was of the ſtrongeſt and luſtieſt bodied men, who for the prime of their age were called Principes; the reſt that remained were named Triarij, as Varro ſaith, *Quod tertio ordine extremis ſubſidio deponuntur*: Theſe were alwaies the eldeſt and beſt experienced men, and were placed in the third diuiſion of the battell, as the laſt helpe and refuge in all extremity. Polybius ſaith, that in his time the Velites, Haſtati, and Principes, did conſiſt of 1200 men a peece; and the Triarij neuer exceeded the number of 600. although the generall number of a legion were augmented: wherof Lypſius allegeth theſe reaſons. Firſt becauſe theſe Triarij conſiſted of the beſt of the ſoldiors, and ſo might counteruaile a greater number in good worth and valour. Secondly, it ſeldome came to buckle with the enemy, but when the controuerſie grewe very doubtfull. Laſtly, wee may well coniecture that the voluntaries and extraordinarie folowers, ranged themſelues amongſt theſe Triaries, and ſo made the third battel equal to either of the former; but howſoeuer, they neuer exceeded the number of 600. And by this it appeareth, that in Polybius his time the common rate of a legion was 4200.

Haſtati.

Principes.

Lib. 6.

Lib. 1. de mil. Rom.

In this diuiſion of their men conſiſted the ground of that well ordered diſcipline; for in that they diſtinguiſhed them according to their yeeres and abilitie, they reduced their whole ſtrength into ſeueral claſſes; & ſo diſpoſed of theſe different parts, that in the generall cõpoſition of their whole bodie euery part might be fitted with place and office, according as his worth vvas anſwerable to the ſame: & ſo they made not only a number in groſſe, but a number diſtinct by parts and properties, that from euery accident which met with any part of the armie, the iudgement might determine how much or howe little it imported the whole bodie: beſides the great vſe vvhich they made of this diſtinction in their degrees of honour and preferment; a matter of no ſmal conſequence, in the excellencie of their gouernment.

The vſe of this diuiſion.

The ſoldiours, at their inrolement beeing thus deuided according to their yeeres and abilitie, they then reduced them into ſmaller companies, to make them fitter for command and fight: and ſo they deuided the Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii, each of them into 10 companies, making of thoſe 3. ſortes of ſoldiours 30. ſmall regiments, vvhich they called Manipuli: And againe, they ſubdeuided euerie maniple into two equall parts, and called them Ordo, vvhich was the leaſt companie in a legion; and according to the rate ſet down by Polybius, contained 60. ſoldiours. In euerie Ordo there was a Centurion, or Captaine, and a Lieuetenant, whom they named Optio or Tergiductor. The maniples of the Triarii were much leſſer then the maniples of either the Haſtati or the Principes;

The diſtinction of their companies.

Manipuli.

Ordo.

cipes; for as much as their whole band consisted but of 600. men. The Velites were put into no such companies, but were equally distributed amongst the other Maniples; and therefore the Hastati, Principes, and Triarij were called *subsignanos milites*, to make a difference between them and the Velites, which were not deuided into bandes; and so consequently had no ensigne of their own, but were distributed amongst the other companies: so that euery Maniple had 40. Velites attending vpon it. And now I come to the description of a cohort, which the history heere mentioneth.

Cohors. Lib. 3. de re rust.

The worde *Cohors* in latine doth signifie that part of grounde which is commonly inclosed before the gate of a house, which from the same word we call a court: and Varro giueth this reason of the metaphor. As in a farme house, saith he, many out-buildings ioined together make one inclosure; so a cohort consisteth of seuerall maniples ioined together in one body. This cohort consisted of three maniples; for euerie legion had ten cohorts, which must necessarily comprehend those thirty maniples: but these 3. maniples were not al of one and the same kind of soldiors, as three maniples of the Hastati, 3. of the Principes, and 3. of the Triarij, as Patricius in his Paralleli seemeth to affirme; for so there would haue remained an odde maniple in euery kind, that could not haue been brought into any cohort: But a cohort contained a maniple of the Hastati, a maniple of the Principes, and a maniple of the Triarij; and so al the 30. maniples were included into 10. cohorts; & euery cohort was as a little legion; forasmuch as it consisted of al those sortes of soldiours that were in a legion. So that making a legion to containe 5000. men; a cohort had 500. and so these 6. cohorts, which he incamped on the other side of the riuer, vnder the command of Titurius Sabinus, contayned 3000. soldiours: but if you make a legion to consist but of 4200. which was the more vsuall rate, there were 2520. soldiours in these sixe cohortes.

By this therefore it may appeare, that a legion consisted of foure sorts of soldiours, which were reduced into ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained 3. maniples; & euery maniple 2. orders; and euery order had his Centurion marching in the head of the troupe; and euery Centurion had his optionem, or Lieutenāt, that stood in the taile of the troupe.

A legion ranged in battell.

When a legion stoode ranged in battell ready to confront the enemy, the least body or squadron that it contained was a maniple; wherein the two orders were ioined together, making iointly ten in front, and twelue in file: and so euerie fiue files had their Centurion in front, and Lieutenant in the rereward, to direct them in all aduentures. In the time of the Emperours, their battailions consisted of a cohort, and neuer exceeded that number how great soeuer the army were.

The first order

Polybius distinguishing a maniple into two centuries or orders, saith, that the Centurion first chosen by the Tribunes, commanded the right order, which was that order which stoode on the right hand, knowne by the name of *Primus ordo*: and the Centurion elected in the second course, commanded the left order; and in the absence of either of them, hee that was present of them two, commaunded the whole maniple. And so wee finde that the Centurion of the

firſt place was called *Prior Centurio:* in which ſenſe Cæſar is to be vnderſtood, where hee ſaith, that all the Centurions of the firſt cohorte were ſlaine, *præter principem priorem*. From whence we gather two ſpecialities, firſt; the prioritie betweene the Centurions of the ſame maniple: for a cohorte conſiſting of 3. maniples, vvhereof the firſt maniple vvere Triarij, the ſecond Principes, and the thirde Haſtati; and euerie maniple containing two orders; and euerie order a Centurion: he ſaith, that all the Centurions of this cohort vvere ſlaine; ſauing the firſt or vpper Centurion of the Principes. The ſecond thing vvhich I obſerue, is the title of the firſt cohort: for theſe 10. cohortes, vvhereof a legion conſiſted, vvere diſtinguiſhed by degrees of worthineſſe; and that vvhich vvas held the vvorthieſt in the cenſure of the Electors, tooke the prioritie both of place and name, and vvas called the firſt cohort: the next, the ſecond cohort; & ſo conſequently vnto the tenth and laſt.

3. De bello ciuili.

Prima cohors

Neither did the legions want their degrees of preheminẽce, both in imbattailing & in incãping, according either to the ſeniority of their inrolement, or their fauor of their General, or their own vertue: And ſo we read that in theſe vvars in Gallia, the tenth legion had the firſt place in Cæſars army. And thus much concerning the diuiſions, and ſeuerall companies of a legion, and the degrees of honour which they held in the ſame.

The benefit of this diſcipline

Vpon this deſcription it ſhall not be amiſſe, briefelie to laie open the moſt apparant commodities depending vpon this diſcipline; the excellency vvhereof more plainely appeareth, being compared to that order, vvhich nature hath obſerued in the frame of her vvorthieſt creatures: for it is euident, that ſuch workes of nature come neereſt to perfect excellencie, vvhoſe material ſubſtance is moſt particularlie diſtinguiſhed into parts, and hath euery part indued vvith that propertie, which beſt agreeth to his peculiar ſeruice. For beeing thus furniſhed with diuerſitie of inſtruments, and theſe directed vvith fitting abilities; the creature muſt needs expreſſe many admirable effects, and diſcouer the vvorth of an excellent nature: vvhereas thoſe other bodies, that are but ſlenderly laboured, and find leſſe fauour in natures forge, being as abortiues, or barbarouſly compoſed, vvanting the diuerſitie both of partes and faculties; are no vvay capable of ſuch excellent vſes, nor fit for ſuch diſtinct ſeruices, as the former that are directed vvith ſo many propetties, and inabled vvith the power of ſo wel diſtinguiſhed faculties. Which better works of nature the Romains imitated in the Architecture of their army, deuiding it into ſuch neceſſary & ſeruiceable partes, as were beſt fitting all vſes and imploiments: as firſt into legions, and legions into cohorts, and cohorts into maniples, and maniples into centuries or orders, and theſe into files; wherein euery man knewe his place, and kept the ſame without exchange or confuſion. And thus the vniuerſall multitude was by order diſpoſed into partes, vntill it came vnto a vnitie: for it cannot bee denied, but that theſe centuries were in themſelues ſo ſenſiblie diſtinguiſhed, that euerie Soldiour caried in his minde the particular Mappe of his whole centurie: for in imbttrailing, euerie centurie was diſpoſed into 5. files, contayning twelue in a file, whereof the leaders were alwayes certaine, and neuer changed but by death or ſome other eſpeciall occaſion: and euerie leader

leader knew his follower, and euerie ſecond knewe the third man, and ſo conſequently vnto the laſt.

Vpon theſe particularities it plainly appeareth, how eaſie a matter it was, to reduce their troupes into any order of a march or a battell, to make the front the flanke, or flanke front, when they were broken and diſrankt to rallie them into any forme, when euery man knew both his owne and his fellowes ſtation. If any companies were to be imploied vpon ſudden ſeruice, the generall Idea of the Armie being ſo deepely imprinted in the minde of the commanders, would not ſuffer them to erre in taking out ſuch conuenient troupes, both for number and quality, as might beſt agree with the ſafetie of the Armie, or nature of the action: At all occaſions and oportunities, theſe principles of aduantage offered themſelues, as readie meanes, to put in execution any deſſigne, or ſtratagem whatſoeuer; the proiect was no ſooner reſolued of, but euerie man could readily point out the companies that were fit to execute the intention. And which is more important, in regard of the life and ſpirit of euerie ſuch part, their ſodalitie was ſweetned, or rather ſtrengthened with the mutuall acquaintance, and friendſhippe one of another, the captaine marching alwaies in the head of the troupe, the enſigne in the middeſt, and the lieutenant in the rereward, and euerie man accompanied with his neighbour and his friend; which bred a true and vnfained courage, both in regard of themſelues, and of their followers. Beſides theſe ſpecialities, the places of title and dignity depending vpon this order, were no ſmall meanes to cutte off all matter of ciuill diſcorde, and inteſtine diſſention: for here euerie man knew his place in the file, and euerie file knewe his place in the Centurie, and euerie Centurie in the Maniple, and euerie Maniple in the Cohort, and euerie Cohort in the Legion, and euerie Legion in the Armie; and ſo euerie ſouldier had his place, according to his vertue; and euerie place gaue honour to the man, according as their diſcipline had determined thereof.

The vvant of this diſcipline hath diſhonoured the martiall gouernment of this age, with bloudſhed and murthers; whereof France is too true a witneſſe, as well in regard of the French themſelues, as of our Engliſh forces that haue beene ſent thither to appeaſe their tumults: for through defect of this order, which allotteth to euerie man his due place, the controuerſie grew between Sir William Drurie and Sir Iohn Bowrowes, the iſſue wherof is too well known to the world: wherein as our commanders in France haue been negligent, ſo I may not forget to giue due commẽdation to the care which is had of this point amongſt the Engliſh troups, in the ſeruice of the ſtates in the vnited prouinces, where they are very curious in appointing euerie man his place in the file, and euerie file in the troupe, and find much benefit thereby, beſides the honour of reuiuing the Roman diſcipline.

The benefit of ſmall battalions: and the diſaduantage of great ſquadrons.

To conclude this point, I will onely touch in a word the benefite, which the Romans found in their ſmall battailions, and the diſaduantage, which we haue in making great ſquadrons. And firſt it cannot be denied, but that ſuch troupes ſtand beſt appointed for diſpoſition and array of battell, which ſtanding ſtrong to receiue a ſhocke, bring moſt men to fight with the enemie: for the principall

thinges which are required in ſetting of a battell, are ſo to order the troupes, that the depth in flanke may ſerue conueniently to withſtand the aſſault, taking vp no more men then may well ſerue for that purpoſe; and giuing meanes to the reſt to fight with the enemie; and in theſe two points, were both their defenſiue and offenſiue conſiderations comprehended. But ſmaller troupes and battailons afforde this conueniencie better then great ſquadrons, which drowne vp manie able men in the depth of their flankes, and neuer ſuffer them to appeare, but when the breaking of the ſquadron doth preſent them to the butcherie of the enemie. The Macedonian Phalanx, as I haue noted in the firſt booke, neuer caried aboue 16 in flanke, and brought 500 to fight in front. And theſe little battailons (conſidering them as they ſtood in battell ray) made as great a front or greater, then that of the Phalanx, keeping a depth anſwerable to the ſame; beſides the 2 and 3 battell, which alwaies were to ſuccour them, which the Phalanx wanted: neither would their thicke and cloſe imbattailing admit any ſuch ſuccour behind them. Now if we cõpare the aduantages & diſcommodities, which by place and accident were incident to either of theſe, we ſhall find great ods betweene them. Theſe great ſquadrons are not faiſable, but in plaine and open places, where they may either ſtand immoueable, or make eaſie and flow motions without ſhaking, or diſordering their bodie: but the leſſer are a ſcantling for all places, champion or wooddie, leuell or vneuen, or of what ſite or quality ſoeuer. And to conclude, if two or three rankes of theſe great battailons chance to be broken and diſordered, the whole body is as much intereſſed in the diſorder, as the ſaid rankes are; and hath leſſe meanes to rally it ſelfe, then any other leſſer companie: but if any violence chance to rout a maniple, it proceedeth no further in the Armie, then that part which it taketh: Neither can the diſranking of any one part, betraie the ſafetie of the Armie to diſorder and confuſion; for as much as their diſtinction ſerued to cut off ſuch inconueniences, and yet no waie hindered the generall vniting of their ſtrength into one body. More may be ſaid concerning this matter, but I onely point at it, and leaue the due conſideration therof, to the iudgment of our commanders, & returne to our hiſtory.

CHAP. IIII.

The Belgæ attempt the ſurpriſe of * Bibrax: *Cæſar ſendeth ſuccour vnto it.*

* *Bray in the county of Retell.*

THere was a towne called Bibrax, belonging to the ſtate of Rheimes, about eight mile from Cæſars campe; which the Belgæ thought to haue ſurpriſed, as they came along to meete with Cæſar, and ſuddenly aſſaulted it with ſuch furie, that the towneſmen could hardly hold out the firſt daie. The Celtæ and Belgæ vſe one and the ſame manner, in aſſaulting a towne: for hauing beſet the whole compaſſe of the wall with rankes of ſouldiers, they neuer ceaſe flinging of ſtones vntill they finde

finde the wall naked of defendantes; and then caſting themſelues into a Teſtudo, they approch to the gate and vndermine the walles. Aſſoone as the night had made an end of the aſſault, Iccius of Rheimes, a man of great birth and authoritie in his countrey, who at that time was gouernour of the towne, and had beene before with Cæſar, to treat and conclude a peace: ſent him word by meſſengers, that if there came not preſent ſuccour, he was not able to holde out any longer. The ſame daie about midnight (vſing the ſame meſſengers for guides) he ſent both Numidian and Cretian Archers, and ſlingers of the Iles of Baleares, to relieue the towne; by meanes whereof, the townesmen were put in good hope to make their partie ſtrong, and the enemie made hopeles of winning the towne: and therefore after a ſmall ſtay, hauing populated their fieldes, and burned their villages and out-buildinges, they marched with all their power towardes Cæſars campe, and within leſſe then two miles of his Armie, they incamped their whole hoaſt: which, as was gathered by the ſmoake and fire, occupied more ground then eight miles in breadth.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the deſcription of their aſſault, we are to obſerue two circumſtances: The firſt is, the manner they vſed in a ſudden ſurpriſe: The ſecond is, the forme and quality of a Teſtudo. Although Cæſar ſeemeth to attribute this manner of aſſaulting a towne, as peculiar, to the Galles; yet wee maie not thinke but that the Romans vſed it, as often as they had occaſion to ſurpriſe any cittie: but becauſe the Galles knew no other means to take a towne but this, therefore he ſetteth it downe as peculiar vnto them. The Romans called this manner of aſſault *Corona*; and ſo we read oftentimes this phraſe, *Cingere vrbem corona:* for as much as the ſouldiers incloſed the towne with a circle, and ſo reſembled a crowne or garland. Ammianus ſpeaketh of a triple crown of ſouldiers, which incompaſſed a towne: And Ioſephus telleth of Iotapatam, which the Romans beſieged *duplici peditum corona:* and beſides theſe, there was a third circle of horſemen vtmoſt of all. There is no further matter to be obſerued but this, that in ſurpriſing a towne, they incircled it round about with thick continued rankes of men, and where they found the wall weakeſt, there they entered as they could.

To take a towne by ſurpriſe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Teſtudo requireth a larger diſcourſe, and is liuely deſcribed in Liuie, after this manner. In the Amphitheater, where the people did often aſſemble to ſee ſtrange ſightes and publike ſhewes, were brought in (ſaith he) 60 luſtie young men, who after ſome motion, and ſeemely march, caſt themſelues into a ſquare troupe, & roofing their heads cloſe with their targets, the firſt ranke which made the front of the Teſtudo, ſtood vpright on their feete; the ſecond ranke bowed it ſelfe ſomewhat lower;

A Teſtudo deſcribed. Lib. 44.

the third and fourth rankes did more incline themſelues, and ſo conſequentlie vnto the laſt ranke, which kneeled on the ground, and ſo they made a bodie reſembling halfe the ſide of an houſe, which they called Teſtudo. Vnto this ſquadron thus ſtrongly combined togither, came two ſoldiours running ſome fiftie foot off, and threatning each other with their weapons, ran nimbly vp the ſide of the roofe; and ſometimes making as though they would defend it againſt an enemy, that would haue entred vpon it; ſometimes againe incountering each other in the midſt of it, leaped vp and downe as ſteddily as if they had been vpon firme ground. And which is more ſtrange, the front of a Teſtudo being applied to the ſide of a wall, there aſcended many armed men vpon the ſaid Teſtudo, and fought in an equall height with other ſoldiors, that ſtood vpon the ſaid wal to defend it. The diſſimilitude in the compoſition was this, that the ſoldiors that were in front, and in the ſides of the ſquare, caried not their Targets ouer their heads, as the other did; but couered their bodies with them, and ſo no weapons either caſt from the wall, or otherwiſe throwne againſt it, coulde any waie hurt them; and whatſoeuer waight fell vppon the Teſtudo, it quicklie glided downe by the decliuitie of the roofe, withoût anie hurte or annoyance at all.

Thus far Liuie goeth, neither doe I know what to ſaie further of it: the chiefeſt vſe thereof was in a ſurpriſe or ſuddaine attempt againſt a towne, before the townes men were throughly prepared to defend the ſame. This inuention ſerued them to approach the wall with ſafetie, and ſo either to vndermine it, or to clime vp: and to that ende they oftentimes erected one Teſtudo vpon another. Tacitus ſaith, that the ſoldiours climed vppon the wall, *ſuper iteratam teſtudinem*, by one Teſtudo made vpon an other; and this was the ancient forme and vſe of a Teſtudo in a ſuddain aſſault or ſurpriſe.

Lib. 49. Dio Caſſius in the actes of Anthonie, ſaieth, that beeing galled with the Parthian Archers, hee commanded his whole armie to put it ſelfe into a Teſtudo, which was ſo ſtrange a ſight to the Parthians, that they thought the Romaines hadde ſunke downe for wearineſſe and faintneſſe; and ſo forſaking their horſe, drewe their ſwordes to haue made execution: and then the Romaines at a watch-worde giuen, roſe againe with ſuch a furie, that they put them all to ſworde and flight. Dio deſcribeth the ſaide Teſtudo after this manner, They placed, ſaieth hee, their baggage, their light armed men and their horſemen, in the middeſt; and thoſe heauie armed footemen that caried long gutter-tiled Targettes, were in the vtmoſt circles nexte vnto the enemie; the reſte which bare large Ouall Targettes were thronged togither throughout the whole troupe, and ſo couered with their Targets both themſelues and their fellowes, that there was nothing diſcerned by the enemy but a roofe of Targets, which were ſo tiled togither, that men might ſafely go vpon them.

Further, wee oftentimes reade, that the Romaines caſt themſelues into a Teſtudo, to breake through an enemy, or to route and diſranke a troupe. And this vſe the Romaines had of a Teſtudo in field ſeruices, and only by the benefit of their Target. It was called a Teſtudo, in regarde of the ſtrength, for that it couered

couered and ſheltred, as a ſhell couereth a fiſh. And let this ſuffice concerning a Teſtudo.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly we may obſerue, how carefully Cæſar prouided for the ſafetie of ſuch ſuccours, as he ſent vnto Bibrax: for hee commanded the ſame meſſengers to direct them that came from the towne, as the beſt and ſureſt guides in that iourney, leaſt peraduenture through ignorance of the way, they might fall into inconueniences or dangers: a matter of no ſmall conſequence in managing a warre, but deſerueth an extraordinarie importunitie, to perſuade the neceſſitie of this diligence. For a Generall that hath perfectlie diſcouered the nature of the countrey, through which he is to march, and knoweth the true diſtances of places, the qualitie of the waies, the compendiouſneſſe of turnings, the nature of the hils and the courſe of the riuers, hath all theſe particularities as maine aduantages, to giue meanes of ſo many ſeuerall attempts vpon an enemy: And in this point Hanniball had a ſingular dexterity, and excelled all the commanders of his time in making vſe of the way, by which he was to paſſe. But he that leadeth an army, by an vnknown and vndiſcouered way, and marcheth blindfold vpon vncertaine aduentures, is ſubiect to as many caſualties and diſaduantages, as the other hath opportunitie of good fortune. Let euery man therfore perſuade himſelfe, that good diſcouerers are as the eyes of an army, and ſerue for lights in the darkeneſſe of ignorance, to direct the reſolutions of good prouidence, and make the path of ſafetie ſo manifeſt, that we neede not ſtumble vpon caſualties. Cæſar in his iourney to Ariouiſtus vſed the helpe of Diuitiacus the Heduan, in whome amongſt all the Galles, he repoſed greateſt confidence to diſcouer the waie, and acquaint him with the paſſages; and before hee would vndertake his voyage vnto * Britanie, he well enformed himſelfe by marchants and trauailers, of the quantity of the Iland, the quality of the people, their vſe of warre, and the oportunitie of their hauens: Neither was he ſatisfied with their relations, but hee ſent Caius Voluſenus in a ſhip of warre, to ſee what hee could further diſcouer, concerning theſe points. Suetonius addeth moreouer, that hee neuer caried his army, *per inſidioſa itinera*, vnleſſe he had firſt well diſcouered the places.

The neceſſitie of good diſcouerie.

**New England.*

Concerning the order, which skilfull leaders haue obſerued in diſcoueries, we are to knowe that this point conſiſteth of two partes: the one in vnderſtanding the perfect deſcription of the countrey; and the ſecond in obſeruing the motions of the enemy. Touching the firſt, we finde as well by this as other hiſtories, that the Romains vſed the inhabitants of the country for guides, as beſt acquainted with their natiue places, that they might not erre in ſo important a matter; prouided alwaies, that their owne ſcoutes were euer abroad to vnderſtand what they could of themſelues, that they might not altogither relie vpon a ſtrangers direction. The motions of the enemy were obſerued by the horſemen, and theſe for the moſt part were Veterani, well experienced in the matter of

The order which is to be obſerued in diſcouery.

of warre, and ſo the generall receiued ſound aduertiſements: and yet they were not too forward vpon any new motion, vnleſſe they found it confirmed by diuers waies: for ſome eſpials may erre, either through paſſion or affection, as it happened in the Heluetian warre. If therefore the vſe and benefit, which prudent and wiſe commanders made of this diligence, or the misfortune which the want of this knowledge brought vpon the ignorant, haue any authoritie to perſwade a circumſpect care herein, this little that hath beene ſpoken may be ſufficient, for this point.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

Slingers with their arte and vſe.

THe ſouldiers which Cæſar ſent to relieue Bibrax, were Archers of Creta and Numidia, and ſlingers of the Iles Baleares, which are now called Maiorica, and Minorica: which kinde of weapon, becauſe it ſeemeth ridiculous to the ſouldiers of theſe times, whoſe conceites are held vp with the furie of theſe fierie engines; I will in briefe diſcouer the nature and vſe of this weapon.

The Latines (ſaith Iſodore) called this weapon *funda: quod ex ea fundantur lapides*. Plinie attributeth the inuention thereof to the Inſulairs called Baleares. Florus in his third booke and eighth chapter, ſaith, that theſe Baleares vſed three ſortes of ſlinges, and no other weapon beſides: for a boy had neuer any meate giuen him, before he had firſt ſtrooke it, with a ſling. Strabo diſtinguiſheth theſe three ſortes of ſlings, which the Baleares vſed; and ſaith that they had one ſling with long raines, which they vſed when they would caſt a farre off: and another with ſhort raines, which they vſed neere at hand: and the third with raines of a meane ſiſe, to caſt a reaſonable diſtance. Lipſius ſaith, that in *Columna Antonina* at Rome, he obſerued that the Balearean was made with one ſling about his head, another about his bellie, and the third in his hand; which might be their ordinarie manner of carrying them. The matter whereof they were made was threefold, the firſt was hempe or cotton, the ſecond haire, and the third ſinewes: for of either of theſe ſtuffes, they commonly made them: the forme and faſhion of a ſling reſembled a platted rope, ſomewhat broade in the middeſt, with an Ouall compaſſe; and ſo by little and little decreaſing into two thongs or raines. Their manner of ſlinging was to whirle it twiſe or thriſe about their head, and ſo to caſt out the bullet. Virgill ſpeaking of Mezentius ſaith,

Ipſe ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

But Vegetius preferreth that skill, which caſt the bullet with once turning it about the head. In Suidas we find, that theſe Baleares did commonly caſt a ſtone of a pound waight, which agreeth to theſe dames in Cæſar, *fundas, librales*. The leaden bullets are mentioned by Saluſt, in the warre with Iugurth; and by Liuie, where he ſaith, that the Conſull prouided great ſtore of arrowes, of bullets, and of ſmall ſtones to be caſt with ſlings. This weapon was in requeſt amongſt diuers nations, as well in regard of the readines, & eaſie reiterating of the blow, as alſo for that the bullet fledde verie farre, with great violence: the diſtance which

which they could easily reach with their sling, is expressed in this verse,

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

Which Vegetius interpreteth to be 600 foote: Their violence was such, as the same author affirmeth in his first booke and sixteenth chapter, that neither helmet, gaberdine, nor corselet could beare out the blow; but he that was hit with a sling, was slaine *sine inuidia sanguinis*, as he saith in the same place. Lucrece, Ouid, and Lucan, three of the Latine Poets saie, that a bullet skilfully cast out of a sling, went with such violence that it melted as it flew: whereof Seneca giueth this reason, motion (saith he) doth extenuate the aire, and that extenuation or subtilitie doth inflame: and so a bullet cast out of a sling melteth as it flieth. But howsoeuer, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, that these Balearean slingers brake both target, headpiece, or any other armour whatsoeuer. *Lib. 2.* *Lib. 2. natur. questions.*

There are also two other sorts of slings, the one mentioned by Liuie, and the other by Vegetius: that in Liuie is called *Cestrophendo*, which cast a short arrowe with a long thicke head: the other in Vegetius, is called *fustibalus*, which was a sling made of a coard and a staffe. But let this suffice for slinges and slingers, which were reckoned amongst their light armed souldiers, and vsed chiefly in assaulting, and defending townes, and fortresses, where the heauie armed souldiers could not come to buckle; and present the place of our Hargebusiers, which in their proper nature, are *leuis armaturæ milites*, although more terrible then those of ancient times.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar confronted the Belgæ in forme of battell, but *without any blow giuen: the Belgæ attempt the* passing of the riuer Axona; but in vaine, and *to their losse: they consult of breaking* vp the warre.

CAESAR *at the first resolued not to giue them battell, as well in regard of their multitude, as the generall fame and opinion conceiued of their valour: notwithstanding he daily made triall by light skirmishes with his horsemen, what the enemy could do, and what his owne men durst doe. And when he found that his men were nothing inferiour to the Belgæ, he chose a conuenient place before his campe and put his Armie in battell: the banke where he was incamped rising somewhat from a plaine leuell, was no larger then would suffice the front of the battell; the two sides were steepe, and the front rose a slope by little & little, vntill it came againe to a plaine, where the legions were imbattailed. And least the enemie abounding in multitude, should circumuent his men and charge them in flanke as they were fighting, he drew an ouerthwart ditch behind his Armie, from one side of the hill to the other, 600 paces in length; the ends whereof* *Cæsar.*

he fortified with bulwarkes, and placed therein ſtore of engines: and leauing in his campe the two legions which he had laſt inrolled in Lombardie, that they might bee readie to be drawne forth when there ſhould neede any ſuccour, he imbattailed his other ſixe legions in the front of the hill, before his campe. The Belgæ alſo bringing forth their power, confronted the Romans in order of battell. There laie betweene both the Armies a ſmall Mariſh, ouer which the enemie expected that Cæſar ſhould haue paſſed; and Cæſar on the other ſide, attended to ſee if the Belgæ would come ouer, that his men might haue charged them in that troubleſome paſſage. In the meane time the Caualrie on both ſides incountered betweene the two battels, and after long expectation on either ſide, neither partie aduenturing to paſſe ouer, Cæſar hauing got the better in the skirmiſh betweene the horſemen, thought it ſufficient for that time, both for the incouraging of his owne men, and the conteſting of ſo great an Army; and therefore he conuaied all his men againe into their campe. From that place the enemy immediately tooke his way to the riuer Axona, which laie behinde the Romans campe, and there finding foordes they attempted to paſſe ouer part of their forces, to the ende they might either take the fortreſſe which Q. Titurius kept, or to breake downe the bridge, or to ſpoile the territories of the ſtate of Rheimes, and cut off the Romans from prouiſion of corne. Cæſar hauing aduertiſement thereof from Titurius, tranſported ouer the riuer by the bridge all his horſemen and light armed Numidians, with his ſlingers and archers, and marched with them himſelfe: the conflict was hoat in that place, the Romans charging their enemies as they were troubled in the water, ſlewe a great number of them; the reſt like deſperate perſons, aduenturing to paſſe ouer vpon the dead carkaſes of their fellowes, were beaten backe by force of weapons: and the horſemen incompaſſed ſuch as had firſt got ouer the water, and ſlewe euerie man of them.

When the Belgæ perceiued themſelues fruſtrated of their hopes, of winning Bibrax, of paſſing the riuer, and of drawing the Romans into places of diſaduantage, and that their owne prouiſions began to faile them: they called a councell of war, wherein they reſolued, that it was beſt for the ſtate in generall, and for euerie man in particular, to breake vp their campe, and to returne home vnto their own houſes: and into whoſe confines or territories ſoeuer, the Romans ſhould firſt enter to depopulate and waſte them in hoſtile maner, that thither they ſhould haſten from al parts, and there to giue them battell, to the end they might rather trie the matter in their own countrie, then abroad in a ſtrange and vnknowne place; and haue their owne houſhold prouiſion alwaies at hand to maintaine them. And this the rather was concluded, for as much as they had intelligence, that Diuitiacus with a great power of the Hedui, approched neare to the borders of the Bellouaci, who, in that regard, made haſte homeward to defend their country.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IRſt we may obſerue the Arte, which he vſed to countertraile the ſtrength of ſo great a multitude, by chooſing out ſo conuenient a place, which was no broader in front then would ſuffice the front of his battell; and hauing both the ſides of the hill ſo ſteepe, that the enemy

enemy could not ascende nor clime vp, but to their own ouerthrow; hee made the backe part of the hil strong by Art, & so placed his soldiors as it were in the gate of a fortresse, where they might either issue out, or retire at their pleasure. Whereby it appeareth how much he preferred securitie and safetie before the vaine opinion of foole-hardie resolution, which sauoreth of Barbarisme rather then of true wisedome: for he euer thought it great gaine, to loose nothing; and the day brought alwaies good fortune, that deliuered vp the army safe vnto the euening; attending, vntil aduantage had laid sure principles of victory: and yet Cæsar was neuer thought a coward.

And now it appeareth, what vse hee made by passing his army ouer the riuer, and attending the enemie on the further side, rather then on the side of the state of Rheimes: for by that meanes he brought to passe, that whatsoeuer the enemie should attempt in any part or quarter of the lande, his forces were readie to trouble their proceedings; as it happened in their attempt of Bibrax: & yet notwithstanding, he lost not the opportunitie of making slaughter of the, as they passed ouer the riuer. For by the benefitte of the bridge which hee had fortified, he transported what forces he woulde, to make heade against them, as they passed ouer; and so hee tooke what aduantage either side of the riuer coulde affoord him.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AND heere the reader may not maruel, if when the hils are in labour, they bring forth but a mouse; for how soone is the courage of this huge army abated? or what did it attempt worthy such a multitude? or answerable to the report which was bruted of their valour? But beeing hastely caried together by the violence of passion, were as quickly dispersed vpon: he sight of an enemy, which is no strange effect of a suddaine humour. For as in nature all violent motions are of short continuance, and the durabilitie, or lasting qualitie of all actions, proceedeth from a slowe and temperate progression; so the resolutions of the minde that are caried with an vntemperate violence, and sauour so much of heat and passion, do vanish awaie euen with the smoake thereof, and bring forth nothing but leasurable repentaunce: and therefore it were no ill counsell for men of such natures, to qualifie their hastie resolutions, with a mistrustfull lingering, that when their iudgement is well informed of the cause, they may proceed to a speedie execution.

But that which most bewraieth their indiscreet intemperãce, in the hote pursuit of this enterprise, is, that before they had scarce seene the enemy, or had oportunity to contest him in open field, their victual began to faile them: for their mindes were so caried away with the conceite of warre, that they had no leisure to prouide such necessaries, as are the strength and sinewe of the warre: It was sufficient for euery particular man, to be knowne for a soldiour in so honorable an action, referring other matters to the care of the state. The states

in like manner thought it inough to furniſh out forty or fiftie thouſand men a peece, to diſcharge their oath, and to ſaue their hoſtages, committing other requiſites to the generall care of the confederacie: which, beeing directed by as vnskilful gouernours, neuer looked further then the preſent multitude, which ſeemed ſufficient to ouerthrow the Romaine Empire. And thus each man relied vpon an others care, and ſatiffied himſelfe with the preſent garbe; ſo many men of all ſortes and qualities, ſo many helmets and plumed creſts, ſuch ſtriſe and emulation, what ſtate ſhould ſeeme in greateſt forwardneſſe; were motiues ſufficient to induce euerie man to go, without further inquiry, how they ſhould goe. And herein the care of a Generall ought eſpecially to bee ſeene, conſidering the weakeneſſe of particular iudgements, that hauing the liues of ſo many men depending altogither vpon his prouidence, and ingaged in the defence of their ſtate and country; he do not faile in theſe maine points of diſcipline, which are the pillars of all warlike deſignes. To conclude this point, let vs learne by their errour, ſo to carrie a matter (eſpecially of that conſequence) that we make it not much worſe by ill handeling it, then it was before we firſt toooke it to our charge; as it heere happened to the Belgæ. For their tumultuous armes ſorted to no other ende, then to giue Cæſar iuſt occaſion to make warre vpon them, with ſuch aſſurance of victorie, that he made ſmall account of that which was to follow, in regard of that which had already happened: conſidering that hee ſhould not in all likelihood, meet with the like ſtrength againe, in the continuance of that warre. And this was not onely *grauius bellum ſucceſſori tradere*, as it often falleth out in the courſe of a long continued warre; but to drawe a dangerous warre vpon their heads, that otherwiſe might haue liued in peace.

CHAP. VI.

The Belgæ brake vp their Campe; and as they *returne home, are chaſed and ſlaughtered* by the Romaines.

Cæſar.

HIS generall reſolution beeing entertained by the conſent of the whole Councell of warre; they departed out of their Campe with a great noiſe and tumult, without any order (as it ſeemed) or gouernement: euerie man preſſing to bee formoſt on his iourney in ſuch a turbulent manner, that they ſeemed all to run away: Whereof Cæſar hauing notice by his ſpies, and miſtruſting ſome practiſe, not as yet perceiuing the reaſon of their departure, he kept his armie within his Campe. In the dawning of the day, vpon certaine intelligence of their departure, hee ſent firſt his horſemen to ſtaie the rereward, commaunding Labienus to followe after with three legions; theſe ouertaking the Belgæ, and chaſing them manie miles, ſlewe a great number of them: And while the rereward ſtaied, and valiantlie receiued the charge of the Romaines, the vantguarde being out of danger, and vnder no gouernment,

aſſoone

assoone as they heard the alarum behind them, brake out of their rankes and betooke themselues to flight; and so the Romaines slewe them as long as the sunne gaue them light to pursue them; and then sounding a retrait, they returned to their campe.

OBSERVATION.

IT hath beene an olde rule amongst soldiours, that a great and negligent errour committed by an enemy, is to be suspected as a pretence to trecherie. We reade of Fulvius a Legate in the Romaine armie, lying in Tuscanie, the Consul being gon to Rome to performe some publike dutie: the Tuscanes tooke occasion by his absence to trie whether they could drawe the Romaines into any inconuenience; and placing an ambuscado neere vnto their campe, sent certaine soldiours, attired like shepheardes, with droues of cattell to passe in view of the Romaine army, who handled the matter so, that they came euen to the rampier of the campe; whereat the Legate wondering as at a thing void of reason, kept himselfe quiet vntill he had discouered their treacherie, and so made frustrate their intent: In like maner Cæsar not persuaded that men should bee so heedles, to carry a retrait in that disorderly and tumultuous maner, would not discampe his men to take the oportunity of that aduantage, vntill he had found that to be true, which in all reason was vnlikely. And thus 296000. Belgæ were chased and slaughtered by three legions of the Romaines, for want of gouernment and order in their departure.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar followeth after the Belgæ into the Countrey of the Suessones; and there besiegeth * Nouiodunum.

** Noyon:*

*THE next day after their departure, before they could recouer thẽselues of their feare and flight; or had time to put thẽselues againe in breath: Cæsar as it were continuing still the chase and victorie, led his armie into the countrey of the *Suessones, the next borderers vnto the men of Rheimes: and after a long iourney came vnto Nouiodunum, a towne of good importance, which he attempted to take by surprise, as he passed along by it. For he vnderstoode, that it was altogether vnfurnished of defensiue prouision, hauing no forces within to defende it: but in regard of the breadth of the ditch and heigth of the wall, he was for that time disappointed of his purpose: and therefore hauing fortified his campe, hee began to make preparation for a siege. The night following the whole multitude of the Suessones, that had escaped by flight, were receiued into the towne: howbeit when the Vinea were with great expedition brought vnto the wall, the mount raised, and the turrets built; the Galles being amazed at the highnes of the workes, such as they had*

Cæsar.

** Soyssons.*

neuer ſeene nor heard of before, and the ſpeede which was made in the diſpatch thereof, ſent ambaſſadours to Cæſar, to treate of giuing vp the towne, and by the mediation of the men of Rheimes obtained their ſuite.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this relation we may obſerue the induſtrious art, which the Romans vſed in aſſaulting, and taking holdes and townes; wherein we find three ſortes of engines deſcribed, Vinea, Agger, and Turres.

** Lib. 4. A vinea or vine deſcribed.*

Vinea is thus deſcribed by Vegetius: A little ſtrong built houſe or houell, made of light wood, that it might be remoued with greateſt eaſe; the roofe was ſupported with diuers pillars of a foote ſquare, vvherof the formoſt were 8 foot high, and the hindmoſt 6; and betweene euerie one of theſe pillars, there was 5 foot diſtance: it was alwaies made with a double roofe; the firſt or lower roofe was of thicke plankes, and the vpper roofe of hurdles, to breake the force of a waight, without further ſhaking or diſioyning the building: the ſides were likewiſe walled with hurdles, the better to defend the ſoldiers that vvere vnder it: the vvhole length vvas about 16 foot, and the breadth 7: the vpper roofe vvas commonly couered vvith greene or raw hides, to keepe it from burning. Many of theſe houels vvere ioined together in ranke, vvhen they went about to vndermine a vval: the higher end was put next vnto the wal, that all the waights which vvere throwen vpon it might eaſily tumble down, without any great hurt to the engine: the foure ſides and groundſils, had in euery corner a vvheele, & by them they vvere driuen to any place as occaſion ſerued: the chiefeſt vſe of them vvas to couer and defend the ſouldiers, as they vndermined or ouerthrew a vval. This engine vvas called Vinea, which ſignifieth a vine, for it ſheltered ſuch as vvere vnder the roofe thereof, as a vine couereth the place vvhere it groweth.

Agger or mount.

Agger, vvhich vve call a mount, is deſcribed in diuers hiſtories to be a hil or eleuation made of earth and other ſubſtance, vvhich by little and little was raiſed forward, vntil it approched neare vnto the place, againſt which it vvas built; that vpon this mount they might erect fortreſſes and turrets, and ſo fight with an aduantage of height. The matter of this mount, vvas earth and ſtones, fagots, and timber. Ioſephus ſaith, that at the ſiege of Ieruſalem, the Romans cut downe al the trees vvithin 11 mile compaſſe, for matter and ſtuffe to make a mount. The ſides of this Agger vvere of timber to keepe in the looſe matter; the forepart which was towards the place of ſeruice, was open without any timber worke: for on that part they ſtil raiſed it & brought it nearer the wals. That which was built at Maſſilia vvas 80 foot high, and that at Auaricum 80 foot high and 30 foote broad. Ioſephus and Egeſippus writ, that there was a fortreſſe in Iudea, 300 cubites high, which Sulla purpoſing to vvin by aſſault, raiſed a mount 200 cubites high; and vpon it, he built a caſtle of ſtone 50 cubites high, and 50 cubites broad; and vpon the ſaid caſtell he erected a turret of 60 cubites in hight, and ſo took the fortreſſe. The Romans oftentimes raiſed theſe mounts in the mouth of a hauen, and commonly to ouer-toppe a towne, that ſo they might fight with much aduantage.

Amongſt

Amongſt other engines, in vſe amongſt the Romans, their moueable Turrets were verie famous; for they were built in ſome ſafe place out of danger, and with wheeles put vnder them, were driuen to the walles of the towne. Theſe Turrets were of two ſortes, either great or little: the leſſer ſort are deſcribed, by Vitruuius, to be 60 cubites high; and the ſquare ſide 17 cubites; the breadth at the top was a fift part, of the breadth at the baſe; and ſo they ſtood ſure without any danger of falling: the corner pillars were at the baſe, 9 inches ſquare, & 6 inches at the top: there were commonly 10 ſtories in theſe little turrets, & windowes in euerie ſtorie. The greater ſort of towers were 120 cubites high, and the ſquare ſide was 24 cubites, the breadth at the top was a fift part of the baſe; and in euerie one of theſe were commonly 200 ſtories. There was not one and the ſame diſtance kept betweene the ſtories, for the loweſt commonly was 7 cubites, and 12 inches high: the higheſt ſtorie 5 cubites, and the reſt 4 cubites, and a third. In euerie one of theſe ſtories, were ſouldiers and engines, ladders, and caſting bridges, by which they got vpon the wall and entered the towne. The forepart of theſe Turrets were couered with yron, and wet couerings, to ſaue them from fire. The ſouldiers that remoued the tower to and fro, were alwaies within the ſquare thereof, and ſo they ſtood out of danger. The new water-worke by broken Wharfe in London much reſembleth one of theſe towers.

Towers or Turrets deſcribed.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

VPon the building of theſe mightie engines, it was no maruell if the Sueſſones ſubmitted themſelues to ſuch powerfull induſtrie. For whatſoeuer is ſtrange and vnuſuall, doth much affrighte the ſpirits of an enemie, and breede a motion of diſtruſt and diffidencie, when as they finde themſelues ignorant of ſuch warlike practiſes: for noueltie alwaies breedeth wonder, in as much as the true reaſons and cauſes being vnknowen, we apprehend it, as diuers from the vſuall courſe of thinges, and ſo ſtand gazing at the ſtrangeneſſe thereof: and wonder as it addeth worth to the noueltie; ſo it inferreth diffidencie, and ſo conſequently feare, the vtter enemie of martiall valour.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar carieth his Armie to the Territories of the *Bellouaci, Ambiani and the Neruij.*

Cæſar.

The Bellouaci taken to mercie.

CAESAR *taking for pledges the chiefeſt of their cittie, vpon the deliuerie of all their Armes, receiued the Sueſſones to mercie: and from thence led his Armie againſt the Bellouaci; who hauing conuaied both themſelues and their goods into the towne, called Bratiſpantium, and vnderſtanding that Cæſar was come within fiue mile of the place, all the elder ſort came foorth to meete him, ſignifying their*

their ſubmiſſion, by their lamentable demeanour. For theſe Diuitiacus became a mediator (who after the Belgæ had broken vp their campe, had diſmiſſed his Heduan forces and was returned to Cæſar) the Hedui (ſaith he) haue alwaies found in the Bellouaci, a faithfull and friendly diſpoſition to their ſtate: and if they had not beene betraied by their nobilitie, (who made them beleeue, that the Hedui were brought in bondage by the Romaines, and ſuffered all villanie and deſpight at their handes,) they had neuer withdrawne themſelues from the Hedui, nor conſented to conſpire againſt the Romaines. The authors of this counſel, perceiuing into what great miſerie they had brought their countrey, were fled into Britanie: wherfore not onelie the Bellouaci, but the Hedui alſo in their behalfe beſought him to vſe his clemencie towardes them. Cæſar in regarde of the Hedui and Diuitiacus, promiſed to receiue them to mercie; but foraſmuch as the ſtate was verie great and populous, hee demanded 600. hoſtages: Which being deliuered, and their armour brought out of the towne, he marched from thence into the coaſt of the Ambiani, who without further lingering, gaue both themſelues and al that they had into his power. Vpon theſe bordered the Neruÿ, of whom Cæſar found this much by inquirie, that there was no recourſe of marchants vnto them: neither did they ſuffer any wine, or what thing elſe might tende to riot, to bee brought into their countrey: for they were perſuaded, that by ſuch thinges their courage was much abated, and their vertue weakened. Further, he learned that theſe Neruÿ were a ſauage people, and of great valour, often accuſing the reſt of the Belgæ, for yeelding their neckes to the Romaine yoake, openly affirming, that they would neither ſende ambaſſadors nor take peace vpon any condition.

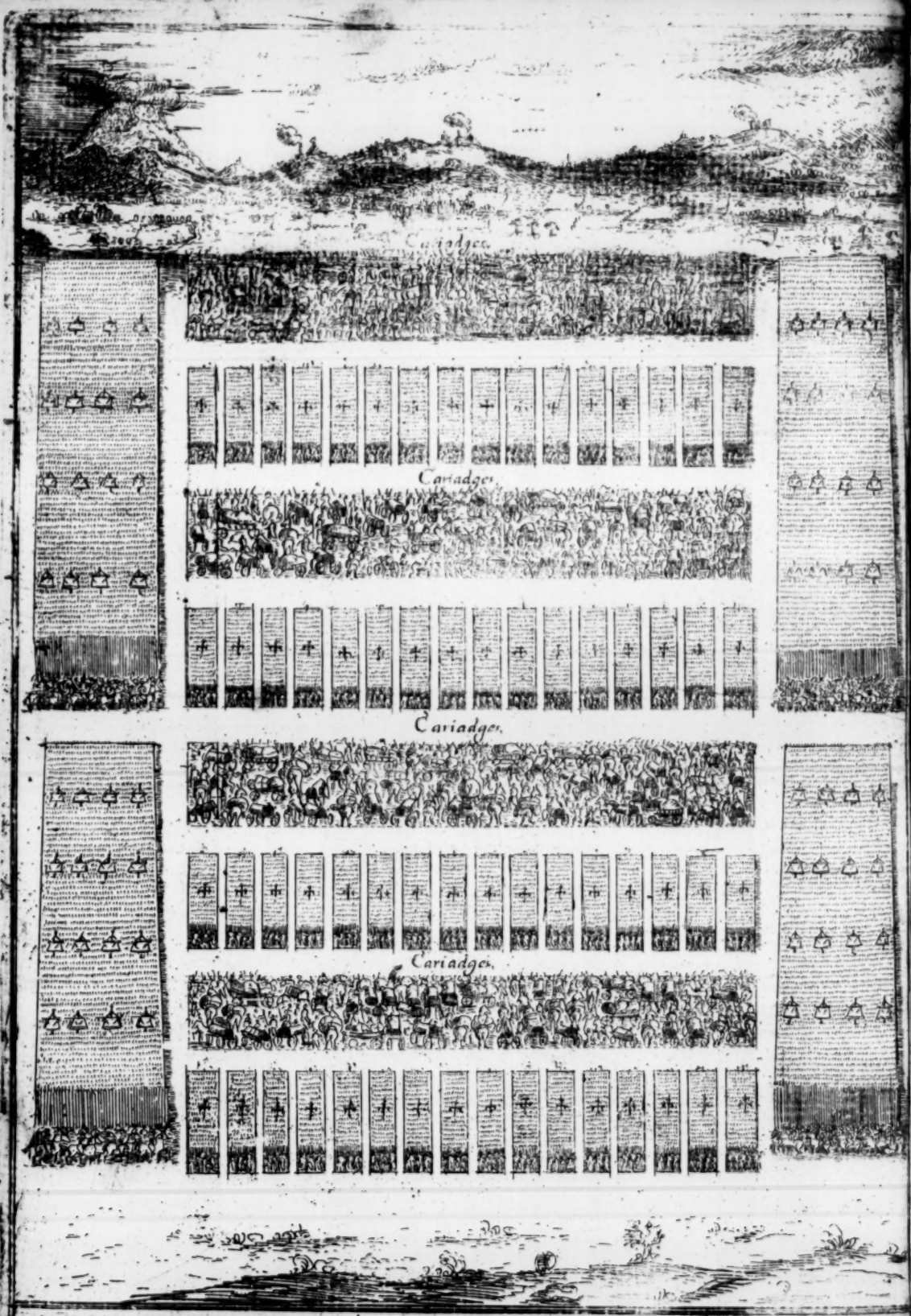
The Ambiani yeeld vp themſelues.

The Neruÿ.
Sābre neere Namours.

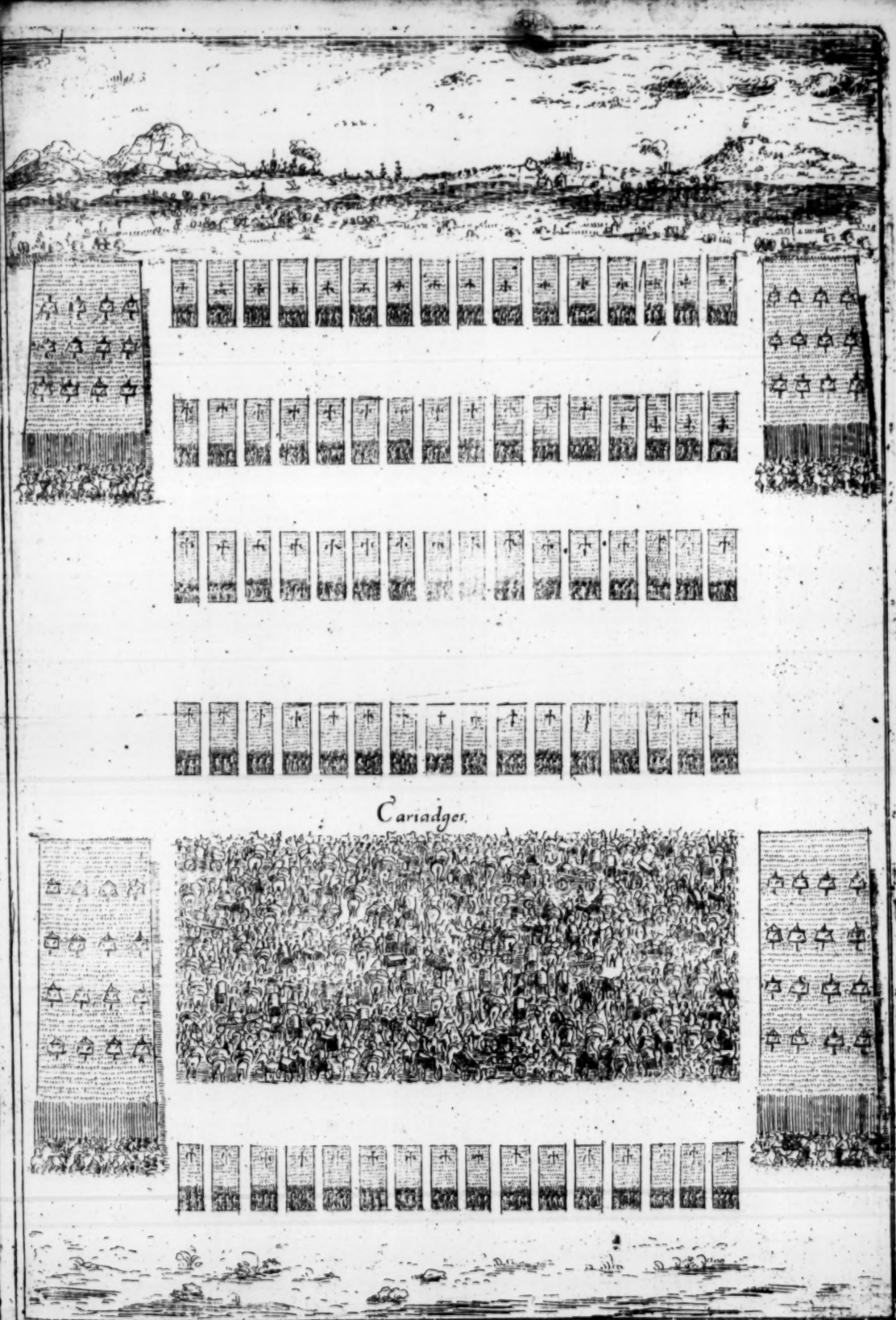
Cæſar hauing marched three daies iourney in their countrey, he vnderſtood that the riuer * Sabis was not paſt ten miles from his campe; and that on the further ſide of this riuer, all the Neruÿ were aſſembled together, and there attended the comming of the Romaines: with them were ioined the Attrebatÿ, and Veromandui, whom they had perſuaded to abide the ſame fortune of warre with them. Beſides, they expected a power from the Aduatici; the women and ſuch as were vnmeete for the fielde, they beſtowed in a place vnacceſſible for any armie, by reaſon of fens and bogs, and mariſhes. Vpon this intelligence, Cæſar ſent his diſcouerers and Centurions before, to chooſe out a fit place to incampe in.

Now whereas many of the ſurrendred Belgæ, and other Galles were continuallie in the Romaine army, certaine of theſe (as it was afterward known by the captiues) obſeruing the order which the Romaines vſed in marching, came by night to the Neruÿ and tolde them, that betweene euerie legion went a great ſort of cariages; and that it was no matter of difficultie, aſſoone as the firſt legion was come into the campe, and the other legions yet a great way off, to ſet vpon them, vpon a ſuddaine, before they were diſburdened of their cariages; and ſo to ouerthrowe them: which legion being thus cut off, and their ſtuffe taken, the reſt wouldhaue ſmal courage to ſtande againſt them. It much furthered this aduice, that, foraſmuch as the Neruÿ were not able to make any power of horſe, that they might the better reſiſt the cauallrie of their borderers, whenſoeuer they made any roade into their marches; their manner was to cut yong trees halfe aſunder, & bowing the tops down to the ground, plaſhed the boughes in breadth, and with thornes and briers planted between them, they made them ſo thicke, that it was impoſsible to ſee through them, ſo hard it was to enter or paſſe through them; ſo that, whenby this occaſion, the paſſage of the Romaine army muſt needes be hindred, the Neruÿ thought the foreſaid counſell not to be neglected.

The



CÆSARS *march where in euery Legion had his Cariadges in front*



CÆSARS *march where the* Enemy *was neerer at hand*

The place which the Romaines chose to incampe in, was a hill, of like leuell from the top to the bottome, at the foot whereof ran the riuer Sabis: and with the like leuell, on the other side, rose an other hill directly against this, to the quantity of 200. paces; the bottom whereof was plaine and open, and the vpper part so thicke with wood, that it could not easilie be looked into: within these woods the Neruians kept themselues close, and in the open grounde, by the riuer side were onely seene a fewe troupes of horse, and the riuer in that place was about 3. foot deepe.

Cæsar sending his horsemen before, followed after with all his power: but the maner of his march differed from the report which was brought to the Neruij: for inasmuch as the enemy was at hand; Cæsar (as his custom was) led 6. legions al waies in a readines, without burthen or cariage of any thing, but their armes: after them hee placed the impediments of the whole army. And the two legions which were last inrolled were a rereward to the army, and garded the stuffe.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis trecherous practise of the surrendred Belgæ, hath fortunatelie discouered the maner of Cæsars march, as well in safe passages, as in dangerous and suspected places: which is a point of no smal consequence in martiall discipline, being subiect to so many inconueniences, and capable of the greatest arte that may be shewed in managing a war. Concerning the discreet cariage of a march, by this circumstance it may bee gathered, that Cæsar principally respected safetie: and secondly conueniency. If the place affoorded a seeure passage, and gaue no suspicion of hostilitie, hee was content in regarde of conueniency, to suffer euery legion to haue the ouersight of their particular cariages, and to insert them among the troupes, that euery man might haue at hand such necessaries as were requisite, either for their priuate vse or publike discipline. But if he were in danger of any sodain attempt, or stood in hazard to be impeached by an enemy, hee then omitted conuenient disposition, in regard of particular vse, as disaduantageous to their safety: & caried his legions in that readines, that if they chanced to be ingaged by an enemy, they might without any alteration of their march, or incumbrance of their cariages receiue the charge, in that forme of battell, as was best approoued by their military rules, & the ancient practise of their fortunate progenitors.

The maner of the Romaine march.

The two respects which Cæsar had in ordering a march.
1 Safety.
2 Conueniēcy

The old Romains obserued likewise the same respects, for in vnsafe & suspected places, they caried their troupes *agmine quadrato*, which as Liuie seemeth to note, was free from all cariage and impediments, which might hinder them in any sodaine alarum. Neither doth that of * Hirtius any way contradict this interpretation, where he saith, that Cæsar so disposed his troupes against the Bellouaci, that 3. legions marched in front, & after them came al the cariages, to which the 10. legion serued as a rereward; & so they marched, *pene agmine quadrato*. *Seneca in like maner noteth the safety of *agmen quadratū*, where he saith, that where an enemie is expected, wee ought to march *agmine quadrato*, readie to fight. The most material consequence of these places alleadged is, that as ofte as they suspected anie onset or charge, their order in a march little or nothing

Agmen quadratum.

**Lib. 8. de bel. Gall.*

* *60. Epistle.*

differed from their vſuall maner of imbattailing; and therefore it was called *agmen quadratum*, or a ſquare march, inaſmuch as it kept the ſame diſpoſition of parts, as were obſerued *in quadrata Acie*. For that triple forme of imbattailing, which the Romaines generally obſerued in their fights, hauing reſpect to the diſtances between each battel, contained almoſt an equal dimenſion of front and file: and ſo it made *Aciem quadratam*; and when it marched, *Agmen quadratum*.

Lib. 6. Polybius expreſſeth the ſame in effect, as often as the place required circumſpection; but altereth it ſomewhat in regard of the cariages: for he ſaith that in time of danger, eſpecially where the countrey was plaine and Chãpion, and gaue ſpace & free ſcope to cleere themſelues, vpon anie accident, the Romains marched in a triple battel, of equal diſtãce one behind an other, euery battel hauing his ſeueral cariages in front: And if they were by chance attacked by an enemy, they turned themſelues according to the oportunity of the place, either to the right or left hande, and ſo placing their cariages on the one ſide of their army, they ſtood imbattailed ready to receiue the charge.

Agmen longũ The contrary forme of marching, where the place afforded more ſecurity, & gaue ſcope to conueniency, they named *agmen longum*; when almoſt euery maniple or order, had their ſeueral cariages attending vpon them, & ſtroue to keep that way which they found moſt eaſie, both for thẽſelues & their impediments. Which order of a march, as it was more commodius then the former, in regard of particularity, ſo was it vnſafe and dangerous, where the enemy was expected: And therfore Cæſar much blamed Sabinus and Cotta, for marching, when they were deluded by Ambiorix, *longiſſimo agmine*; as though they had receiued their aduertiſements from a friend, and not from an enemy.

Lib. 5. de bel. Gallico.

The vſe that may be made of this in our moderne wars And albeit our moderne wars are far different, in quality, frõ them of ancient times; yet in this point of diſcipline, they cannot haue a more perfect direction, then that which the Romaines obſerued, as the two poles of their motions, ſafety and conueniency: whereof the firſt dependeth chiefely vpon the prouident diſpoſition of the leaders; and the other wil eaſily follow on, as the commodity of euerie particular ſhal giue occaſion.

Concerning ſafety in place of danger, what better courſe can bee taken then that maner of imbattailing, which ſhall be thought moſt conuenient, if an enemy were preſent to confront them? for a well ordered march muſt either carie the perfect forme of a battell, or containe the diſtinct principles and elements thereof, that with little alteration it may receiue that perfection of ſtrength, which the fitteſt diſpoſition can affoord it. Firſt therefore, a prudent and circumſpect leader, that deſireth to frame a ſtrong and orderly march, is diligentlie to obſerue the nature and vſe of each weapon in his army, howe they may be placed for greateſt vſe and aduantage, both in reſpect of their different and concurring qualities, as alſo in regard of the place wherein they are managed: and this knowledge will conſequentlie inferre the beſt and exacteſt diſpoſition of imbattailing, as the ſaid forces are capable of; which if it may be obſerued in a march, is no way to be altered. But if this exactnes of imbattailing wil not admit conuenient cariage of ſuch neceſſarie adiuncts, as pertaine to an armie; the inconuenience is to bee relieued, with as little alteration from that rule, as in a wary

a warie iudgment ſhall be found expedient: that albeit the forme be ſomewhat changed; yet the principles and ground wherein their ſtrength and ſafetie conſiſteth, maie ſtill be retained.

Neither can any man well deſcend to more particular precepts in this point: he may exemplifie the practiſes of manie great and experienced commanders; what ſort of weapon marched in front, and what in the rereward, in what part of the Armie the Munition marched, and where the reſt of the cariage was beſtowed, according as their ſeuerall iudgments thought moſt expedient, in the particular nature of their occurrences. But the iſſue of all will fall out thus; that he that obſerued this rule before preſcribed, did ſeldome miſcarrie through an vnſafe march. Let a good Martialiſt well know their proper vſe in that diuerſity of weapons in his Armie; how they are ſeruiceable or diſaduantageous, in this or that place, againſt ſuch or ſuch an enemie: and he will ſpeedily order his battell, diſpoſe of his march, and beſtow his cariages, as ſhall beſt fall out both for his ſafetie, and conueniencie.

Cæſars cuſtome was, to ſend his Caualrie and light armed footmen, before the body of his Armie, both to diſcouer and impeach an enemie; for theſe troupes were nimble in motion and fit for ſuch ſeruices: but if the danger were greater in the rereward then in the front, the horſemen marched in the tayle of the Armie, and gaue ſecuritie where there was moſt cauſe of feare. But if it happened that they were found vnfit to make good the ſeruice in that place, as oftentimes it fell out, and eſpecially in Africa againſt the Numidians: he then remoued them, as he beſt found it conuenient, and brought his legionarie ſouldiers, which were the ſinewes and ſtrength of his forces, and marched continually in the bulke of the Armie, to make good that which his horſemen could not performe. And thus he altered the antique preſcription, and vniformitie of cuſtome, according as he found himſelfe beſt able to diſaduantage an enemie, or make waie to victorie.

CHAP. IX.

The Romans begin to fortifie their campe: but are *interrupted by the Neruij. Cæſar maketh haſte,* to prepare his forces to battell.

THE Roman horſemen, with the ſlingers and archers, paſſed ouer the riuer, and incountered the Caualrie of the enemie; who at firſt retired backe to their companies in the wood, and from thence ſallied out againe vpon them: but the Romans durſt not purſue them further then the plaine and open ground: in the meane time the ſixe legions that were in front, hauing their worke meaſured out vnto them, began to fortifie their campe. But aſſoone as the Neruij perceiued their former cariages to be come in ſight, which Caſar.

was the time appointed amongst them to giue the charge, as they stood imbattailed within the thicket, so they rushed out with all their forces, and assaulted the Roman horsemen: which being easily beaten backe, the Neruij ranne downe to the riuer, with such an incredible swiftnesse, that they seemed at the same instant of time to bee in the woods at the riuer, and charging the legions on the other side: For with the same violence, hauing passed the riuer, they ranne vp the hill to the Roman campe, where the souldiers were busied in their intrenchment. Cæsar had all partes to plaie at one instant, the flagge to be hung out, by which they gaue the souldiers warning to take armes, the battell to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the souldiers to be recalled from their worke, and such as were gone farre off to get turfe and matter for the rampier, to bee sent for; the battell to be ordered, his men to be incouraged, and the signe of battell to be giuen: the most of which were cut off by shortnesse of time, and the sudden assault of the enemie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The description of the Roman campe, with all the parts belonging vnto it

AS the Romans excelled all other nations in many good customes; so especially in their campe-discipline, they stroue to be singular: for it seemed rather an Academie, or a citie of ciuill gouernment, then a campe of souldiers: so carefull were they both for the safetie, and skilfull experience of their men at armes. For touching the first, they neuer suffered their souldiers to lodge one night without a campe; wherein they were inclosed with ditch and a rampier, as in a walled towne: neither was it any newe inuention or late found out custome in their state, but in vse amongst the auncient Romans, and in the time of their kinges; their manner of incamping was included within these circumstances.

The Centurions made choise of the place.

The Centurions, that went before to choose out a conuenient place, hauing found a fit situation for their campe, first assigned the standing for the Emperours pauillion, which was commonly in the most eminent place of the campe; from whence he might easily ouerview all the other partes, or any alarum or *signum pugnæ*, might from thence be discouered to all quarters. This pauillion was knowne by the name of *Prætorium*, for as much as amongst the auncient Romans the Generall of their Armie was called Prætor: in this place where the *Prætorium* was to be erected, they stucke vp a white enfigne, and from it they measured euerie waie 100 foote, and so they made a square containing 200 foot in euerie side, the Area, or content whereof, was almost an acre of ground: the forme of the *Prætorium* was round and high, being as eminent among the other tentes, as a temple is amongst the priuate buildings of a cittie: and therefore Iosephus compareth it to a church. In this *Prætorium* was their Tribunal or chaire of the estate, and the place of diuination, which they called *Augurale*, with other appendices of maiestie and authoritie.

The Prætorium.

The lodging of the legions.

The Generals tent being thus placed, they considered which side of the pauillion laie most commodious for forrage and water, and on that side they lodged the legions, euery legion deuided one from another by a street or lane of 50 foote

foote in breadth; and according to the degree of honour, that euerie legion had in the Armie, ſo were they lodged in the campe, either in the midſt which was counted moſt honourable, or towardes the ſides, which was of meaner reputation. And againe, according to the place of euerie cohort in his legion, ſo was it lodged nearer the pauillion of the Emperour, towardes the harte of the campe; and ſo conſequently euerie maniple tooke place in the cohort, diſtinguiſhing their preheminence, by lodging them either toward the middle or to the outſideward; according as they diſtinguiſhed the place of their legions; there went a ſtreete of fiftie in breadth ouerthwart the middeſt of all the legions, vvhich was called Quintana; for that it deuided the fift cohort of euery legion from the ſixt. *Quintana.*

Betweene the tentes of the firſt maniples in euerie legion and the *Prætorium*, there went a waie of 100 foote in breadth throughout the whole campe; which was called Principia; in this place the Tribunes ſate to heare matters of iuſtice; the ſouldiers exerciſed themſelues at their weapons, and the leaders and chiefe commanders frequented it as a publike place of meeting; and it was helde for a reuerent and ſacred place, and ſo kept with a correſpondent decencie. On either ſide the Emperours pauillion, in a direct line to make euen & ſtraight the vpper ſide of the Principia, the Tribunes had their tentes pitched, euerie Tribune confronting the head of the legion whereof he was Tribune: aboue them, towardes the head of the campe, were the Legates and Treaſurer: the vpper part of the campe was ſtrengthened with ſome ſelect cohorts and troupes of horſe, according to the number of legions that were in the Armie. *Principia.* *The tentes of the Tribunes.*

Polybius deſcribing the manner of incamping which the Romans vſed in his time, when as they had commonly but two legions in their Armie, with as manie aſſociates, placeth the *Ablecti* and *extraordinarij*, which were ſelect bandes and companies, in the vpper part of the campe; and the aſſociates on the outſides of the legions.

The ditch and the rampier, that compaſſed the whole campe about, was 200 foote diſtant from any tent: vvhereof Polybius giueth theſe reaſons; firſt, that the ſouldiers marching into the campe in battell array, might there diſſolue themſelues into maniples, centuries, and decuries, without tumult or confuſion: for order was the thing which they principally reſpected, as the life and ſtrength of their martiall body. And againe, if occaſion vvere offered to ſallie out vpon an enemie, they might verie conueniently in that ſpatious roome, put themſelues into companies and troupes: and if they vvere aſſaulted in the night, the dartes and fire vvorkes, vvhich the enemie ſhould caſt into their campe, would little indammage them, by reaſon of the diſtance betweene the rampier and the tentes. *The ſpace betweene the tents and the rampier.*

Their tentes were all of skinnes and hides, helde vp with props, and faſtened with ropes: there were 11 ſouldiers, as Vegetius faith, in euerie tent, and that ſocietie was called *Contubernium*, of whom the chiefeſt was named *Decanus*, or *Caput Contubernij*. *Contuberniũ.*

The ditch and the rampier were made by the legions, euerie maniple hauing his part meaſured out, and euerie Centurion ouerſeeing his Centurie; the *The ditch and the rampier.*

approbation of the whole worke belonged to the Tribunes. Their maner of intrenching was this: the ſoldiors being girt with their ſwords and daggers, digged the ditch about the campe, which was alwaies 8 foot in breadth at the leaſt, and as much in depth, caſting the earth thereof inward; but if the enemy were not farre off, the ditch was alwaies 11. or 15. or 18. foot in latitude, & altitude; according to the diſcretion of the General: but what ſcantling ſoeuer was kept, the ditch was made *directis lateribus*, that is, as broad in the bottome as at the top. The rampier from the brim of the ditch was three foot in heighth, and ſometimes foure, made after the maner of a wall, with greene turfes cut all to one meaſure, halfe a foot in thickneſſe, a foot in breadth, and a foot and a halfe in length. But if the place, wherein they were incamped, would afford no ſuch turfe; they then ſtrengthened the looſe earth, which was caſt out of the ditch, with boughes and fagots, that it might be ſtrong and wel faſtened. The rampier they properly called *Agger*: the outſide whereof, which hung ouer the ditch, they vſed to ſtick with thicke and ſharpe ſtakes, faſtened deep in the mound, that they might be firme; and theſe for the moſt part were forked ſtakes, which made the rampier very ſtrong, and not to be aſſaulted but with great difficulty. Varro ſaith, that the front of the rampier thus ſtucke with ſtakes, was called *vallum*, a *varicando*, for that no man could ſtride or get ouer it.

Agger.

Vallum.

Prætoria porta.

Porta Decumana.

Portæ principales.

Læua.

Dextra.

The campe had foure gates, the firſt was called *prætoria porta*, which was alwaies behind the Emperours tent: and this gate did vſually looke either toward the eaſt, or to the enemy, or that way that the army was to march. The gate on the other ſide of the campe oppoſite to this, was called *Porta Decumana a decimis cohortibus*, for the tenth or laſt Cohort of euery legion, was lodged to confront this gate: by this gate the ſoldiours went out to fetch their wood, their water, and their forrage, and this waie their offendours were caried to execution. The other two gates were called *Portæ principales*, foraſmuch as they ſtoode oppoſite to either ende of that ſo much reſpected place, which they called *principia*, onely diſtinguiſhed by theſe titles, *læua principalis* and *dextra*, all theſe gates were ſhut with doores, and in ſtanding Campes fortified with Turrets, vpon which were planted Engines of defence, as Baliſtæ, Catapultæ, Tolenones and ſuch like.

Caſtra Æſtiua.

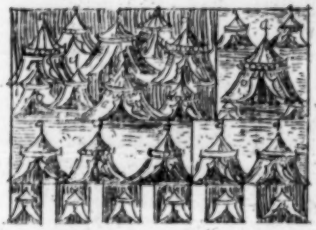
Hiberna.

The Romaines had their ſummer Campes, which they tearmed *Æſtiua*, and their winter Campes, which they called *Hiberna*, or *Hibernacula*: their ſummer campes were, in like maner differenced, according to the time, which they continued in thē. For if they remained in a place but a night or two, they called thē *Caſtra* or *Manſiones*; but if they continued in them any long time, they called thē *Æſtiuas* or *Sedes*: And theſe were more abſolute, aſwel in regard of their tents, as of their fortification, then the former, wherein they ſtaied but one night. The other which they called *Hiberna*, had greater labor & coaſt beſtowed vpon them, that they might the better defend them frō the vvinter ſeaſon. Of theſe we read, that the tents were either thatched with ſtraw, or roofed with boards, & that they had their armory, hoſpital, & other publike houſes. Theſe cāps haue bin the beginning of many famous towns, eſpecially whē they continued long in a place, as oftentimes they did vpon the banks of Euphrates, Danow, & the Rhene. The order

Porta

THE ROMAIN

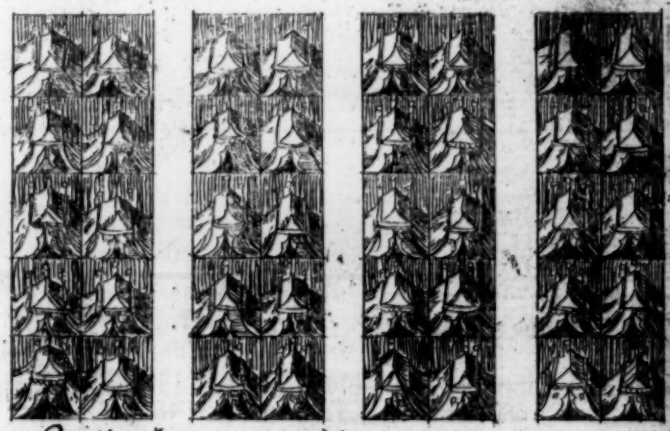




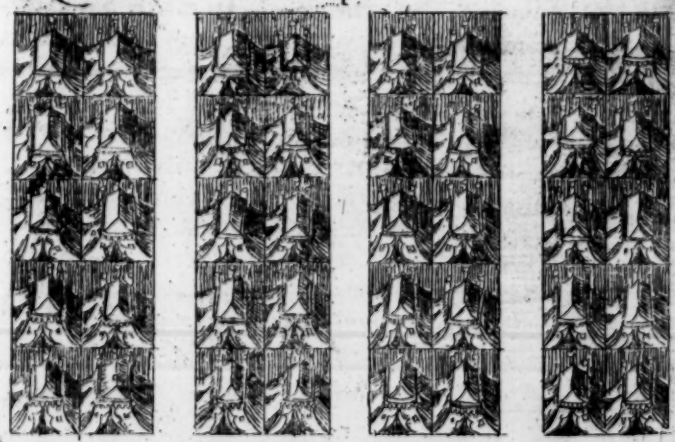


Principia

Prætor



Quintanâ

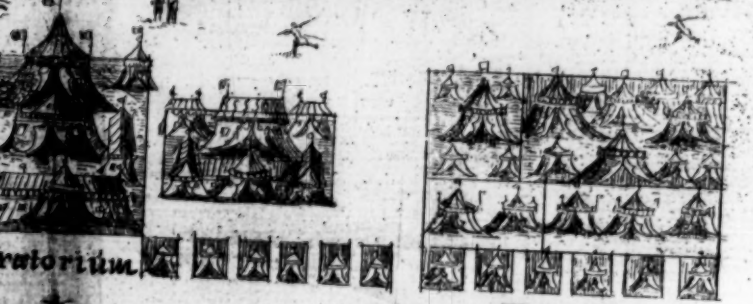


Porta Decu

Prætoria

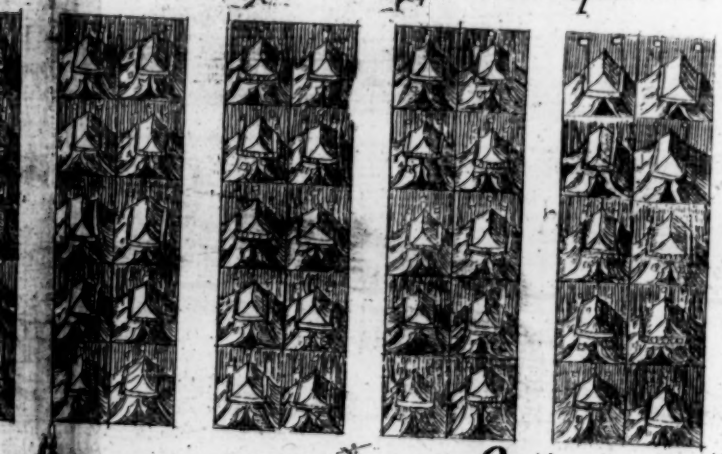
INE CAMPE



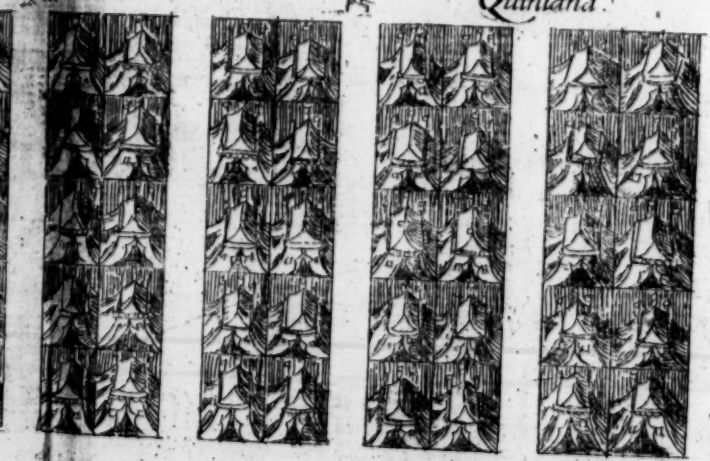


ratorium

Principia



Quintana



ecumana

order which they alwaies obſerued in laying out their camp, was ſo vniforme, & well knowne to the Romaines, that when the Centurions had limited out euery parte, and marked it with different enſignes and colours, the ſoldiours entered into it, as into a knowne and familiar Citie: wherein euerie ſocietie or ſmall contubernie, knewe the place of his lodging: and which is more, euery particular man coulde aſsigne the proper ſtation of euerie companie, throughout the whole armie.

The commodity of this incamping.

The vſe and commodity of this incamping, I briefely touched in my firſt booke: But if I were worthie any way to commend the excellency thereof to our moderne ſoldiours, or able by perſwaſion to reſtabliſh the vſe of incamping in our warres; I woulde ſpare no paines to atchieue ſo great a good, and vaunt more in the conqueſt of negligence, then if my ſenſe had compaſſed a new found out meanes; and yet reaſon would deeme it a matter of ſmall difficultie, to gaine a point of ſuch worth, in the opinion of our men, eſpeciallie when my diſcourſe ſhall preſent ſecurity to our forces, and honour to our leaders, maieſtie to our armies, and terrour to our enmies, wonderment to ſtrangers, and victorie to our nation. But ſloth hath ſuch intereſt in this age, that it commendeth vaine glory and foole-hardineſſe, contempt of vertue, and deriſion of good diſcipline, to repugne the deſſignes of honour, and ſo far to ouermaiſter reaſon, that it ſuffereth not former harmes to beare witneſſe againſt errour, nor correct the ill atchieuements of ill directions: and therefore ceaſing to vrge this pointe anie further, I wil leaue it to the careful reſpect of the wiſe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The ceremonies which they vſed in their preparation to battel.

THe fury of the enemy, and their ſodaine aſſault, ſo diſturbed the ceremonies which the Romaine diſcipline obſerued, to make the ſoldiours trulie apprehend the waight and importance of that action, which might caſt vppon their ſtate either ſoueraignty or bondage; that they were all for the moſt part omitted; notwithſtanding they are here noted vnder theſe titles, the firſt was *vexillum proponendum, quod erat inſigne cum ad Arma concurri oporteret*: for when the Generall had determined to fight, hee cauſed a skarlet coate or red flag to bee hung out vpon the top of his tent, that by it the ſoldiours might be warned, to prepare themſelues for the battell; and this was the firſt warning they had, which by a ſilent aſpect preſented bloud and execution to their eyes, as the onlie meanes to worke out their owne ſafetie, and purchaſe eternall honour. The ſecond was *Signum tuba dandum*; this warning was a noiſe of manie trumpets, which they, tearmed by the name of *claſsicum a calando*, which ſignifieth calling: for after the eie was filled with ſpecies ſutable to the matter intended; they then haſted to poſſeſſe the eare, and by the ſenſe of hearing to ſtir vp warlike motions, and fil them with reſolute thoughts, that no diffident or baſe conceites might take hold of their mindes. The third was, *milites cohortandi*, for it was thought conuenient to confirme this valour, with motiues of reaſon, which is the ſtrength and perfection of al ſuch motions.

The

theyse and benefit whereof I somewhat inlarged in the Heluetian warre, and could afoord much more labour to demonstrate the commoditie of this part, if my speech might carrie credit in the opinion of our souldiers, or be thought worthie regard to men so much addicted to their owne fashions. The last was *signum dandum*, which, as some thinke, was nothing but a word, by which they might distinguish and know themselues from their enemies. Hirtius in the warre of Afrike saith, that Cæsar gaue the word *Felicitie*; Brutus and Cassius gaue *Libertie*; others haue giuen *Virtus*, *Deus nobiscum*, *Triumphus Imperatoris*, and such like wordes, as might be ominous to a good successe: Besides these particularities, the manner of their deliuerie gaue a great grace to the matter. And that was distinguished by times, and cues: whereof Cæsar now complaineth; that all these were to be done at one instant of time: for without all controuersie, there is no matter of such consequence in it selfe, but may bee much graced with ceremonies and complements, which like officers or attendants ad much respect and maiestie to the action; which otherwise being but barely presented, appeareth farre meaner and of lesse regard.

CHAP. X.

The battell betweene Cæsar and the Neruij.

Cæsar.

IN these difficulties, two things were a help to the Romans; the one was, the knowledge and experience of the souldiers: for by reason of their practise in former battels, they could as well prescribe vnto themselues, what was to be done, as any other commander could teach them. The other was, that notwithstanding Cæsar had giuen commandement to euerie Legate, not to leaue the worke or forsake the legions, vntill the fortifications were perfited; yet when they sawe extremitie of danger, they attended no countermaund from Cæsar: but ordered all thinges as it seemed best to their owne discretion. Cæsar hauing commanded such thinges as he thought necessarie, ranne hastelie to incourage his souldiers, and by fortune came to the tenth legion, where he vsed no further speech, then that they should remember their ancient valour, and valiantly withstand the brunt of their enemies. And for as much as the enemie was no further off, then a weapon might be cast to incounter them, he gaue them the signe of battell: and hastening from thence to another quarter, he found them alreadie closed and at the incounter. For the time was so short and the enemie so violent, that they wanted leasure to put on their headpieces, or to vncase their targets: and what part they lighted into from their worke, or what ensigne they first met withall, there they staied; least in seeking out their owne companies, they should loose that time as was to be spent in fighting. The Armie being imbattailed rather according to the nature of the place, the declinitie of the hill, and the brevitie of time, then according to the rules

And therefore I rather take it to bee something els then a word.

of

of art; as the legions incountered the enemie in diuers places at once, the perfect view of the battell being hindered by those thicke hedges before spoken of, there could no succors be placed any where; neither could any man see what was needful to be done: & therfore in so great vncertainty of things, there happened diuers casualties of fortune.

The soldiers of the ninth and tenth legion, as they stood in the left part of the Army, casting their piles, with the aduantage of the hil, did driue the Attrebatij, breathles with running & wounded in the incounter, down into the riuer; & as they passed ouer the water, slew many of them with their swordes: Neither did they sticke to follow after them ouer the riuer, and aduenture into a place of disaduantage, where the battell being renewed againe by the enemie, they put them to flight the second time. In like maner two other legions, the 11 and the 8, hauing put the Veromandui from the vpper ground, fought with them vpon the bankes of the riuer; and so the front & the left part of the campe was well neere left naked. For in the right cornet were the 12 and the 7 legions, where as all the Neruij, vnder the conduct of Boduognatus, were heaped together; and some of them began to assault the legions on the open side, and other some to possesse themselues of the highest part of the campe.

At the same time the Roman horsemen, and the light armed footmen that were intermingled amongst them, and were at first all put to flight by the enemie, as they were entering into the campe, met with their enemies in the face, and so were driuen to flie out another way. In like manner, the pages and souldiers boies, that from the Decumane port and toppe of the hill, had seene the tenth legion follow their enemies in pursuit ouer the riuer, and were gone out to gather pillage, when they looked behind them, and saw the enemie in their campe; betooke them to their heeles as fast as they could. Which accident so terrified the horsemen of the Treuiri (who for their prowesse were reputed singular amongst the Galles, and were sent thither by their state, to aide the Romans) first when they perceiued the Roman campe to be possest by a great multitude of the enemie, the legions to be ouercharged and almost inclosed about, the horsemen, slingers, and Numidians to be dispersed and fled, that without anie further expectation they tooke their waie homeward, and reported to their state, that the Romans were vtterly ouerthrowen.

Cæsar departing from the tenth legion, to the right cornet, found his men exceedingly ouercharged, the ensignes crowded together into one place, and the souldiers of the 12 legion so thicke thronged on a heape, that they hindered one another; all the Centurions of the fourth cohort being slaine, the ensigne bearer kild and the ensigne taken, and the Centurions of the other cohorts either slaine, or sore wounded; amongst whom Pub. Sextus Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, a valiant man, so grieuously wounded, that he could scarce stand vpon his feete; the rest not verie forward, but many of the hindmost turning taile and forsaking the field; the enemie on the other side, giuing no respite in front, although he fought against the hill, nor yet sparing the open side, and the matter brought to a narrow issue, without any meanes or succour, to relieue them: he tooke a target from one of the hindmost souldiers (for he himselfe was come thither without one) and pressing to the front of the battell, called the Centurions by name, and incouraging the rest, commanded the ensignes to be aduanced toward the enemie, and the Maniples to be inlarged, that they might with greater facilitie and readinesse vse their swordes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The place and office of a primipile.

THis Publius Sextus Baculus was the chiefeſt Centurion of the 12 legion, being the firſt Centurion of that Maniple of the Triarij, that was of the firſt Cohort in that legion; for that place was the greateſt dignitie that could happen to a Centurion; and therefore he was called by the name of *Centurio primipili*, or ſimplie *Primipilus*, and ſometimes *Primopilus*, or *Primus Centurio*. By him were commonly publiſhed, the mandates and edicts of the Emperour, and Tribunes: and therefore the reſt of the Centurions, at all times had an eie vnto him; and the rather for that the eagle, which was the peculiar enſigne of euerie legion, was committed to his charge and carried in his Maniple. Neither was this dignitie, without ſpeciall commoditie, as may be gathered out of diuers authors. We reade further, that it was no diſparagement for a Tribune, after his Tribunality was expired, to be a Primipile in a legion; notwithſtanding, there was a law made, I know not vpon what occaſion, that no Tribune ſhould afterward be Primipile. But let this ſuffice concerning the office and title of P. S. Baculus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Target deſcribed.

AND heere I may not omit to giue the Target any honour I may, and therefore I will take occaſion to deſcribe it in Cæſars hand, as in the place of greateſt dignitie, and much honouring the excellencie therof. Polybius maketh the Target to containe two foot and an halfe in breadth, ouerthwart the conuex ſurface thereof; and the length foure foote, of what forme or faſhion ſoeuer they were of: for the Romans had two ſortes of Targets amongſt their legionarie, the firſt caried the proportion of that figure, which the Geometricians call Ouall, a figure of an vnequall latitude, broadeſt in the midſt, and narrow at both the endes, like vnto an egge, deſcribed *in Plano*: the other ſorte was of an equall latitude, and reſembled the faſhion of a guttertile; and thereupon was called *Scutum imbricatum*. The matter whereof a target was made, was a double board, one faſtened vpon another, with lint and Buls glew; and couered with an Oxe hide, or ſome other ſtiffe leather; the vpper and lower part of the target were bound about with a plate of yron, to keepe it from cleauing; and in the middeſt there was a boſſe of yron or braſſe, which they called *Vmbo*. Romulus brought them in firſt amongſt the Romans, taking the vſe of them from the Sabines. The wood whereof they were made, was for the moſt part either ſallow, alder, or figtree: whereof Plinie giueth this reaſon, for as much as theſe trees are colde and wateriſh, and therefore any blow or thruſt that was made vpon the wood, was preſently contracted and ſhut vp againe. But for as much as the Target was of ſuch reputation amongſt the Roman Armes, and challenged ſuch intereſt in the greateſt of their Empire, let vs enter a little into the

Lib. 16. c. 40.

the conſideration of the vſe and commoditie thereof; which cannot be better vnderſtood, then by that conference, which Polybius hath made betweene the weapons of the Romans and the Macedonians: and therefore I haue thought it good to inſert it in theſe diſcourſes. And thus it followeth.

Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian *Weapons.*

I Promiſed in my ſixt book that I would make a compariſon, between the weapons of the Romans, and Macedonians. And that I would likewiſe write of the diſpoſition of either of their armies; how they do differ one from another: & in what regard, the one, or the other, were either inferiour, or ſuperiour: which promiſe I wil now with diligence endeuour to performe. And for as much as the armies of the Macedonians haue giuen ſo good teſtimonies of themſelues by their actions, by ouercomming the armies as wel of thoſe of Aſia, as of Greece; and that the battailes of the Romans haue conquered, as well thoſe of Africa as all the Eaſterne countries of Europe: It ſhall not be amiſſe, but very profitable, to ſearch out the difference of either; eſpecially ſeeing that theſe our times haue not once, but many times ſeene triall, both of their battailes and forces; that knowing the reaſon why, the Romans do ouercome, and in their battailes carie awaie the better: we doe not as vaine men were wont to do, attribute the ſame to fortune, and eſteeme them without reaſon happy victors; but rather looking into the true cauſes, we giue them their due praiſes, according to the direction of reaſon, and ſound iudgment. Concerning the battels betweene Hanniball and the Romans; and concerning the Romans their loſſes, there is no neede that I ſpeake much. For their loſſes are neither to be imputed to the defect of their Armes, or diſpoſition of their Armies; but to the dexteritie and induſtrie of Hanniball: but wee haue entreated therof when we made mention of the battels themſelues, and the end it ſelfe of that warre doth eſpeciallie confirme this our opinion. For vvhen they had gotten a captaine equall vvith Hanniball, euen conſequentlie vvith all his victories vaniſhed. And hee had no ſooner ouercome the Romans, but by and by, reiecting his owne weapons, hee trained his Armie to their weapons, and ſo taking them vp in the beginning, he continued them on vnto the ende.

And Pyrrhus in his war againſt the Romans, did vſe both their weapons and order, and made as it were a medlie both of the cohort, and phalanx: but notwithſtanding it ſerued him not to get the victory, but alwaies the euent by ſome meanes or other, made the ſame doubtfull: concerning whom it were not vnfit, that I ſhould ſaie ſomething, leaſt in being altogether ſilent, it might ſeeme to preiudice this mine opinion. But notwithſtanding I will haſten to my purpoſed compariſon.

Now touching the phalanx, if it haue the diſpoſition, and forces proper to it,

nothing is able to oppoſe it ſelfe againſt it, or to ſuſtaine the violence thereof; as maie eaſily by many documents be approued. For when an armed man doth ſtand firme in the ſpace of three foote in ſo thicke an array of battell, and the length of their pikes being according to the firſt baſis, or ſcantling ſixteene foote; but according to the true and right conueniencie of them, 14 cubits, out of which are taken foure allowed for the ſpace betweene the left hand, which ſupporteth the ſame, and the butte ende thereof, vvhiles he ſtandes in a readineſſe to attend the incounter: being thus ordered, I ſaie, it is manifeſt that the length of tenne cubites doth extend it ſelfe before the bodie of euerie armed man, where with both his handes he doth aduance it readie to charge the enemie: By vvhich meanes it followeth, that ſome of the pikes doe not onely extend themſelues before the ſecond, third, and fourth ranke, but ſome before the formoſt, if the phalanx haue his proper and due thickneſſe, according to his naturall diſpoſition, both on the ſides and behinde, as Homer maketh mention vvhen he ſaith, that one target doth encloſe and fortifie another; one headpiece is ioyned to another, that they maie ſtande vnited and cloſe together.

Theſe circumſtances being rightly and truely ſet downe, it muſt follow, that the pikes of euerie former ranke in the phalanx, doe extend themſelues two cubites before each other, which proportion of difference they haue betweene themſelues: by which maie euidently be ſeene the aſſault, and impreſſion of the whole phalanx, what it is, and what force it hath, conſiſting of 16 rankes in depth, or thickneſſe; the exceſſe of which number of rankes aboue fiue. For as much as they cannot commodiouſly couch their pikes, without the diſturbance of the former, the points of them not being long inough to enlarge themſelues beyond the formoſt rankes, they grow vtterly vnprofitable, and cannot man, by man, make any impreſſion, or aſſault: but ſerue onely, by laying their pikes vpon the ſhoulders of thoſe which ſtand before them, to ſuſtaine and hold vp the ſwaies and giuing backe of the former rankes, which ſtand before them to this end, that the front may ſtand firme and ſure; and with the thicknes of their pikes they doe repell all thoſe dartes, which paſſing ouer the heads of thoſe that ſtand before, would annoy thoſe rankes which are more backward.

And farther by mouing forward, with the force of their bodies, they doe ſo preſſe vpon the former, that they doe make a moſt violent impreſſion. For it is impoſſible that the formoſt rankes ſhould giue backe.

This therefore being the generall and particular diſpoſition of the phalanx: we muſt now ſpeake on the contrarie part, touching the properties and differences, as well of the armes, as of the whole diſpoſition of the Roman battell. For euerie Roman ſoldier for himſelfe, and his weapon is allowed three foot to ſtand in, and in the incounter, are moued man, by man, euery one couering himſelfe with his target; and mutually moouing whenſoeuer there is occaſion offered. But thoſe which vſe their ſwordes, do fight in a more thinne and diſtinct order; ſo that it is manifeſt, that they haue three foote more allowed them to ſtand in both from ſhoulder to ſhoulder, and from backe to bellie, that they maie vſe their weapons with the better commoditie. And hence it commeth to paſſe, that

that one Romaine ſoldiour taketh vp as much ground, as two of thoſe which are to encounter him of the Macedonian Phalanx: ſo that one Romain is as it were to oppoſe himſelfe againſt tenne pikes, which pikes the ſaid one ſoldior can neither by any agilitie come to offende, or elſe at handy blowes otherwiſe annoy: And thoſe which are behinde him, are not onely vnable to repell their force, but alſo with conueniencie to vſe their owne weapons. Whereby it may eaſily be gathered, that it is impoſsible, that any battaile being aſſaulted, by the front of a phalanx, ſhould be able to ſuſtaine the violence thereof, if it haue his due and proper compoſition.

What then is the cauſe that the Romaines do ouercome, and that thoſe that doe vſe the phalanx are voyde of the hope of victorie? (Euen from hence) that the Romaine armies haue infinite commodities, both of places, and of times, to fight in. But the the phalanx hath only one time, one place, and one kinde, whereto it may profitablie applie it ſelfe: ſo that if it were of neceſsitie, that their enemy ſhoulde incounter them at that inſtant, eſpeciallie with their whole forces, it were queſtionleſſe not only, not without danger, but in al probabilitie likelie, that the phalanx ſhould euer carrie away the better. But if that may be auoided, which is eaſily done: ſhal not that diſpoſition then, be vtterlie vnprofitable, and free from all terror? And it is farther euident, that the phalanx muſt neceſſarily haue plaine & champion places, without any hinderances, or impediments; as ditches, vneuen places, vallies, little hils and riuers: for al theſe may hinder & diſioine it. And it is almoſt impoſsible to haue a plaine of the capacity of 20. *ſtadia*, much leſſe more, where there ſhall bee found none of theſe impediments. But ſuppoſe there bee found ſuch places, as are proper for the phalanx: If the enemy refuſe to come vnto them, and in the meane time, ſpoile, and ſacke the cities, and countrie round about; what commodity, or profit ſhal ariſe by an army ſo ordered? for if it remaine in ſuch places, as hath beene before ſpoken of; it can neither relieue their friends, nor preſerue themſelues. For the Conuoies which they expect from their friends, are eaſily cut off by the enemy, whiles they remaine in thoſe open places.

And if it happen at any time, that they leaue them vpon any enterpriſe, they are then expoſed to the enemy. But ſuppoſe, that the Rothaine army ſhould find the phalanx in ſuch places, yet would it not aduenture it ſelfe in groſſe at one inſtant; but would by little & little retire it ſelfe, as doth plainly appeare by their vſual practiſe. For there muſt not bee a coniecture of theſe things by my words only, but eſpecially by that which they do. For they do not ſo equally frame their battaile, that they doe aſſault the enemy altogether, making as it were but one front: but part make a ſtande, and parte charge the enemie, that if at any time the Phalanx doe preſſe them, that come to aſſault them and bee repelled; the force of their order is diſſolued. For whether they purſue thoſe that retire, or flie from thoſe that do aſſault them, theſe doe diſioyne themſelues from part of their armie; by which meanes there is a gap opened to their enemies, ſtanding and attending their opportunitie: ſo that nowe they neede not anie more to charge them in the front, where the force of the phalanx conſiſteth: but to aſſault where the breach is made, both behind, and vpon the ſides. But if at any

time the Romaine armie may keepe his due proprietie, and diſpoſition, the phalanx by the diſaduantage of the place, being not able to doe the like: doth it not then manifeſtlie demonſtrate the difference to be great, betweene the goodnes of their diſpoſition, and the diſpoſition of the phalanx?

To this may bee added the neceſſities impoſed vppon an army, which is to march through places of all natures, to encampe themſelues, to poſſeſſe places of aduantage, to beſiege, and to be beſieged; and alſo contrary to expectation ſometimes to come in viewe of the enemie: For all theſe occaſions neceſſarilie accompanie an armie; and oftentimes are the eſpecial cauſes of victory, to which the Macedonian phalanx is no way fit, or conuenient: Foraſmuch as neither in their generall order, nor in their particular diſpoſition, without a conuenient place, are able to effect any thing of moment: but the Romaine army is apt for all theſe purpoſes. For euerie ſoldiour amongſt them, beeing once armed and ready to fight, refuſeth no place, time, nor occaſion; keeping alwaies the ſame order, whether he fight togither with the whole body of the army, or particularlie by himſelfe, man to man.

And hence it happeneth, that as the commodity of their diſpoſition is aduantagious: ſo the end doth anſwere the expectation.

Theſe things I thought to ſpeake of at large, becauſe many of the Grecians are of an opinion, that the Macedonians are not to bee ouercome. And againe, many wondered, how the Macedonian phalanx ſhould bee put to the worſt by the Romaine army, conſidering the nature of their weapons.

Thus far goeth Polibyus, in comparing the weapons and imbattailing of the Romaines, with the vſe of armes amongſt the Macedonians: wherein we ſee the Pike trulie, and exactlie ordered, according as the wiſe Grecians could beſt proportion it with that forme of battell, which might giue moſt aduantage to the vſe thereof: ſo that if our ſquadrons of Pikes iumpe not with the perfect manner of a phalanx, (as wee ſee they doe not) they fall ſo much ſhorte of that ſtrength, which the wiſedome of the Grecians and the experience of other nations, imputed vnto it. But ſuppoſe wee could allow it that diſpoſition, in the courſe of our wars, which the nature of the weapon doth require; yet foraſmuch as by the authority of Polybius, the ſaid maner of imbattailing is tied to ſuch dangerous circumſtances of one time, one place, and one kinde of fight: I hold it not ſo profitable a weapon, as the practiſe of our times doth ſeem to make it, eſpecially in woody countries, ſuch as Ireland is; where the vſe is cut off by ſuch inconueniences, as are noted to hinder the managing thereof. And doubtles, if our commanders did but conſider of the incongruity of the Pike & Ireland, they would not proportion ſo great a number of thē in euery company, as there is; for commonly halfe the company are pikes, which is as much to ſaie in the practiſe of our wars, that halfe the army hath neither offenſiue nor defenſiue weapōs, but only againſt a troupe of horſe. For they ſeldom or neuer come to the puſh of pike, with the foot cōpanies, where they may charge & offende the enemy: & for defence, if the enemy think it not ſafe to buckle with thē at hād, but maketh more aduantage to play vpon thē a far off with ſhot; it affordeth ſmal ſafe ty to ſhake a long pike at them, and ſtand faire in the meane time, to entertaine

a volleie of ſhot with the body of their battailion. As I make no queſtion, but the pike in ſome ſeruices is profitable, as behind a rampier, or at a breach; ſo I aſſure my ſelfe, there are weapons if they were put to triall, that would counteruaile the pike euen in thoſe ſeruices, wherein it is thought moſt profitable.

Concerning the Target, we ſee it take the hand, in the iudgement of Polybius, of all other weapons whatſoeuer, aſwell in regard of the diuers and ſundrie ſortes of imbattailing, as the qualitie of the place wherſoeuer: for their vſe was as effectuall in ſmall bodies and centuries, as in groſſe troupes and great companies; in thinne and ſpacious imbattailing, as in thicke thronged Teſtudines. Neither could the nature of the place make them vnſeruiceable; for whether it were plaine or couert; leuel or vnequall; narrow or large, if there were any commodity to fight, the Target was as neceſſarie to defend, as the ſword to offend: beſides the conueniency, which accompanieth the Target in any neceſſitie impoſed vpon an armie, whether it bee to march through places of all natures, to make a faſt march, or a ſpeedie retraite, to incampe themſelues, to poſſeſſe places of aduantage, to beſiege and to be beſieged, as Polybius ſaith, with manie other occaſions which neceſſarilie accompanie an armie. The vſe of this weapon hath beene too much neglected in theſe latter ages, but may be happilie renued againe in our nation, if the induſtrie of ſuch as haue laboured to preſent it vnto theſe times, in the beſt faſhion, ſhall finde anie fauour in the opinion of our commaunders. Concerning which Target, I muſt needes ſaie this much, that the light Target will proue the Target of ſeruice, whenſoeuer they ſhall happen to be put in execution: for thoſe which are made proofe, are ſo heauie and vnwieldie, (although it be ſomewhat qualified with ſuch helpes as are annexed to the vſe thereof,) that they ouercharge a man, with an vnſupportable burthen, and hinder his agilitie and execution in fight, with a waight diſproportionable to his ſtrēgth. For our offenſiue weapons, as namely the Hargebuſiers and muſketiers, are ſtronger in the offenſiue part, then any armes of defence, which may be made manageable and fit for ſeruice. Neither did the Romains regard the proofe of their Target further, then was thought fit for the readie vſe of them in time of battel, as it appeareth in many places, both in the ciuill warres and in theſe Commentaries: for a Romaine pile hath often times darted through the Target, and the bodie of the man that bare it, and faſtened them both to the ground, which is more then a muſket can wel do; for the bullet commonly reſteth in the bodie. And although it may be ſaid that this was not cōmon, but rather the effect an extraordinary arme; yet it ſerueth to proue, that their Targets were not proofe to their offenſiue weapons, when they were well deliuered and with good direction. For I make no doubt, but in their battailes there were oftentimes ſome hinderances, which woulde not ſuffer ſo violent an effect, as this which I ſpeake of: for in a volley of ſhotte, wee muſt not thinke that all the bullets flie with the ſame force, and fall with the like hurt; but as armour of good proofe will hardly hold out ſome of them; ſo ſlender armes and of no proofe, will make good reſiſtance againſt others. And to conclude, in a battell or incounter at hand, a man ſhall meete with more occaſions, ſuting the nature and commoditie of this light Target, then ſuch as will aduantage the

the heauie Target of proofe, or counteruaile the ſurplus of waight, which it earieth with it.

Some men will vrge, that there is vſe of this Target of proofe, in ſome places and in ſome ſeruices: which I deny not to thoſe, that deſire to bee ſecured from the extremity of peril: but this falleth out in ſome places and in ſome particular ſeruices, and hindereth not but that the vniuerſal benefit of this weapon conſiſteth in the multitude of light Targetiers, who are to manage the moſt important occaſions of a warre.

This much I am further to note, concerning the ſworde of the Targetiers, that according to the practiſe of the Romaines, it muſt alwaies hang on the right ſide; for carying the Target vpon the left arme, it cannot be that the ſword ſhould hang on the left ſide, but with great trouble and annoiance: And if any man ſay, that if it hang on the right ſide, it muſt bee verie ſhort, otherwiſe it will neuer bee readilie drawne out. I ſaie that the ſworde of the Targetiers, in regard of the vſe of that weapon, ought to be of a very ſhort ſcantling, when as the Targetier is to command the point of his ſword within the compaſſe of his Target, as ſuch as looke into the true vſe of this weapon, wil eaſily diſcouer. But let this ſuffice concerning the vſe of the pike and the Target.

CHAP. XI.

The battell continueth, and in the ende *Cæſar ouercommeth.*

Cæſar. *AT the preſence of their Generall, the ſoldiours conceiued ſome better hopes, and gathering ſtrength and courage againe, when as euery man beſtirred himſelfe in the ſight of the Emperour, the brunt of the enemie was a litle ſtaied. Cæſar perceiuing likewiſe the ſeuenth legion, which ſtood next vnto him, to bee ſore ouerlaide by the enemy, commaunded the Tribunes by litle and litle, to ioine the two legions together, and ſo by ioining backe to backe, to make two contrarie fronts; and beeing thus ſecured one by another from feare of being circumuented, they began to make reſiſtance with greater courage. In the meane time the two legions, that were in the rere warde to guarde the cariages, hearing of the battell, doubled their pace, and were diſcried by the enemy vpon the top of the hill. And Titus Labienus, hauing won the campe of the Nerui, and beholding from the higher ground what was done on the other ſide of the riuer, ſent the tenth legion to helpe their fellowes, who vnderſtanding by the horſemen and Lackies that fled, in what caſe the matter ſtood, and in what daunger the campe, the legions, and the Generall was, made all the haſte they poſsibly could. At whoſe comming there happened ſuch an alteration and chaung of things, that euen ſuch as were ſunke downe, through extreame griefe of their woundes, or leaned vpon their Targets, began againe to fight afreſh, and the Pages and the boies perceiuing the enemie amazed, ran vpon them vnarmed, not fearing their weapons: the*

the horſemen alſo ſtriuing with extraordinarie valour, to wipe away the diſhonour of their former flight, thruſt themſelues in all places before the legionarie ſouldiers. Howbeit the enemie in the vtmoſt perill of their liues, ſhewed ſuch manhood, that as faſt as the formoſt of them were ouerthrowen, the next in place beſtrid their carkaſes, and fought vpon their bodies: and theſe being likewiſe ouerthrowen, and their bodies heaped one vpon another, they that remained, poſſeſt themſelues of that mount of dead carkaſes as a place of aduantage, and from thence threwe their weapons, and intercepting the piles, returned them againe to the Romans. By which it may be gathered, that there was great reaſon to deeme them men of hautie courage, that durſt paſſe ouer ſo broade a riuer, climbe vp ſuch high rockes, and aduenture to fight in a place of ſuch inequalitie. The battell being thus ended, and the nation and name of the Neruij being well neare ſwallowed vp with deſtruction, the elder ſort with the women and children, that before the battell were conuaied into Ilands and Bogs, when they heard thereof; ſent ambaſſadours to Cæſar, and yeelded themſelues to his mercie; and in laying open the miſerie of their ſtate affirmed, that of 600 Senatours they had now left but three; and of 60000 fighting men, there was ſcarce fiue hundred that were able to beare Armes. Cæſar, that his clemencie might appeare to a diſtreſſed people, preſerued them with great care, granting vnto them the free poſſeſſion of their townes and country, and ſtreightly commanding their borderers, not to offer them any wrong or iniurie at all.

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus endeth the relation of that great and dangerous battell, which Ramus complaineth of as a confuſed narration: much differing from the direct and methodicall file, of his other Commentaries. But if that rule holde good, which learned Rhetoritians haue obſerued in their Oratorie, that an vnperfect thing ought not to be told in a perfect maner; then by Ramus leaue, if any ſuch confuſion do appeare, it both ſauoureth of eloquence, and wel ſuiteth the turbulent cariage of the action, wherein order and skill gaue place to fortune, and prouidence was ſwallowed vp with peraduenture. For that which Hirtius ſaith of the ouerthrow he gaue to Pharnaces, may as well be ſaid of this; that he got the victorie, *plurimùm adiuuante deorum benignitate, qui cum omnibus belli caſibus interſunt, tum præcipue iis quibus nihil ratione potuit adminiſtrari.* For ſo it fell out in this battell, and the danger proceeded from the ſame cauſe, that brought him to that puſh in the battell with Pharnaces: for he well vnderſtood that the Neruij attended his comming on the other ſide the riuer Sabis: Neither was he ignorant how to fortifie his camp in the face of an enemy, without feare or danger, as we haue ſeene in his wat with Ariouiſtus; when he marched to the place where he purpoſed to incamp himſelfe with 3 battels, and cauſed two of them to ſtand ready in armes to receiue any charge, which the enemy ſhould offer to giue, that the third battell in the meane time might fortifie the camp. Which courſe would eaſily haue fruſtrated this ſtratagem of the Neruij, and made the hazard leſſe dangerous; but he little expected any ſuch reſolution,

Li. de militia Iu. Ce.

ſo contrarie to the rules of militarie diſcipline, that an enemie ſhould not ſticke to paſſe ouer ſo broad a riuer, to clime vp ſuch ſteepe and high rocks, to aduenture battell in a place ſo diſaduantagious, and to hazard their fortune vppon ſuch inequalities. And therefore, hee little miſtruſted any ſuch vnlikelie attempt, wherein the enemy had plotted his owne ouerthrow, if the legions had beene ready to receiue them. Which may teach a generall that which Cæſar had not yet learned, that a leader cannot be too ſecure in his moſt aſſured courſes; nor too carefull in his beſt aduiſed directions; conſidering that the greateſt means may eaſily bee preuented, and the ſafeſt courſe weakened with an vnreſpected circumſtance: ſo powerful are weake occurrences in the maine courſe of the waightieſt actions; and ſo infinite are the waies, wherby either wiſdom or fortune may worke. Neither did this warne him, to prouide for that which an enemy might do, how vnlikelie ſoeuer it might ſeeme vnto him, as appeareth by that accident in the battel with Pharnaces: which practiſe of attempting a thing againſt reaſon and the arte of warre, hath found good ſucceſſe in our moderne wars; as appeareth by the French hiſtories: notwithſtanding, it is to be handeled ſparingly, as no way ſauoring of circumſpect and good direction, foraſmuch as *temeritas non ſemper felix*, as Fabius the great anſwered Scipio.

The chiefeſt helpes which the Romaines founde, were firſt the aduantage of the place; whereof I ſpake in the Heluetian warre. Secondlie, the experience, which the ſoldiours had got in the former battailes, which much directed them in this turbulent aſſault; wherein they caried themſelues as men acquainted with ſuch caſualties: laſtly, the valour and vndanted iudgment of the General, which ouerſwaied the peril of the battel, and brought it to ſo fortunate an end. Wherin we may obſerue, that as in a temperate courſe, when the iſſue of the battel reſted vpon his directions, he wholy intended warines & circumſpection, ſo in the hazard and peril of good hap, he confronted extremity of danger with extremity of valor, and ouertopt fury, with a higher reſolution.

CHAP. XII.

The Aduatici betake themſelues to a ſtrong hold, *and are taken by Cæſar.*

Cæſar.
**either Doway or Boſleduke in Brabant.*

*THE * Aduatici before mentioned, comming with all their power to aide the Neruij, and vnderſtanding by the way of their ouerthrow, returned home againe; and forſaking all the reſt of their townes, and caſtles, conuaied themſelues and their wealth into one ſtrong and wel fortified town, which was compaſſed about with mighty rocks and ſteepe downefals, ſauing in one place of* 200. *foot in breadth, where there was an entry by a gentle and eaſie aſcent, which paſſage they had fortified with a double wal of a large altitude,*

altitude, and had placed mightie great ſtones and ſharpe beames vpon the walles readie for an aſſault. This people deſcended from the Cimbri and Teutoni, who in their iourney into Italy had left ſuch cariages on this ſide of the Rhene, as they coulde not conueniently take along with them, in the cuſtodie of theſe forces; who after the death of their fellowes, being many yeares diſquieted by their neighbours, ſomtimes inuading other ſtates, and ſometimes defending themſelues, at length procured a peace, and choſe this place to ſettle themſelues in. At the firſt comming of the Romaine army, they ſallied out of the towne, & made many light skirmiſhes with them: but after that Cæſar had drawne a rampier about the towne of 12 foot in height, 15 miles in compaſſe, and had fortified it with caſtles very thicke about the towne; they kept themſelues within the wall: And as they beheld the vines framed, the mount raiſed, and a towre in building a far off; at firſt they began to laugh at it, and with ſcoffing ſpeeches frō the wal, began to aske: with what hands, & with what ſtrength, eſpecially by men of that ſtature (for the Romaines were but little men in reſpect of the Galles) a towre of that huge maſſie waight ſhould bee brought vnto the walles? But when they ſaw it remoued, and approching neere vnto the towne, as men aſtoniſhed at the ſtrange and vnaccuſtomed ſight thereof, they ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar, to intreat a peace with this meſſage: They beleeued that the Romaines did not make war, without the ſpecial aſſiſtance of the gods, that could with ſuch facility tranſport engines of that height, & bring them to incounter at hand, againſt the ſtrongeſt part of their town: and therfore they ſubmitted both themſelues, and all that they had, to Cæſars mercy; deſiring one thing of his meere clemency, that he would not take away their armes, foraſmuch as al their neighbors were enemies vnto them, and enuied at their valour; neither were they able to defend themſelues, if they ſhoulde deliuer vp their armor: ſo that they had rather ſuffer any inconuenience by the people of Rome, then to be butcherly murthered by them, whom in former time they had held ſubiect to their command.

To this Cæſar anſwered, that hee would ſaue the city rather of his owne cuſtome, thē for any deſert of theirs, ſo that they yeelded before the Ram touched the wal: but no condition of remedy ſhould be accepted, without preſent deliuery of their armes; for he would do by thē as he had done by the Neruÿ, and giue cōmandement to their neighbours, that they ſhould offer no wrong to ſuch, as had commended their ſafety to the people of Rome. This anſwere being returned to the city, they ſeemed contented to doe whatſoeuer hee commanded them, and thereupon caſting a great part of their armour ouer the wall into the ditch, inſomuch as they fild it almoſt to the top of the rampier: and yet (as afterward was known) concealing the third part, they ſet open the gates, and for that daie caried themſelues peaceably. Towards night Cæſar commanded the gates to be ſhut, and the ſoldiours to be drawn out of the towne. But the Aduatici hauing conſulted together before, foraſmuch as they beleeued that vpon their ſubmiſſion, the Romaines woulde either ſet no watch at all, or at the leaſt, keepe it verie careleſlie; partlie with ſuch armour as they had retained, and partly with Targets, made of barke or wrought of wicker; which vppon the ſodaine they had couered ouer with leather, about the third watch where the aſcent to our fortifications was eaſieſt; they iſſued ſodainly out of the towne with al their power: but ſignification thereof being giuen by fiers, as Cæſar had commanded, the Romains haſted ſpeedilie to that place. The enemy fought very deſperatelie, as men in the laſt hope of their welfare, incountering the Romains in a place of diſadnantage, at length with the ſlaughter of 4000. the reſt were driuen backe into the towne. The

next daie when Cæſar came to breake open the gates,and found no man at defence, he ſent in the ſoldiors,and ſold al the people and ſpoile of the towne: the number of perſons in the towne amounted to 53000. *bondſlaues.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Circũuallatio

IN the ſurpriſe, attempted by the Belgæ vpon Bibract, I ſet downe the maner,which both the Galles and the Romaines vſed in their ſodaine ſurpriſing of a towne: whereof if they failed (the place importing any aduantage in the courſe of the war) they then prepared for the ſiege,in that maner,as Cæſar hath deſcribed in this place. They inuironed the town about with a ditch and a rampier, and fortified the ſaide rampier, with many caſtles and fortreſſes, erected in a conuenient diſtance one from another; and ſo they kept the town from any forraine ſuccor or reliefe: and withal ſecured themſelues frõ ſallies or other ſtratagems, which the townſmen might practiſe againſt them. And this manner of ſiege was called *circumuallatio*; the particular deſcription wherof,I refer vnto the hiſtory of Aleſia, where I will handle it, according to the particulars there ſet down by Cæſar.

In the ſeuenth commentarie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Aries or the Ram.

HE Ram, which Cæſar heere mentioneth, was of greateſt note amongſt all the Romaine Engines, and helde that place which the Canon hath in our warres. Vitruuius doth attribute the inuention thereof, to the Carthaginians, who at the taking of Cadiz, wanting a fit inſtrument to raze and ouerthrow a caſtle, they tooke a long beame or timber tree, and bearing it vpon their armes and ſhoulders,with the one end thereof they firſt brake downe the vppermoſt ranke of ſtones: and ſo deſcending by degrees, they ouerthrewe the whole towre. The Romaines had two ſortes of Rams,the one was rude and plaine;the other artificial and compound: the firſt, is that which the Carthaginians vſed at Cadiz, and is purtraited in the column of Traian at Rome.

Calet.

Aries ſimplex

Aries compoſita.

The compound Ram is thus deſcribed by Ioſephus; a Ramme (ſaith he) is a mighty great beame, like vnto the maſt of a ſhip, and is ſtrengthned at one end with a head of yron, faſhioned like vnto a Ram; and thereof it tooke the name. This Ram is hanged by the middeſt with roapes vnto an other beame, which lieth croſſe a couple of pillars, and hanging thus equallie balanced, it is by force of men thruſt forward, and recoiled backeward; and ſo beateth vpon the wall with his yron heade: neither is there any towre ſo ſtrong, or wal ſo broad, that is able to ſtande before it. The length of this Ramme was of a large ſcantling, for Plutarch affirmeth, that Anthonie in the Parthian warre had a Ram eighty foote long: and Vitruuius ſaith, that the length of a Ramme was vſuallie 106. and ſometimes 120; and this length gaue great ſtrength and force to the engine.

engine. It was managed at one time with a whole Centurie or order of ſouldiers: and their forces being ſpent, they were ſeconded with another Centurie; and ſo the ramme plaied continually vpon the wall, without intermiſſion. Ioſephus ſaith, that Titus, at the ſiege of Ieruſalem, had a ramme for euerie legion: it was oftentimes couered with a vine, that the men that managed it might bee in more ſafety. It appeareth by this place, that if a towne had continued out vntill the ramme had touched the wall, they could not preſume of any acceptation of rendrie; for as much as by their obſtinacie, they had brought in perill the liues of their enemies, and were ſubdued by force of Armes, which affoordeth ſuch mercie as the victor pleaſeth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe Aduatici, as it ſeemeth, were not ignorant of the ſmall ſecuritie, which one ſtate can giue vnto another, that commendeth their ſafetie to be protected by it: for as Architas the Pythagorean ſaith, a bodie, a familie, and an Armie are then well gouerned, when they containe within themſelues the cauſes of their ſafetie; ſo we muſt not looke for anie ſecuritie in a ſtate, when their ſafetie dependeth vpon a forraine protection. For the olde ſaying is, that *Neque murus, neque amicus quiſquam teget, quem propria arma non texere.* Although in this caſe the matter was well qualified, by the maieſtie of the Roman Empire, and the late victories in the continent of Gallia, wherof the Hedui with their aſſociates were very gainful witneſſes: but amongſt kingdomes, that are better ſuted with equalitie of ſtrength & authority, there is ſmall hope of ſafetie to be looked for, vnleſſe the happy gouernment of both do mutually depend vpon the ſafetie of either nation. For that which Polybius obſerued in Antigonus king of Macedonia, taketh place for the moſt part amongſt all Princes; That kinges by nature eſteeme no man, either as a friend or an enemie, but as the calculation of profit ſhall finde them anſwerable to their proiectes. And contrariwiſe, it cutteth off many occaſions of practiſes & attempts, when it is knowne that a ſtate is of it ſelfe able and readie to reſiſt the deſſignes of forraine enemies, according to that of Manlius: *Oſtendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis: videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipſi remittent.*

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

THe manner of ſignifying any motion or attempt by fire, was of great vſe in the night ſeaſon, where the fortification was of ſo large an extenſion: for fire in the night doth appeare far greater then indeed it is, for as much as that part of the aire, which is next vnto the fire, as it is illuminated with the light thereof, in a reaſonable diſtance cannot be diſcerned from the fire it ſelfe, and ſo it ſeemeth much greater then it is in ſubſtance: and contrariwiſe,

To giue notice of an Alarum by fire.

in the daie time it ſheweth leſſe then it is; for the cleare brightneſſe of the aire doth much obſcure that light, which proceedeth from a more groſſe and materiall bodie: and therefore their cuſtome was to vſe fire in the night, and ſmoake in the daie, ſuting the tranſparent middle with a contrarie qualitie, that ſo it might more manifeſtly appeare to the beholder.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

Lib. 25.

The puniſhments which the Romans laied vpon a conquered nation.

AND albeit after the victorie, the Romans inflicted diuers degrees of puniſhment, according to the malice which they found in an enemie; yet as Flauius Lucanus ſaith in Liuie, there was no nation more exorable, nor readier to ſhew mercie, then the Romans were. The puniſhments which we find them to haue vſed towardes a conquered nation, were theſe; either they puniſhed them by death, or ſolde them for bondſlaues, *ſub corona*, or diſmiſſed them *ſub iugum*; or merced them, in taking away their territories; or made them tributarie ſtates.

Of the firſt we finde a manifeſt example in the third of theſe Commentaries, where Cæſar hauing ouerthrowne the Veneti by ſea, in as much as they had retained his ambaſſadours by force, contrarie to the law of nations, he put all the Senate to the ſword, and ſold the reſt *ſub corona*.

Feſtus ſaith, that an enemie was ſaid to be ſold *ſub corona*, in as much as the captiues ſtood crowned in the market place, where they were ſet out to ſale; as Cato ſaith in his booke *de re militari, vt populus ſua opera potius ob rem bene geſtam coronatus, ſupplicatum eat? quam re male geſta coronatus vaneat*. And Gellius affirmeth the ſame thing, but addeth alſo another reaſon, for as much as the ſoldiers that kept them while they were in ſelling, incirçled them round about, to keepe them together; and this round-about-ſtanding was called *Corona*. Feſtus ſaith, that oftentimes they vſed a ſpeare; and therfore they were ſaid to be ſold *ſub haſta*: for as much as amongſt the Greekes, by the ſpeare or pike, was ſignified the power of Armes, and maieſtie of Empires.

When they diſmiſſed them *ſub iugum*, their order was to erect three trees like a paire of gallowes, vnder which they cauſed all the captiues to paſſe, as a ſigne of bondage: for they had ſo conquered them by force of Armes, that they laide vpon their necke the yoake of thraldome. Liuie ſaith, that Quintius the dictator diſmiſſed the *Aequos ſub iugum*; and this *iugum* was made of 3 ſpeares, whereof two were ſtucke vpright in the ground, and the third was tied ouerthwart them. The ſouldiers that paſſed *ſub iugum*, were vngirt, and their weapons taken from them, as Feſtus ſaith.

Sometimes againe they tooke awaie their landes and territories, and either ſolde it for mony, & brought it into the treaſurie, or deuided the land amongſt the Roman people, or let it out to farme rent: of all which Liuie hath manie pregnant examples.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Crassus taketh in all the maritimate cities that lie to the Ocean: the legions are carried into their wintering campes.

THE same time Pub. Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion to the maritimate cities that laie to the Ocean, aduertised him that al those states had yeelded themselues to the people of Rome: The wars being thus ended, and all Gallia being setled in peace, there went such a fame of this warre among other barbarous people, that from nations beyond the Rhene there came ambassadours to Cæsar, offering both hostages and obedience to whatsoeuer he commanded them. But Cæsar willed them to repaire vnto him againe in the beginning of the next sommer, for as much as he then hasted into Lumbardie, after he had placed his legions in their wintering campes. For these thinges, vpon the sight of Cæsars letters, a generall supplication was proclaimed in Rome for 15 daies together, which honour before that time had happened to no man. And thus endeth the second Commentarie.

Cæsar.

Of this supplication I wil speake in the latter ende of the 4 booke.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS VPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF CÆSAR HIS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Commentarie beginneth with an Accident, which happened in the latter ende of the former ſommer; wherein the Belgæ had ſo leane a harueſt: and then it proceedeth to the warre betweene Cæſar and the Veneti; Craſſus and the Aquitani; Titurius Sabinus and the Curioſolitæ: And Titus Labienus, with the Treuiri.

CHAP. I.

Sergius Galba, being ſent to cleere the paſſage of *the Alpes, was beſieged by the Seduni* and Veragri.

Cæſar.

CAESAR taking his iourney into Italie, ſent Sergius Galba with the twelfth legion, and part of the horſemen vnto the Nantuates, Veragri & Seduni: whoſe territories are extended from the riuer Rhone, and the lake Lemanus, vnto the tops of the higheſt Alpes. The ende of this voyage was chiefely to cleare the Alpes of theeues and robbers, that liued by the ſpoile of paſſengers that trauelled betweene Italie and Gallia: Galba hauing order, if he found it expedient to winter in thoſe partes, after ſome fortunate incounters and the taking of ſome caſtles and holdes, he concluded a peace, and reſolued to place two cohortes of his legion, amongſt the Nantuates; and himſelfe to winter with the other cohortes, in a towne of the Veragri, named Octodurus. This towne being ſited in a narrow valley, and incircled about with mightie high hils, was deuided by a riuer into two partes, whereof he gaue one part to the Galles, and the other he choſe for his wintering campe, and fortified it about with a ditch and a rampier. After he had ſpent many daies of wintering, and giuen order, that corne ſhould be brought thither for prouiſion; he had intelligence vpon a ſudden, that the Galles, in the night time, had all left that part of the towne that was allotted vnto them; and that the hils which hung ouer the valley, wherein the towne ſtood, were poſſeſt with great multitudes of the Seduni, and Veragri. The reaſons of this ſudden commotion were cheefly the

the paucitie of the Roman forces, not making a compleat legion; for as much as two cohorts wintered amongſt the Nantuates: beſides many particulars, that were wanting vpon neceſſarie occaſions. And to make them more contemptible in regard of themſelues, the place affoorded ſuch aduantage, that they were perſwaded by reaſon of the ſteepe decliuitie of the hill, that the Romans would not indure the brunt of the firſt aſſault: beſides this, it greeued them exceedingly to haue their children taken from them, vnder the title of hoſtages; and the Alpes, which nature had exempted from habitation, and placed as boundes betweene two large kingdomes, to be ſeaſed vpon by the Roman legions, and vnited to their Prouince.

Vpon theſe aduertiſements, Galba not hauing as yet finiſhed the fortification of his campe, nor made prouiſion of corne and forrage for the winter ſeaſon, in that he little feared any motion of warre, being ſecured of their amitie, and obedience, both by hoſtages and rendrie: he preſently called a councell of warre, to determine what courſe was beſt to be taken. In which councell the mindes of many were ſo amazed, with the terrour of ſo vnexpected a danger, when they beheld the hils peſtered with armed ſoldiers, the paſſages taken and intercepted by the enemie, and no hope left of any ſuccour or reliefe, that they could thinke of no other waie for their ſafetie, then leauing behind them their baggage and impediments, to ſallie out of their campe, and ſo to ſaue themſelues by the ſame waie they came thither: notwithſtanding the greater part concluded, to referre that reſolution to the laſt puſh; and in the meane time, to attend the fortune of the euent, and defend the campe.

THE OBSERVATION.

WHich aduiſe although at this time ſorted to ſmall effect; yet it better ſuted the valour of the Romans, and ſauoured more of tempered magnanimitie, then that former hazard, which argued the weakeneſſe of their mindes, by their ouer haſtie and too forward reſolution. For as it imported greater danger, and diſcouered a more deſperate ſpirit, to breake through the thickeſt troupes of their enemies, and ſo by ſtrong hand to ſaue themſelues by the helpe of ſome other fortune; ſo it manifeſted a greater apprehenſion of terrour, and a ſtronger impreſſion of feare, which can affoord nothing but deſperate remedies: for deſperate and inconſiderate raſhnes riſeth ſooner of feare, then of any other paſſion of the mind. But ſuch as beheld the danger with a leſſe troubled eie and qualified the terrour of death with the life of their ſpirite, reſeruing extremitie of helpe to extremitie of perill, and in the meane time attended what chances of aduantage might happen vnto them, vpon any enterpriſe the enemie ſhould attempt; they I ſay, ſo gaue greater ſcope to fortune and inlarged the boundes of changing accidents.

CHAP. II.

The enemie ſetteth vpon the wintering campe: Galba ouerthroweth them.

Cæſar.

THE councell being diſmiſſed, they had ſcarce time to put in execution ſuch thinges, as were agreed vpon for their defence: but the enemie at a watchword giuen aſſaulted the campe, on all ſides with ſtones and dartes, and other caſting weapons: the Romans at firſt when their ſtrength was freſh, valiantly reſiſted the brunt of the charge; neither did they ſpend in vaine any weapon which they caſt from the rampier; but what part ſoeuer of their campe ſeemed to be in greateſt danger, and want of helpe, thither they came with ſuccour and reliefe; but hercin they were ouermatched. For the enemie being ſpent and wearied with fight, whenſoeuer anie of them gaue place and forſooke the battell, there were alwaies freſh combatants to ſupplie it: but the Romans by reaſon of their ſmall number, had no ſuch helpe. For their extremitie in that point was ſuch, that no man was permitted neither for wearineſſe nor woundes, to forſake his ſtation, or abandon his charge. And hauing thus fought continually the ſpace of ſixe houres, when both ſtrength and weapons wanted, the enemie perſiſting with greater furie to fill the ditch and breake downe the rampier, and their hopes relying vpon the laſt expectation: P. Sex. Baculus the Primipile of that legion, whom we ſaid to be ſo ſore wounded in the Neruian battell, and Caius Voluſenus Tribune of the ſouldiers, a man of ſingular courage and wiſedome, ranne ſpeedily to Galba and tolde him, that the only waie of ſafetie was to breake out vpon the enemie, and to trie the laſt refuge in that extremitie. Whereupon they called the Centurions, and by them admoniſhed the ſoldiers to ſurceaſe a while from fighting, and onely to receiue ſuch weapons as were caſt into the campe; and ſo to reſt themſelues a little and recouer their ſtrength: and then at a watchword to ſallie out of their campe, and laie their ſafety vpon their vertue; which the ſouldiers executed with ſuch alacritie and courage of ſpirite, that breaking out at all the gates of the campe, they gaue no leaſure to the enemie to conſider what was done, nor to ſatiſfie his iudgement touching ſo vnexpected a noueltie. And thus fortune being ſuddenly changed, they ſlewe more then the third part of 30000, and put the reſt to flight, not ſuffering them to ſtaie vpon the hils neere about them.

OBSERVATIONS.

The force of nouelty turning the fortune of a battell.

WHich ſtrange alteration liuely deſcribeth the force of noueltie, and the effectuall power of vnexpected aduẽtures: for in the firſt courſe of their proceeding, wherein the Romans defended the campe, and the Galles charged it by aſſault, the victorie held conſtant with the Galles, and threatned death and mortality to the Romans. Neither had they any meanes

meanes to recouer hope of better ſucceſſe, but by trying another waie; which ſo much the more amazed the Galles, in that they had vehemently apprehended an opinion of victorie, by a ſet fight continuing the ſpace of ſixe houres, without any likelihood of contrarietie, or alteration. Which practiſe, of fruſtrating a deſſigne intended by an indirect and contrary anſwere, ſerued the Romans oftentimes to great aduantage; as beſides this preſent example, in this Commentarie we ſhall afterward read, how Titurius Sabinus defeated the Vnellos, with the ſame ſtratagem; and ouerthrew them by eruption and ſallying out, when they expected nothing but a defenſiue reſiſtance from the rampier. From whence a commander may learne, to auoide two contrarie inconueniences, according as the qualitie of the warre ſhall offer occaſion: firſt (if other thinges be anſwerable, which a iudicious eie will eaſily diſcouer) that a ſallie made out at diuers portes of a holde, will much mitigate the heate of a charge, and controll the furie of an enemie. And on the other ſide, he that beſiegeth any place what aduantage ſoeuer he hath of the defendant, may much better aſſure himſelfe of good fortune, if he appoint certaine troupes in readines to receiue the charge of any eruption, that the reſt that are buſily imploied in the aſſault may prouide to anſwere it, without diſorder or confuſion. Which order, if the Galles had taken, they had not in likelihood ſo often been deceiued.

CHAP. III.

Galba returneth into the Prouince: the Vnelli giue occaſion of a new warre.

THE enemie being thus defeated, Galba was vnwilling to trie fortune any further; and the rather for that he wanted both corne and forrage: and therefore hauing burned the towne, the next daie he returned towardes the Prouince, and without let or reſiſtance, brought the legion ſafe into the Nantuates; and from thence to the * Allobroga, and there he wintered. Caſar. * Sauoient.

After theſe thinges were diſpatched: Cæſar ſuppoſing for manie reaſons, that all Gallia was now in peace, and that there was no further feare of anie new warre, the Belgæ being ouerthrowen, the Germans thruſt out, and the Seduni amongſt the Alpes ſubdued and vanquiſhed; in the beginning of the winter, as he went into Illyricum, hauing a great deſire to ſee thoſe nations: there grewe a ſudden tumult and diſſention in Gallia vpon this occaſion. Pub. Craſſus wintering with the ſeuenth legion in Aniou neare vnto the Océan, and finding ſcarcitie of corne in thoſe partes; he ſent out the Prefects of the horſemen, and Tribunes into the next cities to demaund corne, and other prouiſions for his legion, of whom Titus Terraſidius was ſent vnto the * Venelli, Marcus Trebius to the * Curioſolitæ, & Velanius, and Titus Silius to the * Veneti. Theſe Veneti were of greateſt authoritie amongſt all the maritimate nations in that coaſt, by reaſon of their great ſtore of ſhipping, with * Le Perche. * Cornoaille in Bretaine * Vannes.

which they did trafficke into Britanie, and exceeded all their neighbour ſtates in skill and experience of ſea-faring matters; hauing the moſt part of ſuch as vſed thoſe ſeas, tributaries to their ſtate: Theſe Veneti firſt aduentured to retaine Silius and Velanius, hoping thereby to recouer their hoſtages which they had giuen to Craſſus. The finitimate cities induced by their authoritie and example, for the ſame reaſon, laide hold vpon Trebius and Terraſidius; and ſending ſpeedie ambaſſages one vnto another, coniured by their Princes and chiefeſt magiſtrates, to approue their fact by common conſent, and to attend all the ſame euent of fortune; ſolliciting alſo other cities and ſtates, rather to maintaine that libertie, which they had receiued of their Anceſtors, then to indure the ſeruile bondage of a ſtranger.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The weakenes of our iudgement in regard of the knowledge of future times.

THe circumſtance in this hiſtorie, which noteth the ſudden breaking out of warres, when the courſe of thinges made promiſe of peace: ſheweth firſt, what ſmall aſſurance our reaſon hath of her diſcourſe, in calculating the natiuitie of *After-chances*; which ſo ſeldome anſwere the iudgment we giue vpon their beginnings, that when we ſpeake of happineſſe, we finde nothing but miſerie: and contrariwiſe, it goeth often well with that part, which our Art hath condemned to ill fortune. And therefore I do not maruel, if when almoſt all nations are at oddes, and in our beſt conceites, threaten deſtruction one to another, there happen a ſudden motion of peace; or if peace be in ſpeech, ſoothing the world with pleaſing tranquilitie, and through the vncertainty of our weake probabilities, promiſe much reſt after many troubles: there follow greater wars in the ende, then the former time can truely ſpeake of. Which being well vnderſtood, may humble the ſpirits of our hautie polititians, that thinke to comprehend the concluſions of future times, vnder the premiſſes of their weake proiectes, and predeſtinate ſucceeding ages, accorto the courſe of the preſent motion: when an accident ſo little thought of, ſhall breake the maine ſtreame of our iudgment, and falſifie the Oracles which our vnderſtanding hath vttered. And it may learne them withall, how much it importeth a wiſe commander, to preuent an euill that may croſſe his deſſigne, (how vnlikely ſoeuer it be to happen) by handling it in ſuch manner, as though it were neceſſarily to confront the ſame. For then a thing is well done, when it hath in it ſelfe both the cauſes of his being; and the direct meanes to reſiſt the repugnancie of a contrarie nature: and ſo hap what will, it hath great poſſibility to continue the ſame.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THis practiſe of the Veneti may inſtruct a circumſpect Prince in caſes of this nature, to haue a more watchfull eie ouer that Prouince or city, which ſhall be found moſt potent and mightie amongſt the reſt, then of any other inferiour ſtate of the ſame nature and condition: for as example of

it ſelfe is of great Authoritie, making improbabilities ſeeme full of reaſon, eſpecially when the intention ſhal ſympathize with our will; ſo when it ſhall happen to be ſtrengthened with powerfull meanes, and graced with the Acte of ſuperiour perſonages: it muſt needes be verie effectuall to ſtirre vp mens mindes, to approue that with a ſtrong affection, which their owne ſingle iudgment did no waie allow of. And therfore equalitie bringeth this aduantage to a Prince, which differencie can not affoord, that albeit example doe ſet on foote any rebellious motion, yet no ſupereminencie ſhall authoriſe the ſame.

The Authority of exãple.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæſar hauing aduertiſement of theſe new troubles; *haſteth into Gallia and prepareth* for the warre.

*ALL the maritimate ſtates being by this meanes drawne into the ſame conſpiracie, they ſent a common ambaſſage vnto Craſſus; that if he would haue his men againe, he muſt deliuer vp the hoſtages, which he had taken from them. Whereof Cæſar being certified by Craſſus, in as much as he was then a great way diſtant from his Armie, he commanded Gallies and ſhippes of warre to be built vpon the riuer * Loier, which runneth into the Ocean; and that Gallie men, Mariners, and Shipmaſters ſhould be muſtered in the Prouince: which being ſpeedely diſpatched, aſſoone as the time of the yeare would permit him, he came into Gallia. The Veneti and the reſt of the confederacie, vnderſtanding of Cæſars arriuall, and conſidering how haynous a fact they had committed, in detaining the ambaſſadours and caſting them into yrons, whoſe name is held ſacred and inuiolable amongſt all nations: prepared accordingly to anſwere ſo eminent a danger, & eſpecially ſuch neceſſaries, as pertained to ſhipping & ſea-fights.*

Cæſar.

* *Ligeris.*

THE OBSERVATION.

FRom hence I may take occaſion, briefely to touch the reuerent opinion, which all nations, howe barbarous ſoeuer, haue generally conceiued of the qualitie and condition of ambaſſadours: and what the groundes are of this vniuerſall receiued cuſtome, which in all ages, and times hath held Authenticall. And firſt we are to vnderſtand, that all man kinde (as indued with the ſame nature and properties) are ſo linked together in the ſtrict alliance of humane ſociety; that, albeit their turbulent and diſagreeing paſſions (which in themſelues are vnnaturall, as proceeding from corruption and defect) driue them into extreme diſcord and diſunion of ſpirit, and breake the bonds of ciuill conuerſation, which otherwiſe we do naturally affect:

The groundes of that reuerent opinion which is held of ambaſſadors.

yet without a neceſſarie entercourſe and trafficke of ſocietie, we are not able to keepe on foote the very diſcord it ſelfe, in tearmes of reaſon and orderly proceeding, but all parts will be blended with diſordered confuſion, & go to wrack, for want of theſe mutuall offices performed by meſſengers: ſo ſtreight are the bondes of nature, and ſo powerfull are the lawes which ſhe enacteth. And therfore if it were for no other end, which might ſort to the benefit of either partie, (as there are many good vſes thereof) yet to holde vp the quarrell and keepe it from falling, making warr, according to the grounds of reaſon, the entercourſe of meſſengers is not to be interrupted, nor their perſons to be touched with hateful violence: but that which the common reaſon of nations hath made a law, ought as religiouſly to be obſerued, as an Oracle of our owne beliefe. Secondly, for as much as the ende of warre is, or at the leaſt ſhould be, peace: which by treatie of mutuall meſſengers is principally to be confirmed, to the end that no people may ſeeme ſo barbarous, as to maintaine a warre; which onelie intendeth bloud, and propoſeth as the chiefeſt obiect, the death and mortality of mankind, no way reſpecting peace and ciuill gouernment: ſuch as refuſe the entercourſe of meſſengers, as the meanes of amitie and concord, are iuſtly condemned in the iudgment of all nations, as vnworthie of humane ſocietie. Laſt of all, it is an iniurie of great diſhonour, and deſerueth the reward of extreme infamie, to reuenge the maſter his quarrell vpon a ſeruant, and puniſh ambaſſadours for the faults of their ſtate: conſidering that their chiefeſt dutie conſiſteth in the faithfull relation of ſuch mandates, as they haue receiued, which may as well tende to the aduancement and honour of that cittie, to which they are ſent; as to the diſhonour and ruine of the ſame, whereof the meſſengers take no notice. And therefore whether we deſire warre or peace; the free libertie, and holy order of ambaſſadours, is reuerently to be reſpected, and defended from brutiſh and vnnaturall violence.

CHAP. V.

The proceedings of either partie, in the entrance *of this warre.*

Cæſar. *THE Veneti conceiued great hope of their enterpriſe, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their ſituation: for as much as all the paſſages by land were broken and cut off, with armes and creekes of the ſea; and on the other ſide, nauigation and entrance by ſea was ſo troubleſome and dangerous, in that the Romans were altogether vnacquainted with the chanels, and ſhelues of the coaſt. Neither did they thinke that the Roman Armie could long continue there without corne, which was not to be had in thoſe quarters. And if it happened, that the courſe of thinges were carried contrarie to this probable expectation; yet they themſelues were ſtrong in ſhipping: whereas the Romans had none*

*none at all: Neither had they knowledge of the flats and ſhallowes, Portes and Ilands of that coaſt, where they were to fight. And to conclude, they ſhould finde the vſe of Nauigation in that narrow ſea, to be farre different from that, which they were accuſtomed vnto, in the vaſt and open Ocean. In this reſolution, they fortified their townes, ſtored them with prouiſion, and brought all their ſhipping to Vannes; againſt whom, Cæſar (as it was reported) would begin to make warre, taking the Oſiſimi, Lexouij, Nannetes, Ambiuariti, Morini, Menapij, Diablintres, as conſorts and partakers in this quarrell. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, many motiues ſtirred vp Cæſar to vndertake this war: as namely, the violent detaining of the Roman knights: their rebellion, after they had yeelded themſelues by rendrie, and giuen hoſtages of their loialtie: the conſpiracie of ſo manie citties, which being now neglected, might afterward incite other nations and ſtates to the like inſolencie. And therefore vnderſtanding, that almoſt all the Galles were inclining to noueltie and alteration, and of their owne nature, were quicke and readie to vndertake a warre; and further, conſidering that all men by nature deſired libertie, and hated the ſeruile condition of bondage: he preuented all further inſurrections of the other ſtates, with the preſence of the Roman forces: and ſent Titus Labienus with the Caualrie, vnto the *Treuiri, that bordered vpon the Rhene: to him he gaue in charge, to viſit the men of Rhemes and the reſt of the Belgæ, to keepe them in obedience; and to hinder ſuch forces, as might peraduenture be tranſported ouer the riuer by the Germains, to further this rebellious humour of the Galles. He commanded likewiſe Pub. Craſſus, with 12 legionarie cohortes, and a great part of the horſe to go into Aquitaine, leaſt there might come any aide from thoſe nations. He ſent alſo Q. Titurius Sabinus with three legions, vnto the Lexouij, Curioſolitæ, Vnelli, to diſappoint any practiſe which rebellious mindes might intend. And making D. Brutus chiefe Admirall of the nauie, he gaue him in charge, to make towardes Vannes, with what ſpeede he could: and hee himſelfe marched thitherward with the reſt of the foote forces.*

Lendriguer. Lyſieux. Nantes. Aurenche. Leondoul. Cities in little Britaine.

**Triers.*

THE OBSERVATION.

IN the firſt booke, I obſerued the authoritie which the Roman leaders had to vndertake a warre, without further acquainting the ſenat with the conſequence thereof: in this place, let vs obſerue the care and circumſpection, which the Generals had, not to vndertake a troubleſome and dangerous warre vpon a humor, or any other ſlender motion: but diligently waighing the circumſtances thereof, and meaſuring the perill and hazard of the warre, with the good and conſequence of the effect; informed their iudgments of the importance of that action, and ſo tried whether the benefit would anſwere their labour. And thus we finde the reaſons particularly deliuered, that moued Cæſar firſt to vndertake the Heluetian warre: and then the cauſes which drew him on to the quarrell with Ariouiſtus: then followeth the neceſſitie of that warre with the Belgæ; and nowe the motiues which induced him to this with the maritimate cities of Bretaine: and ſo conſequently of his paſſage into Germanie, or what other enterpriſe he attempted: which he laieth downe

downe as the groundes and occaſions of thoſe warres, and could not be auoided but with the loſſe and diſhonour of the Roman Empire.

Further, let vs obſerue the meanes he vſed to preuent the inclination of the Galles, and to keepe them in ſubiection and peaceable obedience, by ſending his men into diuers quarters of that continent; and ſo ſetling the wauering diſpoſition of the further skirtes, with the waight of his Armie, and the preſence of his legionarie ſouldiers, which he ſent readie to ſtifle all motions of rebellion in the beginning, that they might not breake out to the preiudice and diminution of the Roman Empire, and the good ſucceſſe of his proceedings: beſides the aduantage, which he gained in the opinion of the enemie; whom he ſo little feared concerning the vpſhot of that quarrell, that he had diſperſed the greateſt part of his Armie vpon other ſeruices, the reſt being ſufficient to end that war.

CHAP. VI.

The maner of their ſhipping, and their *ſea-fight.*

Cæſar. *THE ſcite of almoſt all theſe cities was ſuch, that being built in pointes and promontories, they could not at full ſea, which happened alwaies twiſe in 12 houres, be approched by foot forces, nor yet with ſhipping neither; for againe in an ebbe, the veſſalles were laid on the ground, and ſo left as a prate to the enemy. And if the Romans went about to ſhut out the ſea, with mounts which they raiſed equal to the wals of the town, and were at the point of entering & taking it: yet the townſmen hauing ſuch ſtore of ſhipping, would eaſily conuey, both themſelues and their cariages, into the next townes, and there helpe themſelues with the like aduantage of place. And thus they deluded Cæſar the greateſt part of the ſommer: for the Roman fleete by reaſon of continuall windes and foule weather, durſt not aduenture to put out of the riuer Loier into ſo vaſt a ſea, wherein the hauens and roades were fewe, and farre diſtant one from another, and the tides great. The ſhipping of the Galles was thus built and rigged: the keele was ſomewhat flatter then the Roman ſhipping, the better to beare the ebbes, and ſhalowes of that coaſt: the foredecke was altogether erect and perpendicular: the poupe was made to beare the hugeneſſe of the billowes, and the force of the tempeſt. And in a word, they were altogether built for ſtrength: for the ribbes and ſeates were made of beames of a foote ſquare, faſtned with yron pins of an inch thicke: in ſteed of cables, they vſed chaines of yron; and raw hides and skins for ſailes, either for want of linnen or ignorant of the vſe thereof, or becauſe ſailes of linnen would hardly ſerue to carrie ſhips of that burthen.*

The meeting and conflict of the Roman nauie, with this kinde of ſhips was ſuch, that they onely excelled them in celeritie and ſpeedie nimblenes, with force of oares, but in all other thinges, either concerning the nature of the place, or the dangers of the foule weather, were farre inferiour vnto them: for the ſtrength of them was ſuch,

such, that they could neither hurt them with their beake-heads, nor caſt a weapon to anie purpoſe into them, by reaſon of their altitude, and high built bulkes. And if anie guſt chanced in the meane time to riſe, that forced them to commit themſelues to the mercie of the weather, their ſhipping would better beare the rage of the ſea; and with greater ſafetie ſhelter it ſelfe amongſt flats and ſhallowes, without feare of rockes or any ſuch hazard: of all which chances the Roman nauie ſtood continually in danger.

OBSERVATIONS.

The cauſes of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea.

AND here, let it not ſeeme impertinent to the argument which we handle, conſidering the generall vſe which we Inſulairs haue of nauigation, briefly to ſet downe the moſt eminent cauſes of the flowing and ebbing of the ſea, as farre forth as ſhall ſeeme neceſſarie to the knowledge of a ſouldier: which, albeit may fall ſhort of the true reaſons of this great ſecret; yet for as much as they ſtand for true principles of regularitie, and well approued rules in our Arte of nauigation, let vs take them for no leſſe then they effect, and giue them that credit in our imagination, which tract of time hath gained to thoſe forged circles in the heauens: that albeit their chiefeſt eſſence conſiſteth in conceit and ſuppoſal; yet for as much as they ſerue to direct our knowledge to a certainty, in that variety and ſeeming inconſtancie of motion, we eſteeme of them as they effect, and not as they are.

Conſidering then the globe of the world, as it maketh a right ſpheare (for in that poſition, the Naturaliſtes chiefly vnderſtand celeſtiall influence to haue operation in this liquid element of the water) it is deuided by the Horizon and Meridian into foure quarters: the firſt quarter is that, betweene the eaſt horizon and the noone meridian, which they cal a flowing quarter: the ſecond, from the noone meridian, to the weſt horizon; which they make an ebbing quarter: the third, from the weſt horizon to the midnight meridian; which they likewiſe call a flowing quarter: and againe, from the midnight meridian to the eaſt horizon, the ſecond ebbing quarter: And ſo they make two flowing quarters, and two ebbing quarters of the whole circuit of heauen. The inſtruments of theſe ſenſible qualities, and contrarie effects, are the ſunne and the moone, as they are caried through theſe diſtinct partes of the heauen. And although experience hath noted the moone to be of greateſt power in watrie motions; yet we may not omit to acknowledge the force, which the ſunne yeeldeth in this miracle of nature.

Firſt therfore we are to vnderſtand, that when the moone or the ſunne begin to appeare aboue the right horizon, and enter into that part of the heauen which I tearmed the firſt flowing quarter, that then the ſea beginneth to ſwell: and as they mount vp to their meridian altitude; ſo it increaſeth vntill it come to a high floud. And againe, as thoſe lightes paſſing the meridian, decline to the weſt, and runne the circuit of the ebbing quarter: ſo the water decreaſeth and returneth againe from whence it came. Againe, as they ſet vnder the weſt ho-

rizon and enter into the ſecond flowing quarter; ſo the ſea beginneth againe to flow, and ſtill increaſeth vntill they come to the point of the night meridian: and then againe, it refloweth, according as the ſunne and moone are caried in the other ebbing quarter from the night meridian, to the eaſt horizon.

Spring tides. And hence it happeneth that in coniunction or new of the moone, when the ſunne and the moone are caried both together in the ſame flowing, and ebbing quarters; that then the tides and ebbes are very great: and likewiſe in oppoſition or full of the moone, when theſe lightes are caried in oppoſite quarters, which we haue deſcribed to be of the ſame nature, either ebbing or flowing; that then in like manner the tides are great: foraſmuch as both theſe Planets, through the ſymboliſing quarters wherein they are carried, doe ioyne their forces, to make perfect this worke of nature in the ebbing and flowing of the ſea. And contrariwiſe, in a quadrate aſpect (as the Aſtronomers call it) or quarter age of the moone, when as the moone is caried in a flowing quarter; and at the ſame inſtant, the ſunne doth happen to be in an ebbing or decreaſing quarter, as the courſe of nature doth neceſſarily require: then are the tides leſſoned, as dailie experience doth witneſſe.

And for as much as both the right horizon and the meridian alſo, deuide euerie diurnall circle, which either the ſun or the moone maketh in their reuolutions, into equall parts; it followeth that euery tide is continually meaſured with the quantitie of 6 houres: and therfore that which Cæſar here ſaith, muſt needs be true, that in the ſpace of 12 houres, there are alwaies 2 high tides. And leaſt any man ſhould imagine, that euery inland citie, ſtanding vpon an ebbing and flowing riuer, may take the computation of the tide according to this rule: let him vnderſtand that this which I haue deliuered, is to be conceiued principally of the ſea it ſelfe; and ſecondarily of ſuch portes and hauens, as ſtand either neare or vpon the ſea: but where a riuer ſhall run many miles from the ſea, and make many winding meanders, before it come to the place of calculation; it muſt needs loſe much of this time before mentioned. And thus much I thought conuenient to inſert in theſe diſcourſes touching the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, as not impertinent to martiall knowledge.

The manner of their ſhipping. Concerning the ſhipping of the Romans, whereof poſteritie hath onely receiued the bare names, and ſome fewe circumſtances touching the manner of their Equipage, the Critickes of theſe times haue laboured to ſet foorth a fleet, anſwerable to that, which the tearmes and title mentioned in hiſtorie ſeeme to report: but yet the gaine of their voyage doth not anſwere their charge. For manie men reſt vnſatisfied, firſt touching the names themſelues, whereof wee finde theſe kindes,

Names { *Longas.* *Onerarias.* *Actuarias.* *Triremes.* *Quadriremes.* *Quinqueremes.*

The firſt we may vnderſtand to be Gallies or ſhips of ſeruice: the ſecond ſhips of

of burthen: the third, ſhips that were driuen forward with force of oares, and the reſt ſounding according to their Names; for I dare not intitle them with a more particular deſcription. Nowe whether theſe Names *Longas* and *Actuarias*, were a ſeuerall ſorte of ſhipping by themſelues; or the generall Names of the *Quadriremes*, *Triremes*, and *Quinqueremes*, for as much as euerie kinde of theſe might be called both *Longas* and *Actuarias*, as it yet remaineth in controuerſie: ſo it is not much materiall to that which wee ſeeke after. But that which moſt troubleth our ſea-Critickes, is in what ſenſe they maie vnderſtand theſe vocabularies, *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*, whether they were ſo tearmed in regard of the number of rowers, or watermen that haled continually at an oare, as the cuſtome of the Gallies is at this daie; or otherwiſe, becauſe a *Trireme* had three orders of oares on either ſide, a *Quadrireme* foure, and a *Quinquereme* fiue: whereof they tooke their diſtinction of Names.

Such as holde, that a *Trireme* had on each ſide three rankes of oares, and ſo conſequently, of a *Quadrireme* and *Quinquereme*, alleadge this place of Liuie, to make good their opinion. In the warres betweene Rome and Carthage, Lælius meeting with Adherball in the ſtraightes of Gibraltar, each of them had a *Quinquereme*, and ſeauen or eight *Triremes* a piece, the current in that place was ſo great that it gaue no place to Arte, but carried the veſſailes according to the fall of the Billow: in which vncertaintie the *Triremes* of the Carthaginean, cloſed with the *Quinquereme* of Lælius: which either becauſe ſhe was *pondere tenacior*, as Liuie ſaith, or otherwiſe, for that *pluribus remorum ordinibus ſcindentibus vertices facilius regeretur*; in regarde of the pluralitie of bankes of oares, which reſiſted the billowe and ſteamed the current, ſhe ſunke two of the *Triremes*, and ſo got the victorie. From hence they proue, that a *Quinquereme* had *plures remorum ordines*, then a *Trireme* had; and therefore it tooke the name from the pluralitie of bankes of oares, and not from the number of men that rowed at an oare. *Lib. 27.*

But the contrarie opinion doth interpret *Ordo Remorum*, to be a couple of oares one anſwering another, on each ſide of the veſſaile, which we call a paire of oares: So that a *Quinquereme* being far greater and longer then a *Trireme*, had more paires of oares then a *Trireme* had, and thoſe oares were handled with fiue men at one oare, according to the vſe of our Gallies at this daie.

But to leaue this, and come to their manner of ſea-fights, wee muſt vnderſtand that the Romans, wanting the vſe of Artillerie and managing their ſhips of warre with force of oares, failed not to make vſe of their Arte, in their conflictes and incounters by ſea: for all their ſhippes of ſeruice, which we tearme men of warre, carried a ſtrong beake-head of yron, which they called *roſtrum*, with which they ranne one againſt another, with as great violence and furie, as their oares could carrie them. And herein Arte gaue great aduantage; for he that could beſt skill to turne his ſhip, with greateſt celeritie, and ſo fruſtrate an offer; or with ſpeedie and ſtrong agitation follow an aduantage: commonly got the victorie. *Their maner of ſea-fights.*

In the battell, which D. Brutus had with the Maſſilians, we reade that two *Lib. 2. de bello ciuili.*

Triremes charging the Admirall, wherein Brutus was one at the one ſide, and the other at the other; Brutus and his Marriners ſo cunningly handled the matter, that when they ſhould come to the hurt, they ſpeedily in a trice of time, wound themſelues from betweene them, and the two Triremes met with ſuch a carriere one againſt another, that one brake her beakehead, and the other ſplit with the blowe.

For this skill and fortune withall, Euphranor the Rodian was of great fame in Cæſars time; although his ende found too true the ſaying of the Hiſtorian, that Whom fortune honoureth with many good haps, ſhe oftentimes reſerueth to a harder deſtinie; as other ſeamen beſides Euphranor, can truely witneſſe.

This firſt brunt being ended: when they came to grapple and boording one of another, then the art and practiſes of their land ſeruices came in vſe: for they erected turrets vpon their deckes, and from them they fought with engines and caſting weapons, as ſlinges, arrowes, and piles; and when they entered, they fought with ſword and target. Neither did the legionarie ſouldier finde any difference, when he came to the point, betweene their fight at ſea and that at land: ſauing that they could not be martialed in troupes and bandes, in regard wherof the ſea ſeruice was counted more baſe, and diſhonourable; and the rather, in as much as it decided the controuerſie, by ſlinges and caſting weapons: which kinde of fight was of leſſe honour, then buckling at handy-blowes.

CHAP. VII.

The battell continueth: and Cæſar ouercommeth.

Cæſar.

THE maner of their fightes being this, as I haue deſcribed, neither Brutus, nor any Tribune or Centurion in his nauie, knewe what to doe or what courſe of fight to take: for the ſhipping of the Galles was ſo ſtrong, that the beake-head of their Quinqueremes could performe no ſeruice vpon them: and although they ſhould raiſe turrets according to their vſe, yet theſe would not equall in height the poupe of the enemies ſhipping; ſo that therein alſo the Galles had aduantage: neither had they any meanes, whereby they might foile ſo great a nauie, which amounted to the number of 230 ſhippes of warre. One thing there was amongſt their prouiſions which ſtood them in great ſteed: for the Romans had prouided great ſharpe hookes or ſickles, which they put vpon great and long poles, theſe they faſtened to the tackling which held the maine yarde to the maſt; and then haling away their ſhip, with force of Oares, they cutte the ſaid tackling, and the maine yard fell downe: Whereby the Galles, whoſe onely hope conſiſted in ſayling and yare turning of their ſhips, loſt at one inſtant, both their ſailes and the vſe of their ſhipping: And then the controuerſie fell within the compaſſe of valour, wherein the Romans exceeded the Gals; and the rather, inaſmuch as they fought in the ſight of Cæſar

and

and the whole Armie, no valiant act could be ſmothered in ſecret; for all the hilles and clifts, which affoorded neare proſpect into the ſea, were couered with the Roman Armie.

Their maine yardes being cutte downe, and the Romans indeuouring with great furie to boord them, failed not to take manie of their ſhips: which the Galles perceiuing, and finding no remedie nor hope of reſiſtance, began all to flie, & turning their ſhips to a forewind, were vpon a ſudden ſo becalmed, that they were able to make no waie at all. Which fell out ſo fitly for the Romans, that of ſo great a nauie, verie few through the helpe of the euening eſcaped to land, after they had fought the ſpace of 8 houres: with which battell, ended the warre with the Veneti, and the reſt of the maritimate nations. For all ſort of people both young and olde, in whom there was either courage, counſell, or dignitie, were preſent at this battell, and all their ſhipping was taken and loſt; ſo that ſuch as remained, knew not whither to go, nor how to defend their townes any longer: and therefore yeelded themſelues to Cæſar, in whom he vſed the greater ſeueritie, that he might thereby teach all other barbarous people, not to violate the law of nations: for he ſlew all the Senat with the ſword, and ſolde the people for bondſlaues.

THE OBSERVATION.

The force of induſtrie.

IN this battell I chiefly obſerue the good fortune, which vſually attendeth vpon induſtrie: for amongſt other prouiſions, which the diligence of the Romans had furniſhed out to the vſe of this war, they had made readie theſe hookes, not for this intent wherin they were imploied, but at all occaſions & chances, that might happen, as ſeruiceable complements rather then principall inſtruments: and yet it ſo fell out, that they proued the only meanes, to ouerthrow the Galles. Which proueth true the ſaying of Cæſar, that induſtrie commaundeth fortune and buyeth good ſucceſſe, with extraordinary labour: for induſtrie in action is as importunitie in ſpeech, which forceth an aſſent beyond the ſtrength of reaſon; and ſtriueth through continuall purſuit, to make good the motiues, by often inculcations; and at length findeth that diſpoſition, which will eaſily admit whatſoeuer is required: In like manner diligence and labourſome induſtrie, by circumſpect and heedefull cariage, ſeldome faile either by hap or cunning, to make good that part wherein the maine point of the matter dependeth. For euerie action is intangled with many infinite adherents, which are ſo intereſſed in the matter, that it ſucceedeth according as it is carried anſwerable to their natures. Of theſe adherentes, ſome of them are by wiſedome, foreſeene; and directed to that courſe which may fortunate the action: the reſt being vnknowne, continue without either direction or preuention, and are all vnder the regiment of fortune; for as much as they are beyonde the compaſſe of our wiſeſt reach, and ſtand in the waie either to aſſiſt or diſaduantage: Of theſe, induſtrie hath greateſt authoritie; in as much as ſhe armeth her ſelfe for all chances, whereby ſhe is ſaid to command fortune.

CHAP. VIII.

Sabinus ouerthroweth the * Vnelli, with the manner thereof.

* La Perche.

Cæsar.

WHILE theſe things happened in the ſtate of Vannes, L. Titurius Sabinus entereth with his forces, into the confines of the Vnelli, ouer whom Viridouix was made chiefe commander, hauing drawne the* Aulerci and the * Eburonices, with a great number of vagabondes and theeues into the ſame conſpiracie: Sabinus incamping himſelfe in a conuenient place, kept his ſouldiers within the rampier. But Viridouix, being lodged within leſſe then two miles of Sabinus his campe, brought out his forces daily, and putting them in battell gaue him oportunitie to fight if he would: which Sabinus refuſed in ſuch ſort, that he began not onely to be ſuſpected by the enemie of cowardice, but to be taunted with the reprochfull ſpeeches of his owne ſouldiers; which opinion of feare being once ſetled in the mindes of the enemie, he vſed all meanes to increaſe it, and caried it ſo wel, that the enemie durſt approch the verie rampier of the campe. The colour that he pretended was, that he thought it not the part of a Legate, in the abſence of the Generall, to fight with an enemie of that ſtrength, but vpon ſome good oportunitie, or in a place of aduantage. In this generall perſwaſion of feare, Sabinus choſe out a ſubtile witted Gall, whom he perſwaded with great rewards, and further promiſes, to flie to the enemie, and there to carrie himſelfe, according to the inſtructions, which he ſhould giue him. This Gall, comming as a reuolter to the enemy, laide open vnto them the feare of the Romans: the extremitie that Cæſar was driuen into by the Veneti; and that the night before, Sabinus was about to withdraw his forces ſecretly out of his campe, and to make all the haſte he could to relieue Cæſar. Vpon which aduertiſement, they all cried out with one conſent, that this oportunity was not to be omitted; but ſetting apart all other deuiſes, to go and aſſault the Roman campe. Many circumſtances perſwaded the Galles to this reſolution; as firſt the lingering & doubt which Sabinus had made, when he was offered battell: ſecondly the intelligence which this fugitiue had brought: thirdly the want of victuals, wherein they had bin negligent and vnaduiſedly careleſſe: fourthly the hope they conceiued of the warre of Vannes; and laſtly, for that men willingly beleeue that which they would haue come to paſſe. The force of theſe motiues was ſo ſtrong, that they would not ſuffer Viridouix, nor the reſt of the captaines, to diſmiſſe the councell vntill they had permitted them to take Armes, and go to the Roman campe. Which being granted, they gathered rubbiſh and fagots to fill vp the ditch, and with cheerefull harts, as though the victorie were alreadie gotten, they marched to the place where Sabinus was incamped, which was the toppe of a hill riſing gently from a leuell, the quantitie of 1000 paces: hither the Gals haſted with all expedition; and to the intent the Romans might not haue ſo much time, as to put on their armour, the Galles for haſte ran themſelues out of breath.

* Rhone.
* Eureux.

Sabinus

Sabinus incouraging his ſouldiers, gaue the ſigne of battell, and ſallying out at two ſeuerall gates of his campe, it fell out that through the oportunitie of the place, the wearines and vnexperience of the enemie, the valour of the Roman ſoldier and their exerciſe in former battels, that the Galles could not indure the brunt of the firſt incounter; but preſently tooke themſelues to flight, of whom verie few eſcaped. And ſo it happened that at one time, Sabinus had newes of the ouerthrow at ſea, and Cæſar of Sabinus victory by land. Vpon theſe victories, all the cities and ſtates yeelded themſelues to Titurius: for as the Galles are prompt to vndertake a warre; ſo are they weake in ſuffering, and impatient of the conſequents and calamities thereof.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis practiſe of a counterfeit feare was often put in vſe by the Roman leaders, as well to diſappoint the expectation of an enemie, as to draw them into an inconuenience, & ſo to defeat them of their greateſt helpes in time of battell. Cæſar comming to ſuccour the campe of Cicero made ſuch vſe of this Art, that he put to route a great Armie of the Galles, with a handfull of men: which I will referre vnto the place, where it is particularly ſet downe by Cæſar.

The vſe which the Romans made of a counterfeit feare. Lib. 5.

The chiefeſt thing in this place, which brought them to their ouerthrow, was diſappointment: for it is a thing hardly to be digeſted in buſineſſes of final conſequence, to be fruſtrated of a ſetled expectation, when the minde ſhall diſpoſe her ſelfe to one only intent, and in the vpſhot meete with a counterbuffe to croſſe her purpoſes, and ſo defeat her of that hope which the ſtrength of her reaſon hath entertained: how much more then in things of ſuch importance, when we ſhall proceede in a courſe of victorie, and humour our conceites with that we wiſh and would haue to happen; and in the end meete, either with bondage or death; muſt our beſt wittes be appauled? hauing neither reſpite nor means, to thinke how the euill may be beſt preuented. Which the wiſe Romans well vnderſtood, and counted it no diſhonour to be reproched with ſhamefull cowardice, by ſuch as knew not the ſecrets of wiſedome; while they in the meane time foreſaw their good fortunes, ſhrowded vnder the cloake of a pretended diſtruſt.

Let theſe examples inſtruct a leader, ſo to take the oportunitie of any ſuch fortune, that in the execution he omit not the chiefeſt points of order and diſcipline, as well for the better effecting of the deſſigne, as for his owne ſafety and the ſecuritie of his Armie. For order is as the ſinewes and ſtrength of martiall diſcipline, vniting the particular members into the firme compoſition of a well proportioned bodie: and ſo it maketh it more powerfull then any number of diſunited partes, how able or infinite ſoeuer. I might here alleadge infinite examples to confirme this truth: but let the battell of Drux ſerue for all; wherein the proteſtantes ouercharging the catholike Army, followed the retrait ſo hard, that they quickly became maſters of the field: and then neglecting martiall diſcipline, fell in confuſedly with the broken multitude, to make the victorie more glorious

glorious by ſlaughter and mortalitie: the Duke of Guiſe all this while bouged not a foot: but in vnexampled patience kept his regiment cloſe together, and would not ſuffer them to reſcue their general that was taken, vntill the regiment of the Prince of Condie was likewiſe diſperſed and broken; and then perceiuing no difference of order, betweene the Victor Proteſtant, and the vanquiſhed Catholike; he diſſolued that terrible cloud that had hung ſo long in ſuſpence, and ſo changing the fortune of the daie, that he tooke the chiefeſt of their Princes priſoners, with little or no loſſe of his owne men: ſo powerfull is order in the deedes of Armes, and of ſuch conſequence in obtaining victorie. And thus we haue firſt ſeene the inconueniences, which a counterfet feare well diſſembled, may caſt vpon a credulous and vnaduiſed enemie, when pretence and appearance hath brought them into an errour, which their owne credulitie doth afterward auouch: and ſecondly, what ſtrength and ſafetie conſiſteth in order; and how powerfull it is to throw downe, and to ſet vp.

CHAP. IX.

The Proceedings of Craſſus in Aquitanie.

Caſar. *AT the ſame inſtant of time it happened alſo, that Pub. Craſſus comming into Aquitania, (which both in regard of the large extenſion of the countrey, as alſo for the multitude of the inhabitants, was named the third part of Gallia) and conſidering that he was to make warre in thoſe partes, where L. Valerius Preconius the Legate was ſlaine, and the Armie ouerthrowen; and where Lucius Manilius was faine to flie with the loſſe of his cariages; he thought that his affaires required no meane diligence: and therfore hauing made prouiſion of corne, and muſtered many Auxiliarie forces, and ſent for many valiant and prudent men from Tolouſe and Narbone, he caried his Army into the confines of the* * *Sontiates, which was no ſooner knowne but they leuied great forces both of horſe & foote, and with their horſe charged vpon the Romans in their march: which being eaſily repelled, as they followed the retrait, the infanterie of the Galles ſhewed it ſelfe in a valley as it laie in ambuſh. Theſe ſetting vpon the Romans renewed the battell, and there the fight continued hot a long time; the Sontiates being animated with the former victories, ſaw all the hope of Aquitanie relie vpon their vertue: and the Romans on the other ſide, deſired to ſhew what they were able to doe of themſelues, without their grand Captaine, and vnder the conduction of a young ſouldier: At length the enemy ouerwaged with proueſſe, and wearied with woundes, betooke themſelues to flight; of whom the Romans ſlewe a great number. And then marched directlie to the towne of the Sontiates, and laid ſiege vnto it; the ſiege grew hot on both ſides; the Romans approched the walles, with vines, turrets and mounts: the townesmen defended themſelues ſome time, by ſallying out; ſometimes, by vndermining the mounts and fortifications, wherin the Aquitani are very skilfull. But when they perceiued the induſtry of the Romans to exceed all that they were able to do, they intreated Craſſus to accept their rendry: which*

* *Euocati.*

which being granted, and al the armie intending the deliuery of their Armes; Adcantuanus their chiefe magistrate, fled out in the meane time at an other port of the citie, with 600. deuoted companions whom they called Soldurij: but as they attempted to escape, the soldiers that kept that part of the fortification, as they signified his evasion by a clamour and shout, the rest betooke themselues to armes; and so repelled him againe into the towne, where he desired to bee taken in the number of the submissiue multitude. Crassus hauing taken hostages of them, went into the confines of the Vocontij.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THese skilfull and experienced men, which Crassus sent for out of all the Cities in Aquitaine, were those, whom the Romans called *Euocati*: such as were free from warfare, and exempted by their lawes from giuing their names in musters, either by reason of their yeares, or the magistracy which they had borne, or for some other causes, which gaue them that priuiledge: And in that regard were sent for by letters, intreating their assistance in the cariage of that war, as men wel acquainted with the nature of such businesses. Their places were nothing inferiour to the Centurions, for aduise and direction, although they had no part in command or authority. *Euocati.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN this fight we may further obserue, their maner of defence against Mountes, and Caualieros; which we find chiefly to bee mines. Iosephus in the Iewish warre saith, that the Romans hauing raised an exceeding high mount, the Iewes vndermined the same with such Art, that as they digged vndemeath, they supported the mount with huge props and planks, that it might not shrinke: and watching a time of greatest aduantage, they set all the timber worke, which vnderpropped the mount, on fire, which taking fire with the helpe of brimstone and pitch, the mount fell vpon a sodaine, to the great terrour and amazement of the Romans.

At the siege of *Auaricum*, we find how the Galles by vndermining, did take the earth from the mount, as fast as it was caried vnto it by the Romans; and so kept it from rising, and made it vneffectuall. But if it were for the most parte made of woode, or other combustible matter, they sought then by all meanes to burne it, as it happened at the siege of Massilia: and oftentimes when both burning and vndermining failed, they confronted it, with an other mount within the walles, to disappoint the disaduantage by equall contesting of it; and so made it vnprofitable. Concerning mines, this much may I saie, without preiudice to that Art: that the chiefest points to be respected are these: First, the true distance to a dessigned place, which is best got by instrument and helpe of Geometrie, where other markes of certainty are wanting: secondlie, the direction of the myne, that wee may not erre in our course which the compasse affoordeth: thirdlie, the strengthening of the mine with timber worke, *Lib. 7. de bel. Ga. Gall.*

if neede require: lastly, the countermining and crosse meeting: All which parts haue very many circumstances, and require a larger discourse, then may bee thought pertinent for this place.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe strange contract betweene these Soldurij, and their chiefetaine, may wel deserue a place amongst these obseruations, especiallie considering the obligatorie conditions, which either party stood bound to obserue: for the Captaine was to make his Soldurij partakers of all his happines in this life; in regard whereof, they were to take part of whatsoeuer ill chance or disaster shoulde happen to befall him. If death, which is the last end of all sensuall miserie, tooke hold of their head, these deuoted were tied voluntarilie to follow him the selfe same way: neither in any memory was there euer man found, that refused to die, if he to whom he was deuoted, chanced to be slaine. Which bloudy league of amitie, as it was repugnant to the course of nature, multiplying particular destinie to a generall calamitie: so was it dangerous in a well ordered state, if the ringleader were either ambitious, or sought to practise any thing contrarie to good gouernement: for hee himselfe would presume much vpon the assistance of his Soldurij; and they on the other side, must needs wish well to his attempts that were so interessed in his life & death.

CHAP. X.

The Galles raise new forces, against Crassus.

Cæsar.

THe barbarous Galles were much troubled, that a towne of that strength should so soone bee taken; and therefore they sent ambassadours into all quarters, coniured one with another, confirmed their couenants with mutuall hostages, and leuied what power they were able to make: sending for aide out of Spaine, and from other states that bordered vpon Aquitaine; at the comming of these forces they began to make warre, with a great power, and with many soldiours of great fame. For they appointed such leaders as had seene the experience of Sertorius his warres, and were great in the opinion of men, for their skill and knowledge in the arte militarie: these according to the custome of the people of Rome, beganne to take places of aduantage, to fortifie their campe, and to intercept the Romaines from free passage of conuoies, and necessary entercourses. Which when Crassus perceiued, and considering withall, that his owne forces were so few, that hee could not well dismember them vpon any seruice or aduantages, and that the enemy went out at his pleasure, kept the passages, and left notwithstanding, a sufficient garison in his campe; by which meanes their corne and prouision would in time grow scarce, and the enemy waxed euery daie stronger: he thought it his best course not to linger any longer, but presently to giue them battel.

The

The matter being referd to a councel of warre, when hee vnderſtoode that all men were of the ſame opinion, he appointed the next daie to giue them battaile; and in the dawning putting his men in a double battaile, and placing the Auxiliarie forces in the middeſt, he attended to ſee what the enemy would doe. The Galles, although they were perſuaded, that they might aduenture battel both in regard of their multitude and ancient prowes of warre, as alſo in reſpect of the pauciite of the Romains; yet they thought it better to blocke vp the paſſages, and ſo cut off all cariages, and conuoies of corne; and ſo the victory would follow without bloudſhed: and if the Romans for want of corne ſhould offer to make a retreit, they would then ſet vpon them as they marched, wearied with trauell, and heauilie laden with their burthens This reſolution being approued by the whole councell of the Galles, when the Romans imbattailed their forces, they kept their men within their campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius and Cinna, and when Syila had ouerthrowne both the elder and yonger Marius, hee fled into Spaine, and there maintained the quarrell on foote againſt Pompeie and Metellus; and ouerthrew them in many battels: but in the end was trecherouſly ſlaine by Perpanna at a banket. He was a man of great ſpirit, and of admirable diſpatch; and vnder him were theſe captaines brought vp, which Cæſar commendeth for their skil in armes. *Sertorius.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN hiſtories, propounding to our conſideration the deedes and moniments of former ages, we may obſerue two eſpeciall meanes, which the great commanders of the world haue entertained to atchieue victory, and ouermaſter their enemies: the firſt by cunning and wiſe cariage of a matter, before it come to triall by blowes: the ſecond, by forceable meanes & waging of battel; the one proceeding from wiſdom and the better faculties of the ſoule; and the other depending vpon the ſtrength and ability of the body. Concerning the firſt, it hath euer bin held more honorable, as better ſuting the worth of the ſpirit and the diuine eſſence of our nature, ſo to direct the courſe of an action, that the aduerſe part may be weakened by wit, and preuented in the proiects of their better fortunes, by anticipation of meanes and occaſions, & ſo through aduantages taken from their owne proceedings, to be driuen to that exigent, which may determine of the controuerſie before they come to blowes, & conclude the matter by tearmes of arte, taken from the directions of good prouidence. For to ſpeake a truth, the action of battel, as it is the laſt part in that facultie; ſo it is the worſt in regarde of chriſtian duty, and better fitteth the progeny of Lamech his ſecond wife, which the Diuines do note to be borne to the ruine and deſtruction of mankind, then the children of grace, whoſe ioy conſiſteth in peace and loue. *Two meanes to atchieue victorie and to ouermaſter their enemies* *Tubalcaine by war and Naamah by the ſloud.*

Cæſar in the firſt of the ciuill warres reſpected the ſame thing, but from other grounds: for hauing ſhut vp Afranius, and Petreius in a place of diſaduantage, and might haue cut them off without further trouble; yet foraſmuch as he foreſaw the victorie comming towards him without blow or wound, he thus anſwered his Captaines that were earneſt vpon the enemie: *Cur etiam ſecundo prælio aliquos ex ſuis amitteret? cur vulnerari pateretur optime de ſe meritos milites? cur denique fortunam periclitaretur?* And this courſe did theſe Galles take, which vnder Sertorius had learned the Romaine Arte, and the Romaine induſtry; and were now become ſo expert, that they had almoſt beaten the Romains at their owne weapon. This firſt meanes is principally to be imbraced, as the ſafeſt waie in theſe vncertaine and caſual euentes: for that which reſteth vpon corporall ſtrength, and maketh execution the meanes to a concluſion, is verie terrible euen to the better party, full of hazard and of little certaintie. For it were a miracle of fortune neuer heard of yet, ſo to carrie a battaile vpon what aduantage or meanes whatſoeuer, that the victor army ſhoulde buie ſo great a fortune without bloudſhed or loſſe of men; and erect a Trophee to honour at the ſole coſt of the enemy, without loſſe or expence of his owne treaſure. And for the vncertaintie in a battell, who knoweth not what infinite chances and changes may happen in euery ſmall moment of time, to turne the fortune of the day to this or that party, and make both ſides vnconſtant in their affections, by preſenting them interchangeably with hope and feare, ioy and ſorrow? and therefore Cæſar thought it not beſt to tempt the waie-wardnes of fortune, when by other meanes he might obtaine his deſires. This I ſay is chiefely to be imbraced, if our meanes wil affoord vs that happineſſe: but howſoeuer I holde it wiſedome ſo to entertaine this courſe of victorie, that we omit not the chiefeſt helpes of furtherance when it commeth to blowes, but to thinke of this conqueſt by arte and wit, as neceſſarie, if our meanes will ſerue vs to compaſſe it; and of the other, as neceſſarie whether we will or no: for the hiſtorie maketh it plaine, that when Brutus found himſelfe deſtitute of meanes to vndertake that courſe of victorie, which proceedeth from prouidence and diſcreete cariage; hee then betooke himſelfe neceſſarilie to the latter, and by the helpe of battell, ſought to free himſelfe from thoſe diſaduantages, into which the Galles had brought him.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Not to forgo an aduantage

I Obſerue further out of this place, that what courſe ſoeuer be taken, a diſcreet leader wil not eaſily forgo an aduantage, without great aſſurance of a better fortune: nor change the certainty of a benefit, vpon probabilities of other hopes, vntill it haue paid him the intereſt of his expectation, and wrought that effect which it promiſed to performe. For ſo he might forgo his fortune by preſuming too much vpon the fauour of future chances, which are oftner ſeene to croſſe our purpoſes, rather then to further the way which is taken.

THE

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

FVrther I obſerue, this double battell to be anſwerable to the paucity of the Roman forces: for their vſuall manner was, to make a triple battell, that the firſt might haue a ſecond, and a third helpe: but where their number would not affoord that commoditie, they then made two battels, that there might be the ſuccour of a ſecond ſupplie. But they neuer fought with one ſingle battell, for ought that may bee gathered by their hiſtories.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

THe laſt thing which I obſerue, is the place, where Craſſus beſtowed the Auxiliarie forces, in the diſpoſition of his troupes to battell; which is here ſaid to be, in *mediam Aciem:* for as their Armies were diuided into three battels; ſo euerie battell was deuided into three partes; the two cornets, and the battell, wherein theſe Auxiliarie forces were in this ſeruice beſtowed: of theſe he afterward ſaith, that in as much as he durſt not put any confidence in them, he commanded them to ſerue the Romans in time of battell, with ſtones and weapons, and to carrie earth and turfe to the mount. The reaſon why ſuſpected troupes are placed in the battell, rather then in either of the cornets, is, for that the battell hath not ſuch ſcope to fling out, or take aduantage of place to doe miſchiefe, as the cornets haue: for whereſoeuer there hath beene ſet battels fought, the ſtrength of their armie conſiſted alwaies in the cornets, as the two principall inſtruments of the battell; and as long as theſe ſtood ſound, the victorie went alwaies certaine on that part: for the cornets kept the enemie both from incompaſſing about the bodie of their Armie, and had the aduantage alſo of charging vpon the open ſide of their aduerſarie. At the battell of Cannas Hanniball put the weakeſt of his forces in the battell, and aduancing them towards the enemie, left the two cornets behind: ſo that, when the enemie came to charge vpon the battell, they eaſily beat them backe, and as they followed the retrait fell in betweene the two cornets, wherein the ſtrength of the Armie conſiſted, and being by them incompaſſed on each ſide, were defeated and ouerthrowen. And thus we ſee the aduantage which a Generall hath, when his two cornets ſtand firme; although the battell ſhrinke in the incounter. Hanniball in the battell he had with Scipio in Africke, placed the ſtrangers in the front and in the rereward, according peraduenture as he found their number and the vſe of their Armes, which are circumſtances to be conſidered in this caſe, and depend rather vpon the iudgment of a generall, then of anie preſcription that can be giuen in this matter.

The place where ſuſpected forces are beſt beſtowed in battell.

CHAP. XI.

Craſſus taketh the campe of the Galles: and *with their ouerthrow endeth that* warre.

Cæſar.

CRASSVS vnderſtanding their drift, and finding his men willing to ſet vpon their campe, incouraged his ſoldiers; and to the contentment of all men, went directly to the place where they were lodged: and as ſome began to fill vp the ditch; and others with caſting weapons to beate the Galles from the rampier, he commanded the Auxiliarie forces, of whom he had no great aſſurance, to bring ſtones and weapons to the ſoldiers that fought, and to carrie earth and turfe to the mount; that ſo they might make a ſhew of fighting. And on the other ſide, as the enemy began valiantly to make reſiſtance, and to caſte their weapon from the higher ground, to the great hurt of the Roman ſouldier; the horſemen in the meane time riding about the campe of the Galles, brought worde to Craſſus that the rampier at the Decumane port, was not fortified with ſuch diligence, as they found it in other places, but would admit an eaſie entrance. Craſſus dealt earneſtly with the commanders of the horſe, to incourage their men with great promiſes and rewardes; and inſtructed them what he would haue done: they, according to their inſtructions, tooke foure cohorts that were left in the campe, and carrying them a further waie about, that they might not be diſcouered by the enemy; while all mens eies and mindes were intent vpon the fight, they ſpeedely came to the place of the fortifications, which the horſmen had found to be weake, which being eaſily broken down, they had entered the campe before the enemie could well tell what was done. And then a great clamour & ſhout being heard about that place, the Roman legions renning their force, as it falleth out alwaies in hope of victorie, began to charge them a freſh with great furie: the Galles being circumuented on each ſide, and deſpairing of their ſafetie, caſting themſelues ouer the rampier, ſought by flight to eſcape the danger. But for as much as the country was open and champion, the horſemen purſued them with that execution, that of 50000 *there ſcarce remaineth the fourth part.*

THE OBSERVATION.

Lib. 3. Auertimento ſecundo.

FRom this place Brancatio taketh occaſion to diſpute, how an enemie that is ſtrongly incamped, and for ſome aduantage will not remoue, may be diſlodged, whether he will or no. A point of great cõſequence, in matter of warre: and therefore deſerueth due conſideration. Concerning which he laieth this downe for a maxime, that all forts and ſtrong holds are taken by the foot, and that campes and lodgings are taken by the head: By which

which is meant, that he who purposeth to winne a fortresse well manned and prouided, must first get the foot and take hold of the ditch; and then sease himselfe vpon the rampier, and so get the place: for he saith, that mounts and eminent eleuations are of little vse against fortresses or sconses, vnlesse they ouertop them; which may be easily preuented by raising the parapet of the fortresse in front, and the curtaine in flanke, according as the enemy shall carie his mounts aloft; and so they shall neuer come to ouertop the holdes. But all campes and lodgings are taken by the head: That is, by mountes and eleuations, which by the aduantage of their height command the champion. For he holdeth it impossible, to raise a mount within the campe in so short a time, to contest that, which the enemie shall make without. This foundation being laide, he proceedeth to discouer a waie, how to raise a mount maugre the enemie, which shall dislodge them by force of Artillerie, or murther them all within their trenches. And this he taketh from Cæsar at the siege of Gergobia. The substance of the matter consisteth in a double ditch, running like vnto the line which the Geometricians call Helicall; by this double ditch, he maketh his approch to anie place of most aduantage, where he maie in a night, raise a mount high enough for the ordinance to plaie vpon any quarter of the campe. The censure of this practise, I referre to our iudicious souldiers, which may, if it please them, take a better view of the particularities of this stratagem in Brancatio himselfe. This much I dare affirme in the behalfe of these workes, that they were of high esteeme amongst the Romans, when daily experience and exigents of hazard had taught to finde out the readiest meanes, both for security and victorie. And if our souldiers could be brought to taste the commoditie of these workes, either by perswasion or impulsion, it were the best part of their warlike practises: but our men had rather flie vpon desperat aduentures, and seeke victory in the iawes of death, then to cleare all hazard, with paines and diligence.

Lib. de bello Gallico.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar vndertaketh the warre with the *Menapij and Morini.*

AT the same time also, although the sommer was almost at an end, yet for as much as all Gallia was in peace, and the Morini only with the* Menapij stood out in armes, and had neuer either sent ambassadour, or otherwise treated of peace; Cæsar thinking that warre might quickly be ended, lead his Armie into their country. At his comming, he found them to carrie the wars farre otherwise, then the rest of the Galles had done: for vnderstanding that the greatest nations of Gallia, which had waged battell with the Romans, were beaten and ouerthrowen; and hauing whole continents of woods and bogs in their territories, they conuaied both themselues and their goods into those quarters:*

Cæsar.
** Terouine*
** Cleue and Gueldres.*

Cæsar

Cæſar comming to the beginning of the woods, began to fortifie his campe, not diſcouering any enemy neare about him; but as his men were diſpearſed in their charges, they ſuddenly ſallied out of the woods and aſſaulted the Romans; but being ſpeedely driuen againe with the loſſe of manie of them, as the Romans followed them farre into the woods, had ſome few of their men ſlaine. The time that remained, Cæſar reſolued to ſpend in cutting downe the woods; and leaſt the ſouldiers might bee taken vnawares, while they were buſied in that worke, he cauſed them to place all the trees which they cut downe, on either ſide of the Armie; that they might ſerue for a defence, againſt ſudden aſſaultes. A great quantitie of ground was thus rid within a few daies; ſo that their goods and cattell was taken by the Romans: but they themſelues were fled into thicker woods. At which time there happened ſuch a continuall raine, as forced them to leaue of the worke; and the ſouldiers could no longer indure, to lie in tentes of skins: and therefore Cæſar, after he had waſted and ſpoiled their country, burned their townes, and their houſes; he carried backe his Armie, and placed them in ſuch citties to winter in, as were ſubdued by the late warres.

OBSERVATIONS.

THe Iriſh rebels, hauing the like commoditie of woods and bogs, doe entertaine the like courſe of warre, as the Morini did with Cæſar: the meanes which he vſed to diſappoint them of that practiſe, was to cutte downe the woods, which if it be thought monſtrous in this age, or ridiculous to our men of warre; let them conſider that the Roman diſcipline wrought greater effectes of valour, then can bee made credible by the vſe of theſe times. For beſides their exquiſite diſcipline, which of it ſelfe was able to frame patterns of vnexampled magnanimitie; their induſtrie was admirable in the execution thereof, and carried it with ſuch vnceſſant trauell, that the ſouldiers thought it great happines when they came to wage battell with the enemie; and could haue meanes to quit their continuall trauell, with the hazard of their liues. Neither let it ſeeme ſtrange, that the Romans vndertooke to cut down the woods; but rather let vs admire their facilitie in ſo difficult a taske: for as the hiſtorie witneſſeth: *magno ſpacio paucis diebus confecto, incredibili celeritate:* a great quantitie of ground was rid in a few daies with incredible ſpeede. And after the woods were cut downe, they tooke more paines in placing it on each ſide of the legions, to hinder anie ſudden aſſault, then they did in cutting it downe: which deſerueth as great admiration, as the former part. There is another place in the ſixt booke of theſe Commentaries, which expreſſeth more particularly the nature of ſuch warres, and may ſerue to acquaint vs with that which Cæſar did in theſe difficulties.

The Eburones or the men of Liege, had the like commoditie of woods and bogges, and made vſe of them in the warre they had with Cæſar: The matter (ſaith hee) required great diligence, not ſo much in regard of the perill of the whole Armie, (for there could no danger come from an enemie that was frighted and diſperſed) as the ſafetie of euerie particular ſouldier, which in part did pertaine

pertaine to the welfare of the whole Armie. For the desire of bootie caried manie of the souldiers farre from the bodie of the Armie: and the woods being full of vnknowne and secret passages, would not suffer them to go either thicke together or close imbattailed. If he desired to haue the warre ended, and the race of those wicked men to bee rooted out, hee must of force make manie small companies, and deuide his men into many bodies: but if hee would haue the maniples to keepe at their ensignes, as the discipline and custome of the Roman Army required; then the place was a shelter and defence to the enemie: neither did they want courage to laie ambushments, and to circumuent such as they found alone, stragling from their companies. In these difficulties, there was as much done as diligence could doe; prouiding rather to be wanting in the offensiue part (although all mens mindes were set on fire with reuenge) then to hurt the enemie with the losse of the Roman souldier. Cæsar sent messengers to the bordering states, to come out and sacke the Eburones, and they should haue all the praie for their labour: that the life of the Galles rather then his legionarie souldiers might be hazarded in those woods; as also that, with so great a multitude, both the race and name of that people might bee quite extinguished.

There are many particularities in this relation, which concerne the true motion of the Irish warres, which may be better obserued by such as know those warres by experience, then by my selfe that vnderstand them onely by relation: and therefore to preuent such exceptions, as my rule shall make of the parallell in these two cases: I will leaue it to be done by themselues. And thus endeth the third Commentarie.

THE FOVRTH COMMENTARIE.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Vſipetes, and Tenchtheri are driuen to ſeeke newe ſeates in Gallia; they driue the Menapij out of their territories: but in the end are ouerthrowen by Cæſar. That warre being ended, he made a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carried his Armie ouer into Germanie. He taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri; and giueth libertie to the Vbij: returneth into Gallia, and carrieth his Armie ouer into Britanie, with the occurrences of that warre.

CHAP. I.

The *Vſipetes, and *Tenchtheri bring great multitudes of peoples, ouer the Rhene into Gallia: the nature of the Sueui.

*Thoſe of Zutphen.
*Of Haſſia.

Cæſar.

THE winter following, Pompeie and Craſſus being Conſuls, the Vſipetes and Tenchtheri, two Germaine nations, paſſed ouer the Rhene, with great multitudes of people; not far from the place, where it falleth into the ſea. The reaſon of their flitting, was the ill intreatie, which for manie yeares together they had receiued of the Sueui, the greateſt & warlikeſt nation amongſt the Germains. For theſe Sueui had one hundred Cantons or ſhires, which yearely furniſhed their warres, with 1000 men a piece; and kept as manie at home to maintaine both themſelues, and their Armies abroad: and theſe the yeare following were in Armes; and the others ſtaied at home, and performed the like dutie; and ſo by this meanes, they all continued their experience both of tillage, and matter of warre. They liued chiefly vpon cattell and milke, and vſed much hunting, which was the cauſe (what through the qualitie of their diet, their continuall exerciſe, and libertie of life, being neuer tied to any diſcipline, nor vrged to any thing againſt their diſpoſition) that they were ſtrong and of a large ſtature, vſing skins and hides for their cloathing, which couered but part of their body, the reſt being naked. Their horſmen oftentimes, in time of battell, forſooke their horſe, and fought on foot;

being

being taught to ſtand ſtill in one place, that when they would they might returne vnto them. Neither was there any thing more baſe, or diſhoneſt in the courſe of their life, then to vſe furniture for horſes: & would aduenture to charge vpon great troups of horſe, that vſed Equipage, with a few of their owne qualitie. They admitted no wine to be brought in vnto them, leaſt it might effeminate their warlike inclination, or make them vnapt for labour. The greateſt honour in their opinion, was to haue their bordering Territories lie waſt and deſolate: for ſo it would be thought, that manie ſtates together, would not reſiſt their conquering valour: and it was reported, that the country laie waſt from them one waie 600 miles together.

THE OBSERVATION.

BY this practiſe of the Sueui, it appeareth, how little a naked reſolution of valour auaileth, when it wanteth the ornaments of moral carriage and ciuill diſcretion, to make vſe of that greatneſſe which proweſſe hath obtained: for notwithſtanding that they were a nation both warlike, and of good abilitie, they were ſo vainly carried on with a conceit of manhood, that it ſorted to no other ende, then to maintaine barbariſme at home, and deſolation abroad; where as true valour is alwaies ſubordinate to the preſeruation of common weales, and is as the defenſiue armes of ciuill ſocietie. Which I haue the rather noted, in as much as it reſembleth an humour that aboundeth in this age, eſpecially in the particular hauiour of our young galants, whoſe naked valour reuelling it ſelfe onely in the lie and in the ſtabbe, for want of other aſſiſtant vertues to temper the heat of ſo brittle a mettall, leadeth them into ſuch inconueniences and diſordered actions, that it changeth the nature thereof, into giddie headed raſhneſſe; and in lieue of vertues guerdon, is repaide with irriſion.

CHAP. II.

The motiues, inducing the Vſipetes to *come ouer the Rhene into* Gallia.

NEXT vnto theſe Sueui, inhabited the Vbij, a very ample and potent ſtate: and through their entercourſe and traffike with marchants, ſomewhat more ciuill, then the reſt of the Germins. With theſe, the Sueui had often waged battell: and albeit they could not expell them out of their country, foraſmuch as their ſtate was very great and populous; yet by continuall incurſions they brought them vnder, and much weakned their eſtate. In the ſame caſe were the Vſipetes and Tenchtheri: for hauing made head againſt the Sueui Caſar.

for many yeares together, they were constrained in the end to forsake their possessions; and wandering the space of three yeares through the continent of Germanie, at last they arriued where the *Menapij inhabited the bankes, on both sides the riuer Rhene: but being terrified with the arriuall of such a multitude, they forsooke all their dwellings beyond the riuer, and planted themselues on this side of the water, to hinder the Germans from further passage.

*Geldres and Cleeue.

The Vsipetes with their associates, hauing tried all meanes, and not finding themselues able to passe ouer by force, for want of boates; nor by stealth, by reason of the diligent watch of the Menapij, fained a retrait to their olde habitation: and after three daies iourney, their horsemen in one night speedely returned againe, and slew the Menapij, both vngarded and vnprouided. For they vpon the departure of the Germans, feared not to returne ouer the riuer into their townes and houses: these being slaine, and their shipping taken, they got ouer the riuer, before the rest of the Menapij had anie notice of their comming: by which meanes they easily dispossessed them of their dwelling places, and liued that winter vpon the prouision they found there.

Cæsar vnderstanding of these thinges, and fearing the weakenesse of the Galles, in as much as they are sudden and quicke in their resolutions, and withall desirous of noueltie: he durst no waie trust their vnconstancie; for it was their practise and custome to staie trauellours and passengers, and inquire of them what they either heard or knew, concerning anie thing that had happened; and the common people would flock about marchants in faires and markets, and learne of them whence they came, and what newes they brought from thence: and by these rumours and heareſaies they directed the maine course of their actions; wherof they could not but repent themselues, being grounded vpon such weake intelligence, as was vsually coined to please the multitude. Which custome being knowne, Cæsar to preuent a greater warre, hasted to his Armie sooner then he was woont to doe.

OBSERVATIONS.

SVch as haue spent their time in the contemplation of nature, and haue made diligent search of the temperature & quality of climates and nations, haue all with one consent made choler the regent of the French complexion; distinguishing the people, with such attributes, as the saide humour vsually breedeth. Neither haue these conditions, which Cæsar so long agoe obserued in the ancient Galles, anie disresemblance from that, which the learned of this age haue deliuered, concerning the nature of the said inhabitants: but that irresolute constitution, which breedes such noueltes and contrarieties of actions, continueth the same vnto these times, in the inhabitants of that country, notwithstanding the alteration of customes, and people, or what els so long a time hath changed; which argueth the vnresistable power of celestiall influence, establishing an vniformitie of nature, according as the site of the place lieth capable of their powerfull aspect.

The cause of the diuersitie in the temperature of nations, which are differenced by

by North and ſouth, is not without apparant cauſe, attributed to their propinquitie, or diſtance from the courſe of the ſunne, which diſtinguiſheth by heate and cold the Northren and Southerne climates of the earth; and ſeparateth the inhabitants thereof, by the dominion of their actiue qualities. But the reaſon whie two nations which are both in the ſame climate, and vnder the ſame parallel, receiuing the virtue of the celeſtial bodies, by the ſame downefal and rebound of their beames, being differenced only by Eaſt and Weſt; are ſo much diſunited in nature, and ſo vnlike in diſpoſition, is not ſo apparant: whether it be as ſome haue imagined, for aſmuch as the all incloſing ſpheare, which remaineth quiet and immoueable aboue the circuit of the firſt motor, hath his parts diuerſly diſtinguiſhed with varietie of properties; which by continuall reference and mutuall aſpect, are imprinted in the correſpondent quarters of the earth; and ſo keepe a perpetuall reſidency of one and the ſame quality, in one and the ſame place; and make alſo the varietie of faſhions in ſuch partes, as otherwiſe are equall fauorites of the heauens maieſtie, by receiuing an equall meaſure of light, heat and vertue; or whether the ſaide quarters of the earth are in themſelues diuerſly noted, with ſeuerall qualities, which appropriate the ſelfe ſame influence to their particular nature, and ſo alter it into many faſhions; or whether there be ſome other vnknown cauſe: I wil leaue euery man to ſatisfie himſelfe with that which ſeemeth moſt probable vnto him, and proceed to the diſcouerie of this cholericke paſsion. Wherein I will indeuor to ſhew how impatiencie, ſodaine reſolution, and deſire of noueltie, are naturall adiuncts of this humor: And if Cæſar made vſe of this philoſophie in the managing of that warre, let it not be thought impertinent to the knowledge of a Generall, to enter into the conſideration of this learning. Wherein firſt, I muſt laie for a maxime that which long experience hath made authenticall, that the motions of the minde are either quicke or ſlow, according as the complexion is tempered, either with heat or cold: for as the flegmaticall humor, is of a moiſt, cold and heauy nature, begetting weake and groſſe ſpirits, and benumming the inſtruments with a liueles diſability; ſo is the motion of the internall faculties, proceeding likewiſe after a ſlow maner, according to the qualitie of the inſtruments, whereby it moueth: and therefore men of this watriſh conſtitution, are no way apt to receiue an impreſſion, nor to entertaine any ſenſible apprehenſion, vnles it be beaten into them, with often and ſtrong repetitions; and then alſo they proceede as ſlowlie in diſcourſing of the conſequence, and linger in the choiſe of their reſolutions. On the contrary part, this *ſtatua bilis*, being of a hote piercing nature, and reſembling the actiue vertue of the fire, doth ſo purifie the inſtruments of ſenſe, and quicken the ſpirits with the viuacity of motion, that they take the firſt impreſsion as perfectly, as if it had beene oftentimes preſented vnto them, with many ſtrong circumſtances. And thence it happeneth, that inaſmuch as the *Species* is ſo readily receiued, and poſſeſſeth the apprehending facultie, with ſuch facility of entrance, that it moueth the other powers of the ſoule, with as great efficacie at the firſt conception, as if it had beene brought in with troupes of probabilities, and ſtrengthened with manifeſt arguments of vndoubted truth: It followeth therefore (by reaſon of the ſubtile and

fit disposition of the instrumentes, which proceedeth from heate the chiefest qualitie in choler) that the obiect is at the first moment so strongly setteled, in the first receiuing facultie, that the other powers of the minde, with as great speede manifest their offices, concerning the apprehension; and deliuer a sentence answerable to the strength of the first conception: which maketh them so impatient of delaie, and so sodainly to alter their former resolutions, not suffering the discoursiue power to examine the substance thereof, by conference of circumstances; nor to giue iudgment according to the course of our intellectual court. It behoooueth therefore euery man, in that vnsteady disposition, especially in matter of moment, to be suspicious of his owne credulity, and not to giue place to resolution, before his iudgement be informed, by discourse of the strength or weakenes of the conceiued opinion.

But to leaue these speculatiue meditations, to Philosophers of learned conceit: for as much as the right vse of passions is either true wisdome, or commeth neerest to the same; I will onely touch in a worde what degree of choler best befitteth a soldier; or howe it auaileth, or disaduantageth in matter of warre. And first it cannot bee denied, that there is almost no passion, that doth more eclips the light of reason, or sooner corrupteth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, then this of anger, which we now speake of: Neither is there any motion that more pleaseth it selfe in his owne actions, or followeth them with greater heate in the execution. And if the trueth chance to shewe it selfe, and conuince a falfe pretended cause, as the authour of that passion, it oftentimes redoubleth the rage euen against truth and innocency. Piso condemned a soldier for returning from forraging, without his companion, being persuaded that he had slaine him: but at the instant of the execution, the other that was missing, returned, and with great ioy of the whole army, they were caried to the generall, thinking to haue much gratified him, with the manifestation of the truth: but hee through shame and despight, being yet in the torture of his wrath, redoubled his anger, and by a subtilty which his passion furnished him withall, he made three culpable for that he found one innocent; the first, because the sentence of death was past against him, and was not to bee recalled without the breach of law; the second, for that hee was the cause of the death of his companion: and thirdly, the executioner, for not obeying his commandement.

Concerning matter of warre, as it consisteth of differenced partes; so hath choler diuers effectes. In case of discourse and consultation, when as the powers of the minde ought to bee cleere of all violent affections, it greatly darkeneth the vnderstanding, and troubleth the sincerity of a good iudgement, as *Salust.* Cæsar noted in his speech to the senate concerniug Cateline: and therefore a commander must, by al meanes indeuor to auoid, euen the least motions of so hurtfull a passion; and season his affections, with that grauity and constancy of spirit, that no turbulent disposition may, either hinder his vnderstanding, or with-hold his will from following that course, which reason appointeth, as the best means to a fortunate successe: alwaies remembring, that al his actions are presented vpon a stage, and passe the censure of many curious beholders, which applaud graue and patient motions, as the greatest proofe of true wisdom; and

and disallow of passionate, and headstrong affection, as derogating from the sincere cariage of an action, how iust soeuer otherwise it seemeth.

Concerning execution and furie of battaile, I take anger to be a necessarie instrument to set valour on foote, and to ouerwage the difficulties of terrour, with a furious resolution: for considering that the noblest actions of the minde, stande in neede of the impulsions of passions, I take anger to bee the fittest meanes, to aduance the valiant carriage of a battaile: for as feare is trecherous and vnsafe, so anger is confident and of an vnquenchable heate; and therefore a Commaunder ought by all meanes, to suggest matter of anger against an enemie, that his men may behold them with a wrathfull regard, and thirst after the daie of battell, to satisfie their furie with the bloud of their aduersaries. If any vrge that it hath beene heretofore obserued of the Galles, that in the beginning of a battel they were more then men, and in the latter end they were lesse then women; and therfore a cholerick disposition is not so fit for seruice, as we seem to make it. I answere, that there is a difference between a disposition to choler, such as was obserued in the Galles, and the passion of anger, wel kindled in the minde: for the first is subiect to alteration and contrarietie of actions; but the other is furious, inuincible, neuer satisfied but with reuenge. And so that of Aristotle is proued true, that anger serueth oftentimes as a weapon to vertue; whereunto some answere very pleasantly, saying, it is a weapon of a strange nature: for wee doe manage other weapons, and this doeth manage vs; our hande guideth not it, but it guideth our hande; it possesseth vs, and not wee it, as it happened in the raigne of Tyberius, amongst the mutinous legions at *Vetera:* and therefore a Commaunder ought to take greate heede; whome he maketh the obiect of that anger, which kindleth in his army: for as it is a passion of terrible execution, and therefore needeth to bee wiselie directed; so is it dangerous in regarde of obedience, which was the only thing which Cæsar required in his soldiors. *Tacit. 1. Anal.*

But to leaue this hastie matter, and fall neerer that which we seeke after. I may not omit the prognostication, which Cæsar made of the consequence of this accident, by the naturall disposition of the people; the euent whereof proued the trueth of his predictions; which sheweth what aduantage a learned general that hath bin somwhat instructed in the schoole of nature, hath gained of him, whom only experience hath taught the actiue rudiments of the war, & thinketh of no further lesson in that art, then that which the office of a seriant or lanceprizado containeth.

CAP.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar commeth to his armie, marcheth towards the Germaines, and by the way treateth of conditions of peace.

Cæsar.

CAESAR being come to his armie, found that to haue happened which he before suspected: for some of the States of Gallia had sent messengers vnto the Germaines, to leaue the bankes of Rhene, and to come further into the continent, where they should find ready, what soeuer they desired. Whereupon the Germaines began to make further incursions, and to waste the lande as far as the confines of the *Eburones. The Princes of the Galles beeing called together, Cæsar thought it best to dissemble what hee had discouered, concerning their reuolt; and confirming their mindes with an approbation of their loialtie, hee commanded certaine troupes of horse to be leuied, and resolued to make warre vpon the Germains; and hauing made prouision of corne, hee directed his march towards them. From whom as he was on the way, within a few daies iourney of their campe, he receiued this message: The Germains as they were not willing to make warre vpon the Romains, so they would not refuse to make triall of their manhood, if they were iustly prouoked; for their ancient custome was to answere an enemy by force, and not by treaty; yet this much they woulde confesse, that they came thither very vnwillingly, being driuen by violence out of their possessions. If the Romaine people would accept of their friendship, and either giue them territories to inhabite, or suffer them to keepe that which they had got by the lawe of armes, they might proue profitable friends vnto them. They only yeelded to the Sueui, to whome the Gods in feates of armes were inferior; any other nation they wold easily conquer.

*Liege.

To this Cæsar answered what hee thought fit; but the purport of his speech was, that he could not make any league with them, if they continued in Gallia: neither was it probable, that they that could not keepe their owne, would get possessions out of other mens hands. Gallia had no vacant place to entertaine so great a multitude: but if they would they might find a welcome, amongst the *Vbij, whose agents were at that instant in his campe, complaining of the iniurie of the Sueui, and desiring aide against them; this much he himselfe would intreat of the Vbij. The messengers went backe with these Mandates, promising within three daies to returne againe to Cæsar: in the meane time, they desired him, not to bring his armie any neerer their quarters; which request Cæsar denied: for vnderstanding that a fewe daies before, a great part of their Caualrie were passed ouer the Mosa, he suspected that this delay imported nothing more then the returne of their horsemen.

*Colonia Agripina.

When Cæsar was come within twelue miles of their campe, their Ambassadors returned; and meeting him on the way, entreated him earnestly to march no further towardes them: but being denied of their suite, they besought him to sende to those troupes of horse, which marched before the army, that they should not fight nor make anie hostile incounter; and that he would giue them leaue to send messengers to the Vbij, of whose entertainement they would e willingly accept, if the Princes and

and ſenate would ſweare faith & ſafe continuance vnto their people: Neither would they require more then 3. daies, to negotiat this buſines. Cæſar conceiued this treatie to import nothing elſe, then the returne of their horſemen that were abſent in pillage, whom they expected within 3. daies; notwithſtanding hee promiſed them to march but foure miles further that day, to a conuenient watring place: in the meane time he ſent to the commanders of the horſe that were before, not to prouoke the enemy to fight; and if they were ſet vpon to ſuſtaine the charge, vntil he came neerer with the armie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIrſt we may obſerue his diſſẽbling of the practiſe of the Galles, with the Germans; & the incouragement which he gaue them in a faithful and loial affection to the people of Rome, when he himſelfe knew they had ſtarted from that duty, which both their honor and a good reſpect of their friendes required: for he well vnderſtood that his preſence did take away al ſcruple of any further motion in that kind; & therfore to haue obiected vnto thẽ their errors, had not been to heale, but to diſcouer their wound: only he tooke the way, to cut off their hopes of any practiſes, which they might attempt againſt the Romaine people; and held them in the mean time in the apparance of faithful friends, that they might not bee diſcouraged, by the detection of their reuolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, vpon this reſolutiõ that there was no league to be made with the Germans, if they continued on this ſide the Rhene; we may obſerue how he entertained a treaty of peace, with ſuch conſents and denials, as might manifeſt his readines to further what he made ſhew of, & not weaken the meanes of his beſt aduantage. For as he was content they ſhould take a quiet farewel of Gallia, and plant themſelues in the poſſeſsions of the Vbij; ſo was he loath to yeeld to any condition, which might diſaduantage his forcible cõſtraint or weaken his command, if perſwaſion failed: for he well knewe that powerfull means to effect that which he required, would further the courſe of a peaceable concluſion, and carry more authoritie in a parlee, then any other motiue, howe reaſonable ſoeuer.

Moreouer wee may obſerue, howe carefull hee was not to impoſe vpon the Germaines a neceſſity of fighting; but opened a paſſage (by propounding vnto them the aſſociation of the Vbij) by which they might auoide the hazarde of battaile. Which thing was alwaies obſerued by Commanders of ancient times, who diligently ſearching into the nature of thinges, founde that neither of thoſe noble inſtruments, whereby man worketh ſuch wonders (I meane the hande and the tongue) had euer brought ſo many excellent works to that type of perfection, vnles they had bin forced thereunto by

Vincitur haud gratis iugulo qui prouocat hoſtem.

neceſſitie: and therefore wee are wiſely to handle the courſe of our actions, leaſt while we ſtand too ſtrict vpon a violent guarde, we giue occaſion to the enemy, by the way of *Antiperiſtaſis*, to redouble his ſtrength; and ſo furniſh him with that powerfull engine, which Vetius Meſcius calleth *vltimum* and *maximum telum*, the laſt and greateſt weapon; the force whereof ſhall better appeare by theſe examples.

Liu. lib. 9. Some few of the Samnites, contrarie to the articles of peace between them and the Romans, hauing made incurſions into the territories of the Ramaine confederates; the ſenate of that ſtate ſent to Rome, to excuſe the fact, and to make offer of ſatisfaction: But being reiected, Claudius Pontius generall of their forces, in an excellent oration which he made, ſhewed how the Romans would not harken to peace, but choſe rather to be reuenged by war: and therefore neceſsity conſtrained them to put on armes: *iuſtum eſt bellum* (ſaith he) *quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma quibus, niſi in Armis, ſpes eſt.*

Liu. lib. 7. Caius Manlius, conducting the Roman legions againſt the Veij, part of the Veian armie had entered the Romaine campe; which Manlius perceiuing, hee haſted with a band of men to keepe the breach, and to ſhut in the Veij: which they no ſooner perceiued, but they fought with that rage and fury, that they ſlew Manlius; and had ouerthrown the whole campe, had not a Tribune opened thē a paſſage, by which they fled away.

In like manner Camillus, the wiſeſt of the Romaine Captaines, beeing entered into the citie of the Veij, that hee might take it with greater facilitie, and diſarme the enemie of that terrible weapon of neceſsitie, hee cauſed it to bee proclaimed, that no Veian ſhoulde bee hurt, that was founde vnarmed. Whereupon euery man caſt away his weapon, and ſo the towne was taken without bloudſhed.

Let a ſoldiour therefore take ſuch holde of occaſions, and oportunities that are offered vnto him, that in time of battaile hee may ſeeme to caſt neceſsitie vpon his own cauſe, and retaine it in his paie: conſideting how the power therof altereth the workes of nature, and changeth their effects into contrary operations, being neuer ſubiect to any ordinance or lawe; and yet making that lawful which proceedeth from it.

CHAP. IIII.

The Germans, contrary to their owne requeſt *made to Cæſar, ſet vpon the Romaine horſe-* men, and ouerthrew them.

Cæſar. *NOtwithſtanding the Germans requeſt, concerning the truce, aſſoone as they ſaw the Romaine horſemen, which were in number 5000, (whereas the Germans had not aboue 800. herſe) they charged vpon the Romains, not expecting any hoſtile incounter, inaſmuch as their ambaſſadours were newly departed from Cæſar, and had obtained that daie of truce; but being*

being ſet vpon, they made what reſiſtance they could. The Germans, according to their vſuall cuſtome, forſooke their horſe, and fighting on foote, did eaſely put the Romains to flight; who neuer looked backe, vntill they came into the ſight of the legions: in that battell were ſlaine 74. Romaine horſemen. After this battel, Ceſar thought it not ſafe, either to harken to anie conditions, or to receiue any meſſage from them, that by fraud and deceit had ſought for peace, and ment nothing but war: And to attende any longer vntil their horſemen returned, was but to giue them that aduantage againſt him, eſpecially conſidering the weakeneſſe of the Galles, amongſt whom the Germans by this battel had gained great reputation; and therfore he durſt not giue them ſpace to thinke vpon it.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis cunning of the Germans offereth occaſion to ſpeake ſomewhat, concerning that maine controuerſie of policie, which is, whether the actions of Princes and great commanders, are alwaies to bee attended with integrity, and faithful accompliſhment thereof. Wherin I wil only ſet down ſuch arguments, and grounds of reaſon, which vertue and morall honeſty on the one part, (for we wil make it no queſtion to a Chriſtian minde) and the daily practiſe of ſtates men on the other ſide, alleadge, to make good their contrary aſſertions.

The great Polititians of the world, that commend vertue in a ſhew, and not in *eſſe* and being, and ſtudy to maintaine their ſtates onely with humane reaſon, not regarding the authority of diuine ordinance, ſet this downe as a maxime in their Art; That he, that is to negotiate a matter, and meaneth to bring it to an ende ſorting to his contentment, muſt in all reſpects bee like qualified, both in iudgement and diſpoſition, as the party is, with whom he dealeth: otherwiſe he cannot be ſufficiently prepared, to hold himſelfe ſtrong in the matter, which he vndertaketh. For a wraſtler that cõmeth with meere ſtrength to incounter an other that hath both ſtrength & cunning, may beſhrew his ſtrength that brought him thither, to be caſt by skil, and be laught at, as an vnworthy chãpion for ſerious ſports: in like maner in this vniuerſall confuſion of infidelitie, wherein ſubtilty flieth at ſo high a pitch, he that thinketh with ſimplicitie of ſpirit to winde through the labyrinths of falſhood, and auoide the ſnares of deceit, ſhall finde himſelfe too weake for ſo difficult a taske, and beſhrew his honeſty, if he regard his commodity: for it is the courſe that euery man taketh, which muſt bring vs to the place, to which euery man goeth: and he that oppoſeth himſelfe againſt the current of the world, may ſtand alone in his own conceit, and neuer attaine that which the world ſeeketh after. Foraſmuch therfore, as craft and deceit are ſo general, it behoueth a man of publike negotiations, to carry a mind apt & diſpoſed to theſe qualities. This was ſignified by that, which anciẽt writers report of Achilles, who was ſent to Chiron the Centaure, half a man & half a beaſt, to be inſtructed in the rudimẽts of princely cariage; that of the bruti ſh part, he might learn to ſtrengthen himſelf, with force & courage; & of the humane ſhape, ſo to

manage reaſon, that it might bee a fit inſtrument to anſwere or preuent, what ſoeuer mans wit might forge to ouerthrow it. Neither ought a priuate man to wonder at the ſtrangeneſſe of theſe poſitions; conſidering that the gouernment of kingdomes, and Empires is caried with another bias, then that which concerneth particular affaires in a well ordered ſtate: wherein truth-breakers and faithleſſe-diſſemblers are worthely condemned, inaſmuch as they neceſſarilie enforce the ruine thereof. But theſe that ſit at the helme of gouernment, and are to ſhape the courſe of a ſtate, according to the variation of times and fortunes, deriue their concluſions from other principles, whereof inferiour ſubiects are no more capable, then men are able to vnderſtande the workes of the Godes: and therefore they are called *arcana imperij*, to bee reuerenced rather, then lookt into.

To conclude, the affaires of particular perſons are of ſo ſhort extenſion, and incircled in ſo ſmall a compaſſe, that a meane capacitie may eaſily apprehend the aduantages or inconueniences, which may enſue vppon the contract: and therefore it is requiſite they ſhould ſtande to the aduenture, and their iudgement is worthely taxed with the loſſe: but the buſineſſes of a common weale are, both ſubiect to ſo many caſualties of fortune, and relie vpon ſuch vnexpected accidents, that it is impoſſible for any ſpirit, howe prouident ſoeuer, to foreſee the iſſue, in that variety of chances. Beſides that, euery particular ſubiect is much intereſſed in the fortune of the euent, and may iuſtly chalenge an alteration of the intended courſe, rather then ſuffer ſhipwracke through the errour of their Pilot: And ſo the ſafety of the ſtate doth balance out the loſſe of credit in the Gouernor.

On the other ſide, ſuch as zealouſly affect true honour, affirme vertue to be the ſame both in prince and people; neither doth condition of ſtate, or calling, or the qualitie of publike or priuate buſineſſes, alter the nature and eſſence of goodnes: for to depriue the toung of truth and fidelitie were to breake the bond of ciuill ſocietie, which is the baſis and ground plot of all ſtates and commonweales. They doe not denie but that a wiſe Prince maie ſo carrie a treatie, that he maie ſeeme to affect that moſt which he leaſt intendeth; or anſwere doubtfully concerning the propoſitions; and that he maie vſe with great honour the practiſes and ſtratagems of warre, when the fortune of both parties conſiſteth vpon their owne induſtrie: but to breake any couenants agreed vpon, may well get a kingdome, but neuer honourable reputation.

And thus they contend concerning the meanes, whereby a ſtate is continued in happie gouernment: whereof this much I dare ſay by the warrant of this hiſtorie, that he who falſifieth his words vpon aduantage, howſoeuer he regardeth his honour, had neede to paie them home in regard of his owne ſafetie: for if they once recouer the loſſe, and get any aduantage againſt thoſe truth-breakers, they will finde as little fauour, as the Germans did with Cæſar.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar marched directly to the campe of the *Germans, and cut them all in pieces, and* ſo ended that warre.

Caſar.

VPON theſe conſiderations, Cæſar manifeſting his reſolution to the Legates, and Queſtor; there happened a very fortunate accident. For the next daie, very early in the morning, moſt of the Princes and chiefeſt of the Germans came vnto Cæſar into his campe, to excuſe their fraudulent practiſe; and withall to continue their petition of truce. Whereof Cæſar was exceeding glad, and cauſed them to be kept in hold; and at the ſame inſtant, brought his Armie out of the campe, commanding his horſemen to follow the legions, becauſe they had beene daunted with ſo late an ouerthrow: And making a triple battell, marched ſpeedely eight miles, and ſo came vpon the Germans, before they had notice what had happened; and being terrified with our ſudden arriuall, and the departure of their owne leaders, knew not whether it were their beſt courſe, to bring forth their forces, or to defend their campe, or otherwiſe to ſeeke their ſafety by flight. Which tumult and feare was no ſooner perceiued by the Roman ſouldier, but calling to mind their perfidious trecherie, they brake into the campe, and were at firſt a little reſiſted; in the meane time, the women and children fled euery one awaie: which Cæſar perceiuing, ſent his horſemen to purſue them. The Germans hearing the clamour and ſchrichings behinde their backes, and ſeeing their friends purſued and ſlaine, did caſt awaie their weapons, and fled out of the campe, and comming to the confluence of the Maſe and the Rhene, ſuch as had eſcaped caſt themſelues into the riuer; where, what through feare, and wearineſſe, and the force of the water, were all drowned. In this conflict the Romans loſt not a man: the number of the enemie was 430000 with women and children. To them, whom he had retained in his campe, he gaue leaue to depart; but they fearing the crueltie of the Galles, deſired that they might continue with the Romans: which Cæſar agreed vnto.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis relation affoordeth little matter of warre, but onely a ſeuere reuenge of hatefull trecherie: notwithſtanding I will hence take occaſion, to diſcouer the offices of the Queſtor and the Legates; and ſhew what place they had in the Armie. And firſt concerning the Queſtor, we are to vnderſtand, that he was elected by the common voice of the people, in the ſame court, which was called to creat the Generall. His office was, to take charge of the publike treaſure, whether it came out of their Ærarium, for the paie of the Armie; or otherwiſe was taken from the enemie. Of

him the ſouldiers receiued their ſtipend both in corne and money; and what other bootie was taken from the enemie, he either kept them, or ſolde them, for the vſe of the common-weale.

The Legates were not choſen, by the people, but appointed by the Senat, as aſſiſtants & Coadiutors to the Empetor, for the publike ſeruice, and were altogether directed by the Generall, in whoſe abſence they had the abſolute command: and their number was for the moſt part vncertaine; but proportioned according to the number of legions in the Armie.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar maketh a bridge vpon the Rhene, and *carrieth his Armie ouer into* Germanie.

Cæſar.

THE German warre being thus ended: Cæſar thought it neceſſarie, to tranſport his Armie ouer the Rhene into the continent of Germanie, for manie cauſes: whereof this was not the leaſt, that ſeeing the Germans were ſo eaſily perſwaded, to bring their colonies and their vagrant multitudes into Gallia: he thought it good to make knowen vnto them, that the Roman people could, at their pleaſure, carrie their forces ouer the Rhene into Germanie. Moreouer, thoſe troupes of horſe, which were abſent at the late ouerthrow of the Germans, were fled into the confines of the Sicambri; to whom, when Cæſar ſent meſſengers to demand them to be ſent vnto him, they anſwered, that the Roman Empire was limited by the Rhene: and if the Germans were interdicted Gallia, why ſhould Cæſar challenge any authority in their quarters? Laſtly, the Vbij, who amongſt all the reſt of the Germans had only accepted of Cæſars friendſhip, and giuen pledges of their fidelitie, had made earneſt ſuit vnto him, to ſend them aid againſt the Sueui, or at the leaſt to tranſport his Armie ouer the Rhene: for the name and opinion of the Roman Armie was ſo great, and of ſuch fame, what with Arioviſtus ouerthrow, and this laſt ſeruice, that it ſounded honourable amongſt the furtheſt nations of Germany. For theſe reaſons, Cæſar reſolued to paſſe the Rhene: but to carrie his Armie ouer by boate, was neither ſafe, nor for the maieſtie of the people of Rome. And albeit it ſeemed a matter of great difficultie, by reaſon of the breadth, ſwiftnes, and depth of the riuer, to make a bridge; yet he reſolued to trie what he could doe, otherwiſe he determined not to paſſe ouer at all: and ſo he built a bridge after this maner.

At two foote diſtance, he placed two trees of a foot and halfe ſquare, ſharpened at the lower end, and cut anſwerable to the depth of the riuer: theſe he let downe into the water with engines, and droue them in with commanders, not perpendicularly, after the faſhion of a pile, but gable wiſe and bending with the courſe of the water: oppoſite vnto theſe he placed two other trees, ioyned together after the ſame faſhion, being 40 foote diſtant from the former, by the dimenſion betweene their lower parts

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in the bottome of the water, and reclining againſt the courſe of the riuer: theſe two paire of couples thus placed, he ioyned together with a beame of two foote ſquare, equall to the diſtance betweene the ſaid couples, and faſtened them at each ende on either ſide of the couples, with braces and pins: whereby the ſtrength of the worke, and nature of the frame was ſuch, that the greater the violence of the ſtreame was, and the faſter it fell vpon the timber worke, the ſtronger the bridge was vnited in the couplings and iointes. In like manner, he proceeded with couples, and beames, vntill the worke was brought vnto the other ſide of the riuer: and then he laide ſtraight planks from beame to beame, and couered them with hurdles; and ſo he made a floore to the bridge. Moreouer, on the lower ſide of the bridge, he droue downe ſupporters, which being faſtened to the timber worke, did ſtrengthen the bridge againſt the force of the water; and on the vpper ſide of the bridge, at a reaſonable diſtance, he placed piles to hinder the force of trees or boates, or what els the enemie might caſt downe to trouble the worke: within ten daies, that the timber began to be cut downe and carried, the worke was ended, and the Armie tranſported. Cæſar, leauing a ſtrong garriſon at either end of the bridge, went into the confines of the Sicambri.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT ſhall not be amiſſe, to enter a little into the conſideration of this bridge; as wel in regard of the ingenious Architecture therof, as alſo that we may ſomwhat imitate Cæſar, whom we may obſerue to inſiſt with as great plenty of wit & eloquẽce, in preſenting vnto vs the ſubtilty of his inuentiõ in ſuch maner of handy works, as vpon any other part of his actiõs; as this particular deſcription of the bridge, may ſufficiẽtly witnes: beſides the fortifications at Aleſia, and the intrenchments in Britanie, for the ſafetie of his ſhipping, with many other workes, which he might well record, as the greateſt deſſignes of an heroick ſpirit, and the wonderfull effectes of magnanimous induſtrie; that ſucceeding ages might not boaſt either of Arte or prowes, which his vertue had not expreſſed; or otherwiſe might wonder at that worth, which they themſelues coulde not attaine vnto: And to that purpoſe hee entertained Vitruuius, the father of architecture, and as worthilie to bee imitated in that facultie, as his maiſter Cæſar is in feates of armes. By whoſe example a great commander may learne howe much it importeth the eternitie of his fame, to beautifie his greateſt deſſignes with arte, and to eſteeme of ſuch as are able to intreat the Mathematicall muſes, to ſhew themſelues vnder the ſhape of a ſenſible forme; which albeit through the rudeneſſe of the matter, fall farre ſhort of the truth of their intellectuall nature, yet their beautie expreſſeth ſuch a maieſtie of Arte, that no time will ſuffer the memorie thereof to periſh.

The workmanſhip of this bridge conſiſted chiefely in the oblique ſituation of the double poſtes, whereof the firſt order bending with the ſtreame, and the lower ranke againſt the ſtreame, when they came to be coupled together with ouerthwart beames, which were faſtened in the couplings with braces, which he nameth *Fibulas*; the more violent the ſtreame fell vpon the worke, the faſter the

the iointes of the building were vnited, as may better appeare by a modell of that making, then can be expreſſed by any circumſtance of wordes.

I might hence take occaſion to ſpeake of the diuerſitie of bridges, and of the practiſes which antiquitie hath deuiſed to tranſport Armies ouer riuers: but inaſmuch as it is a common ſubiect for all that vndertake this militarie taske, and hath beene handled by Lipſius, vpon the occaſion of this bridge; I will refer the reader to that place; and only note the ſingular diſpoſition of this action, in as much as Cæſar made the meanes correſpondent to that end which he intended. For conſidering that the chiefeſt end of his paſſage was, to let the Germans vnderſtand, that the power of the Roman Empire was not bouñded with the Rhene; and that a riuer could not ſo ſeparate their Territories, but that they were able to ioine both the continents together, and make a common roade waie, where it ſeemed moſt vnpaſſable: he thought it beſt to paſſe ouer his Army by a bridge, that ſo the Germans might know the power of his forces, and alſo conceit their Territories, as vnited vnto Gallia; or to be vnited at the pleaſure of the Romans, with a firme Iſthmus & plaine paſſage by foot, which in times paſt had alwaies been ſeparated by a mightie riuer. Neither would a tranſportation by boat haue wrought that effect, for as much as the daily vſe thereof was ſo familiar to the Germans, that it nothing altered their imagination, of an vnacceſſible paſſage: but when they ſaw ſo ſtrange a thing attempted, and ſo ſuddenly performed, they would eaſily vnderſtand, that they were not ſo farre off, but that they might be ouertaken; and ſo direct their demeanour accordingly.

Lib. de Machi.

Let this ſuffice therfore to proue, that a paſſage ouer a riuer by a bridge, is more honourable, ſafe, and of greater terror to the enemy, then any other way that can be deuiſed; eſpecially if the riuer carrie any depth, ſuch as the Rhene is: otherwiſe, if it haue either ſhallowes or foordes, whereby men may wade ouer, without any great incombrance, it were but loſt labour to ſtand about a bridge; but rather to thinke of it, as of a place incombred with ſuch hindrances, as men often meete with in a march.

CHAP. VII.

Cæſar taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri: giueth *libertie to the Vbij; and returneth a-* gaine into Gallia.

Cæſar.

THE Sicambri, vnderſtanding that Cæſar was making a bridge ouer the Rhene, prepared themſelues to flie; and at the perſwaſion of the Vſipetes, forſooke their country, and conuaied ſelues and their poſſeſſions into woods, and ſolitarie deſartes. Cæſar continuing a few daies in their quarters, hauing ſet on fire their villages and houſes, and burned vp their corne and prouiſion; he came to the Vbij, promiſing them aide againſt the Sueui: by whom he vnderſtood, that aſſoone as the Sueui had intelligence, that he went

went about to make a bridge, calling a councell according to their maner, they ſent vnto all quarters of their ſtate, that they ſhould forſake their townes, and carie their wiues and children, and all that they had, into the woods: and that all that were able to beare Armes, ſhould make head in one place, which they appointed to bee the midſt of their countrey, and there they attended the comming of the Romaines, and were reſolued in that place to giue them battell. Which when Cæſar vnderſtood, hauing ended all thoſe thinges, in regard whereof he came into Germanie, which was chiefely to terrifie the Germans, to be reuenged vpon the Sicambri, to ſet the Vbij at libertie; hauing ſpent in all 18 daies beyond the Rhene, as well in regard of his owne honour, and the good of the common-weale: he returned into Gallia, and brake vp the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar thinketh of a voiage into Britanie: he enquireth of marchants, concerning the nature of that people.

ALTHOVGH the ſommer was almoſt ſpent, and that in thoſe partes the winter haſteneth on a pace, inaſmuch as all Gallia inclineth to the North; notwithſtanding he reſolued to go ouer into Britanie: foraſmuch as he vnderſtood, that in all the former wars of Gallia, the enemie had receiued moſt of their ſupply from thence. And although the time of the yeare would not ſuffer him to finiſh that warre; yet he thought it would be to good purpoſe, if he went only to view the Iland, to vnderſtand the qualitie of the inhabitants, and to know their coaſt, their portes, and their landing places; whereof the Galles were altogether ignorant: for ſeldome any man, but marchants, did trauell vnto them. Neither was there any thing diſcouered but the ſea-coaſt, and thoſe regions which were oppoſite vnto Gallia: And therefore calling marchants together from all quarters, he neither could vnderſtand of what quantitie the Iland was, what nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what vſe or experience of warre they had; what lawes or cuſtomes they vſed; nor what hauens they had to receiue a nauie of great ſhipping. Cæſar.

OBSERVATIONS.

AS the Germans had oftentimes ſtirred vp motions of rebellion amongſt the Galles, by ſending their ſuperfluous multitudes into their kingdome; ſo the Britaines had vpheld moſt of their warres, by furniſhing them with ſuch ſupplies, as from time to time they ſtood in neede of. So that if Cæſar, or the Roman people, would reſt ſecure of their quiet and peaceable gouernment in Gallia, as they had chaſtiſed the inſo-

lencie of the Germans,& ſent them backe againe, with greater loſſe then gaine; ſo was it neceſſarie to make the Britains know, that their aſſiſtance in the warre of Gallia would draw more buſineſſes vpon them, then they were well able to manage. For as I haue noted in my former diſcourſes, the cauſes of an vnpeaceable gouernment are as well externall and forraine, as internall and bred in the bodie; which neede the helpe of a Phiſition, to continue the bodie in a perfect ſtate of health, and require as great a diligence to qualifie their malicious operations, as any internall ſickneſſe whatſoeuer.

In the ſecond Commentarie, I briefely touched the commoditie of good diſcouerie; but becauſe it is a matter of great conſequence, in the fortunate cariage of a warre, I will once againe by this example of Cæſar, remember a Generall not to be negligent in this dutie. Suetonius in the life of our Cæſar reporteth, that he neuer vndertooke any expedition, but he firſt receiued true intelligence of the particular ſite, and nature of the country, as alſo of the maners and qualitie of the people; and that he would not vndertake the voiage into Britanie, vntill he had made perfect diſcouerie by himſelfe, of the magnitude and ſituation of the Iland. Which Suetonius might vnderſtand by this firſt voiage, which Cæſar would needes vndertake in the latter end of a ſommer, although it were as he himſelfe ſaith, but to diſcouer.

It is recorded by auncient writers, that thoſe demigods that gouerned the world in their time, gaue great honor to the exerciſe of hunting, as the perfect image of warre in the reſemblance of all parts, and namely in the diſcouerie and knowledge of a country; without which all enterpriſes, either of ſport in hunting, or earneſt in warres were friuolous and of no effect. And therefore Zenophon in the life of Cyrus, ſheweth that his expedition againſt the king of Armenia, was nothing but a repetition of ſuch ſportes, as he had vſed in hunting. Howſoeuer, if the infinite examples regiſtred in hiſtorie, how by the dexteritie of ſome leaders it hath gained great victories, & through the negligence of others, irrecouerable ouerthrowes; are not ſufficient motiues to perſwade thē to this duty: let their owne experience in matters of ſmall moment, manifeſt the weakeneſſe of their proceedings, when they are ignorant of the chiefeſt circumſtances of the matter they haue in hand. But let this ſuffice in the ſecond place, to proue the neceſſitie of good diſcouerie; and let vs learne of Cæſar, what is principally to be inquired after in the diſcouerie of an vnknowne country; as firſt the quantitie of the land: ſecondly, what nations inhabite it: thirdly, their vſe of warre: fourthly, their ciuill gouernment: and laſtly, what hauens they had to receiue a nauie of great ſhipping. All which circumſtances are ſuch principall Arteries in the bodie of a ſtate, that the diſcouerie of any one of theſe demaundes would haue giuen great light, concerning the motion of the whole bodie.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Cæſar ſendeth C. Voluſenus, to diſcouer the coaſt of Britanie; and prepareth himſelfe for that voiage.

Cæſar. Teroanne, or Monſtrell.

CAESAR ſent out Caius Voluſenus, with a gallie to diſcouer what he could concerning theſe thinges; and to returne againe vnto him very ſpeedely: he himſelfe marched in the meane time, with all his forces, vnto the Morini; foraſmuch as from thence laie the ſhorteſt cut into Britanie. Thither he commanded that ſhippes ſhould be brought from all the maritimate cities of that quarter, and namely that fleete, which he had built the yeare before for the warre at Vannes. In the meane time his reſolution being knowen, and carried into Britanie by merchants and others, manie priuate ſtates of that Iland ſent ambaſſadours vnto him, promiſing him hoſtages of their loialtie, and ſignifying their readineſſe to ſubmit themſelues to the Roman Empire. To theſe he made liberall promiſes, exhorting them to continue in that obedience; and ſo ſent them backe againe: And with them he ſent Comius, whom he had made king of Arras, whoſe wiſdome and vertue he held in good account, and knew it to be of great authoritie in thoſe Regions: to him he gaue in charge to go to as many of the ſtates as he could, and perſwade them to accept of the friendſhip of the Roman Empire, and that Cæſar himſelfe would preſently follow after.

Voluſenus, hauing taken what view of the country he could; for he durſt not go on ſhore to commit himſelfe to the barbariſme of the enemy; after fiue daies returned to Cæſar: and while he ſtaied in thoſe places for the furniſhing of his fleete, the Morini ſent meſſengers vnto him, excuſing their former faultes, and manifeſting their readineſſe to obey his mandates. Cæſar not willing to leaue any enemy behinde him, or to neglect his voiage into Britanie, for ſuch ſmall matters; hee willingly accepted of their ſubmiſsion, hauing firſt receiued manie hoſtages of them, and hauing made readie eightie ſhippes of burthen, which he thought ſufficient to tranſport two legions, he deuided the Galleies to the Queſtor, the Legates and the commanders of the horſe. There were alſo eighteene ſhippes of burthen more, which laie windbound at a port eight miles off, and them he appointed for the horſemen: the reſt of the Armie he committed to Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculeius Cotta, commanding them to go to the confines of the Menapij: and appointed P. Sulp. Rufus, a Legate, to keepe the port, with a ſufficient garrizon.

CHAP. X.

Cæſar ſaileth into Britanie, and landeth his men.

Cæſar.

THESE thinges being thus diſpatched: hauing a good winde in the third watch, he put out to ſea, commanding his horſmen to imbarke themſelues at the further port, which was but ſlowlie performed: hee himſelfe arriued vpon the coaſt about the fourth houre of the daie, where he found all the cliftes poſſeſſed with the forces of the enemie. The nature of the place was ſuch, that the hils laie ſo ſteepe ouer the ſea, that a weapon might eaſily be caſt, from the higher ground vpon the lower ſhore: and therefore he thought it no fit landing place; notwithſtanding he caſt anker vntill the reſt of the nauie were come vp vnto him. In the meane time calling a councell of the Legates and Tribunes, he declared vnto them what aduertiſements he had receiued by Voluſenus, and told them what he would haue done; and withall admoniſhed them that the courſe of militarie affaires, and eſpecially ſea matters, that had ſo ſudden and an vnconſtant motion, required all thinges to be done at a becke, and in due time. The Councell being diſmiſſed, hauing both wind and tide with him, he waighed anker, and ſailed eight miles from that place, vnto a plaine and open ſhore. The Britaines perceiuing the Romans determination, ſent their horſe and chariots before, and the reſt of their forces followed after, to the place where the Romans intended to land. Cæſar found it exceeding difficult to land his men, for theſe reſpectes: the ſhips were ſo great, that they could not be brought neere vnto the ſhore: the ſouldiers in ſtrange and vnknowne places, hauing their hands laden with great and heauie weapons, were at one inſtant to go out of the ſhippe, to withſtand the force of the billow, and to fight with the enemie; whereas the Britaines either ſtanding vpon the ſhore, or making ſhort ſallies into the water, did boldly caſt their weapons in knowen and frequented places, and managed their horſes as accuſtomed to ſuch ſeruices.

The Romans being terrified with theſe thinges, and altogether vnskilfull of this kinde of fight, did vſe the ſame courage, as they were woont to doe in land ſeruices: which when Cæſar perceiued, he cauſed the Galleies, that were both ſtrange to the Britaines, and readier for vſe, to be remoued from the ſhippes of burthen, and to bee rowed vp and downe, and laide againſt the open ſide of the enemie; that from thence with ſlinges, engines & arrowes, the enemy might be beaten vp from the water ſide, which ſtood the Romans in good ſteede: for the Britaines, being troubled with the ſtrangeneſſe of the Galleies, the motion of their Oares, and the vnuſuall kinde of engines; were ſomewhat diſmaied, and began to retire backe, and giue waie to the Romans: but the ſoldiers ſtill lingering, and eſpecially for feare of the depth of the ſea, the Eagle-bearer of the tenth legion deſiring the Gods, that it might fall out happely to the legion: If you will (ſaith he) forſake your Eagle, O ye ſouldiers, and betraie it to the

the enemy, for mine owne part I will do my duty both to the common weale, and to my Imperator; and hauing ſpoken this, with a loud voice, hee caſt himſelfe into the ſea, and caried the Eagle towarde the enemy; the Romaines exhorting one another, not to ſuffer ſuch a diſhonour to be committed; they all leaped out of the ſhip: which when others that were neere at hande perceiued, they followed them with as great alacritie, and preſſed towards the enemy to incounter with them. The fight on both partes was very eager, the Romaines not being able to keepe any order of battell, nor to get any firme footing, nor to follow their enſignes; foraſmuch as euery man kept with thoſe enſignes, which he firſt met withal, were wonderfully troubled: But the enemy acquainted with the flats and ſhallowes, as they beheld them from the ſhore to come ſingle out of their ſhips, putting ſpurs to their horſe, woulde ſet vpon them incombred and vnprepared, and many of them would ouerlay a few; others would get the aduantage of the open ſide, and caſt their weapons amongſt the thickeſt troupes of them: which when Cæſar perceiued, he cauſed the ſhipboates and ſmaller veſſels to be manned with ſoldiours, and where he ſawe neede of helpe, he ſent them to reſcue ſuch as were ouercharged. As ſoone as the Romaines got footing on the firme land, they made head together and charged the enemy, and ſo put them to flight; but they were not able to follow them, nor take the Iland at that time, for want of horſemen, which thing was only wanting to Cæſars fortune.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

VPon this circumſtance of landing, I may iuſtly take occaſion to handle that controuerſie, which hath beene often debated by our Engliſh Captaines, which is, whether it be better in queſtion of an inuaſion, and in the abſence of our ſhipping, to oppoſe an enemy at his landing vpon our coaſt; or quietly to ſuffer him to ſet his men on ſhore, and retire our forces into ſome inland place, and there attend to giue him battell? It ſeemeth that ſuch as firſt ſet this queſtion on foot, and were of an opinion, that we ought not by any meanes to encounter an enemy at his landing; for ſo wee might much endanger our ſelues and our countrey; did ground themſelues vpon the authority of Monſieur de Langey, not obſeruing the difference betweene an Iland and a continent. For where he ſetteth down that poſition, he plainly aimeth at ſuch Princes, as border one vpon an other in the ſame continent: but where their territories are diſioyned by ſo great a barre as the Ocean, and haue not ſuch meanes to ſuppriſe one an other, it were meere folly to hold good that rule, as ſhall better appeare by the ſequell of this diſcourſe. Wherein I will firſt laie downe the reaſons, that may be vrged to proue it vnſafe to oppoſe an enemy at his landing, not as beeing vrged by that party; for I neuer hearde any probable motiue from them which might induce any ſuch opinion, but ſet down by ſuch as haue looked into the controuerſies, both with experience and good iudgement.

And firſt, it may be obiected, that it is a hard matter to reſiſt an enemy at his landing, as well in regard of the vncertaintie of place, as of time: for beeing ignorant in what place hee will attempt a landing, wee muſt either defende all

places of acceſſe, or our intentions wil proue meere friuolous; and to performe that, it is requiſite that our defenſiue forces be ſufficient, according to the particular qualitie of euery place ſubiect to danger: which conſidering the large extenſion of our maritimate parts, and the manie landing places on our coaſt, will require a greater number of men, then this Iland canne affoord. And although it coulde furniſh ſuch a competent number, as might ſeeme in ſome ſort ſufficient; yet the vncertainty of the time of the enemies arriuall, would require that they ſhould be lodged, either vpon or neere the places of danger, manie daies at leaſt, if not many weekes, before the inſtant of their attempt, which woulde exhauſt a greater maſſe of treaſure, then could bee well affoorded by the ſtate.

Secondly, it may be obiected, that all our landing places are of ſuch diſaduantage, for the defendantes; that it were no ſafetie at all to make heade againſt him at the landing: for in aſmuch as ſuch places are open and plaine, they yeelde no commodity to ſhelter the defendantes from the fury of the artillerie, wherewith the enemy will plentifullie furniſh their long boates and landing veſſailes; which beating vpon the beach (for moſt of our landing places are of that quality) will ſo ſcatter them, that no man ſhall bee able to indure the inconuenience thereof.

The thirde obiection may ariſe from the diſparitie both of numbers, and condition of the forces of either partie: for the firſt it muſt needes bee granted, that the defendantes being to garde ſo many places at once, cannot furniſh ſuch numbers to euerie particular place for defence, as the aſſailants may for offence. Concerning the qualitie of the forces, it is without queſtion, that a great and potent Prince, (for ſuch a one it muſt bee, that vndertaketh to inuade the territories of ſo abſolute and well obeied a Princeſſe as her Maieſtie is) woulde drawe out the floure of his ſolderie whereſoeuer; beſides the gallant troupes of voluntaries, which do commonly attend ſuch ſeruices. Now theſe being thus qualified, and drawne into one head, and being to make as it were but one body: how can it be reaſonably imagined(the time and place of their attempt being vncertaine)that the defendants ſhould equal them with forces of like vertue and experience?

Theſe are the reaſons, which may be drawne from the diſaduantage, which they haue that go about to oppoſe an enemy at his landing: the reſt that haue beene vrged, by ſuch as maintaine this opinion, are either impertinent to the queſtion, or taken altogether from falſe grounds. But before I proceede to the anſwere of theſe reaſons, I will lay this downe for a principle. That it is impoſſible for any forraine Prince how puiſſant ſoeuer, to make ſuch a preparation as ſhal be fitting to inuade a ſtate ſo populous, and reſpectiue of their ſoueraigne, (notwitſtanding the pretenſes deuiſed to diſſemble the ſame) but it muſt of neceſſitie be diſcouered, before it can bee made able to put any thing in execution: which I might enlarge by particularizing the infinite equipage, which is required for ſo great a fleete. But I will reſt my ſelfe in the example of the yeere 88. which proueth the diſcouery of the pretended inuaſion, before it could come to execution.

Concerning

Concerning therefore the first obiection: it cannot indeed bee denied, but the place of the enemies landing will be doubtfull, and therefore our care must generally extend it selfe to all places of accesse: but that our defensiue forces are not sufficient in a competent maner to garde all such places, according as the necessitie of them shall require, that is the point in question. To prooue that our forces are sufficient: wee must necessarily enter into particularities, wherein I will take Kent for a president, as not altogether vnacquainted with the state thereof; which, if I deceiue not my selfe, is a shore of as large extension vpon the maritimate partes, as any other within this kingdom, for the breadth thereof enlarging it selfe from the point of Nesse by Lyd, which is the vttermost skirt vpon the coast of Sussex, vnto Margate vppon the coast of Essex; is by computation about twenty foure miles: but notwithstanding this large circuit, who knoweth not that the sixt part thereof is not subiect to the landing of such an enemy, as wee speake of, partly in regarde of the hugenesse of the cliffes, which do inclose a great part of that skirt; and partly in regard that much of that quantitie, which may be landed vpon, hath such eminent and difficult places neere adioyning, as an armie that shoulde put it selfe there on shore, shoulde find it selfe being opposed but by a small force, so straitened, as they would not easily find a way out, without apparant ruine of their whole forces. Further it cannot be denied, but that generally along the coast of Kent, there are so many rocks, shelues, flats, and other impediments, that a nauie of great ships canne haue no commodity to anchor neere the shore: and for the most part the coast lieth so open to the weather, that the least gale of wind will put them from their Anchor: all which particularities duly considered, it wil appeare that this large skirt of Kent will affoord a far lesser part fit for the landing of an army, then was thought of at the first. And were it that so publike a treatise as this is, would admit with good discretion such an exact relation, as falleth within my knowledge concerning this point, I would vndertake to make it so euident, by the particular description both of the number, quantity and qualitie of the places themselues; as no man of an indifferent iudgement would imagine our forces to be insufficient, to affoord euery of them such a safe and sure garde, as shall bee thought requisite for the same. But forasmuch as it is vnfitting to giue such particular satisfaction in this publike discourse, giue me leaue, submitting my selfe alwaies to better iudgements, to giue a generall taste of that meanes as woulde secure all places, with a competent number of men.

Answere to the first obiection.

Hauing shewed you before the circuit of the maritimat parts of Kent, I would obserue this order: first, to make a triple diuision of all such forces, as shall be appointed for this seruice; as for example, I wil suppose the number to be 12000 of which I would lodge 3000. about the point of Nesse, and 3000. about Margate, & 6000. about Foulkston, which I take to be as it were the center: for my greatest care should be so to dispose of them, as they might not only succor one an other in the same shire, but as euery shire bordereth one vpon an other; so they should mutually giue helpe one vnto an other, as occasion should bee offered: as if the enemy shoulde attempt a landing about Nesse, not onely the 6000. lodged as before, shoulde march to their succours, but such also of the Sussex

Suſſex forces as were neere vnto that part; and ſo likewiſe of the reſt: by which you may ſee how great a force would in few houres bee aſſembled, for the renforcing of any of theſe out skirts; and the rather, foraſmuch as the one halfe of the whole forces are thus lodged in the center of the ſhire, which is neerer to all parts then any other place whatſoeuer. There woulde alſo in the quartering of them, an eſpeciall care bee had to the places of daunger, as might bee anſwerable to the importance thereof: for my meaning is not to lodge them cloſe together, but to ſtretch them out along the coaſt by regiments and companies, as the country might affoord beſt oportunity, to entertaine them.

Now concerning the latter part of this obiection, which vrgeth the vncertainty of time, when the enemy ſhall make his approches: I holde it moſt requiſite that our defenſiue forces ſhould be drawne into a heade, before the enemy ſhould be diſcouered neere our coaſt ready to put himſelfe on ſhoare: for it were a groſſe abſurdity to imagine, that companies coulde vppon ſuch a ſodaine be aſſembled, without confuſion; and make ſo long a march, with ſuch expedition, as the neceſſity of the occaſion would require. Nowe for that huſbanding reſpect of her Maieſties coffers, which is vrged to ſuch extremity, as it would be vnſupportable for this ſtate to beare: as I doubt not but good intelligence would much qualifie that ſuppoſed immoderate expence; ſo I aſſure my ſelfe, that men of ſound iudgement, will deeme it much out of ſeaſon to diſpute about vnneceſſary thrift, when the whole kingdome is brought in queſtion of being made ſubiect to a ſtranger:

Vt iugulent homines ſurgunt de nocte latrones,
Non expergeſceris, vt te ipſum ſerues?

the enemy (peraduenture) hath kept 30000. men in paie 2. months before, to make hauocke of our countrey, and to bring vs into perpetuall thraldome; ſhal we thinke it much to maintaine ſufficient forces vppon our coaſt, to aſſure our ſelues, that no ſuch enemy ſhall enter into our countrey? the extremity of this charge woulde bee qualified by our good eſpiall, which would proportion our attendance, with the neceſſity which is impoſed vpon vs to bee carefull in buſineſſes of this nature. Let this ſuffice therefore to proue, that our forces are ſufficient to keepe the ſea coſt; and that the vncertainty of time, when the enemy will make his attempts, ought not to hinder vs from performing that dutie, which the care and reſpect of our Prince and countrey impoſeth vpon euerie good ſubiect, which is the ſubſtance of the firſt reaſon, which I ſet downe in the beginning of this diſcourſe.

The anſwere to the ſecond reaſon.

Now concerning the ſecond reaſon, which vrgeth the diſaduantage of the place, in regarde of the fury of the enemies artillery. True it is, that ſuch places as yeelde the enemy commodity of landing, are for the moſt parte plaine and open, and affoord naturally no couert at all. What then? ſhall a ſoldiour take euery place as hee findeth it, and vſe no arte to qualifie the diſaduantages thereof? or ſhall a man forgo the benefit of a place of aduantage rather, then hee will relieue with induſtry the diſcommoditie of ſome particular circumſtance? I make no queſtion but an ingenious commander, being in ſeaſonable time lodged with conuenient forces vpon any of thoſe places, yea vppon the beach

beach it ſelfe, which is vnapt to make defenſible, as anie place whatſoeuer; woulde vſe ſuch induſtrie as might giue ſufficient ſecuritie to his forces, and ouerwaie the enemie with aduantage of place; eſpecially conſidering that this age hath affoorded ſuch plentifull examples of admirable inuentions in that behalfe: but this cannot be done, if our forces doe not make head before the inſtant of the enemies attempt, that our commanders may haue ſome time to make readie ſtore of Gabions, handbaskets, with ſuch moueable matter as ſhal be thought fit for that ſeruice.

Neither let this trouble anie man, for I dare auouch it, that if our forces are not drawne into a heade before the enemie bee diſcouered vppon the coaſt, although wee neuer meane to oppoſe their landing, but attende them in ſome inlande place, to giue them battaile; our Commanders will bee farre to ſeeke of manie important circumſtances, which are requiſite in a matter of that conſequence. And therefore let vs haue but a reaſonable time to bethinke our ſelues of theſe neceſſaries, and we will eaſilie ouercome all theſe difficulties, and vſe the benefit of the firme lande to repell an enemie, weakened with the ſea, toſſed with the billow, troubled with his weapons, with manie other hinderances and diſcouragementes, which are preſented vnto him both from the land and the ſea. He that ſaw the landing of our forces in the Iland of Fiall, in the yeere 97. can ſomewhat iudge of the difficulty of that matter: for what with the working of the ſea, the ſteepneſſe of the cliffes, the troubleſomnes of their armes, the ſoldiors were ſo incombred, that had not the enemie beene more then a coward, he might wel with 200. men haue kept vs from entering any part of that Iland.

The anſwere to the third reaſon.

Concerning the thirde obiection, this briefelie ſhall bee ſufficient, that wee are not ſo much to regarde that our forces doe equall them in number, as to ſee that they bee ſufficient for the nature of the place, to make it good againſt the enemies landing: for wee knowe that in places of aduantage and difficult acceſſe, a ſmall number is able to oppoſe a great; and wee doubt not but all circumſtances duelie conſidered, wee ſhall proportionablie equall the enemie, both in number and qualitie of their forces: alwaies preſuppoſed, that our ſtate ſhall neuer bee deſtitute of ſufficient forces trained, and exerciſed in a competent maner, to defende their Countrey from forraine enemies. For the neglect thereof, were to drawe on ſuch as of themſelues are but too forwarde, to make a praie of vs; and to make vs vnapt, not onelie to oppoſe an enemies landing, but to defende our ſelues from beeing ouerrunne, as other nations liuing in ſecurity, without due regarde thereof, haue beene.

And this much concerning the anſwere to thoſe three reaſons, which ſeeme to prooue that an enemie is not to bee reſiſted at his landing. Nowe if we do but looke a little into the diſcommodities, which follow vpon the landing of an enemy, we ſhall eaſilie diſcouer the dangerouſneſſe of this opinion: as firſt, we giue him leaue to liue vpon the ſpoile of our countrey, which cannot be preuented by any waſting, ſpoiling, or retiring of our prouiſions, in ſo plentiful a countrey as this is, eſpecially conſidering that wee haue no ſtrong townes

at all to repoſe our ſelues vpon. Whereof wee neede no further teſtimonie, then is deliuered vnto vs out of the ſeuenth booke of theſe Commentaries, in that war, which Cæſar had with Vercingetorix.

Secondly obedience, which at other times is willingly giuen to Princes, is greatly, weakened at ſuch times; whereby all neceſſary meanes to maintaine a war is hardly drawn from the ſubiect. Thirdly, oportunity is giuen to malecontents and ill diſpoſed perſons, either to make head themſelues, or to flie to the enemy. Fourthly, the madnes to aduenture a kingdom vpon one ſtroke, hauing it in our diſpoſition to do otherwiſe, with many other diſaduantages, which the oportunity of any ſuch occaſion would diſcouer.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Of the name Imperator.

THe worde *imperator*, which the Eagle-bearer attributeth to Cæſar, was the greateſt title that could be giuen to a Romaine leader: and as Zonaras in his ſecond Tome ſaith, was neuer giuen but vpon ſome great exploite, and after a iuſt victorie obtained; and then in the place where the battaile was fought, and the enemie ouerthrowne, the Generall was ſaluted by the name of *Imperator*, with the triumphant ſhoute of the whole armie; by which acclamation, the ſoldiours gaue teſtimonie of his worth; and made it equiualent with the moſt fortunate Commaunders.

3. Annal.

This ceremonie was of great antiquitie in the Romaine Empire, as appeareth by manie hiſtories, and namelie by Tacitus, where hee ſaith, that Tyberius gaue that honour to Bleſus, that hee ſhould be ſaluted Imperator by the legions; which hee ſheweth to bee an ancient dignitie belonging to great Captaines, after they had foiled the enemy, with an eminent ouerthrowe. For euerie victorie was not ſufficient, whereby they might chalenge ſo great an honour, but there was required (as it ſeemeth) a certaine number of the enemies to be ſlaine. Apian in his ſecond booke ſaieth, that in olde time, the name of Imperator was neuer taken, but vpon great and admirable exploits: but in his time 10000 of the enemy being ſlaine in one battell, was a ſufficient ground of that honour. Cicero ſaith, that 2000 ſlaine in the place, eſpecialllie of Thracians, Spaniards or Galles, did worthely merit the name of Imperator. Howſoeuer it ſeemeth by the ſame anthor, that there was a certain number of the enemy required to be ſlaine, where he ſaith, *Se inſta victoria Imperatorem appellatum.*

Phil. 14.

Lib. 2. epiſt. 9

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Britains make peace with Cæsar, but breake it againe, vpon the losse of the Romain shipping.

THE Britaines being ouerthrowne in this battaile; assoone as they had recouered their safety by flight, they presently dispatched messengers to Cæsar to intreate for peace, promising hostages and obedience, in whatsoeuer he commanded. And with these ambassadors returned Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before into Britanie. Cæsar complained, that, whereas they sent vnto him into Gallia to desire peace, notwithstanding at his comming they made warre against him, without any cause or reason at all; but excusing it by their ignorance, he commanded hostages to be deliuered vnto him: which they presently performed in parte; and the rest being to bee set further off, shoulde likewise be rendered within a short time; in the meane while, they commanded their people to returne to their possessions, and their Rulers and Princes came out of all quarters to commende themselues and their states to Cæsar. The peace being thus concluded; foure daies after that Cæsar came into Britanie, the eighteen shippes which were appointed for the horsemen, put out to sea with a gentle winde, and approaching so neere the coast of Britanie, that they were within viewe of the Romaine campe: there arose such a sodaine tempest, that none of them were able to holde their course, but some of them returned to the porte from whence they came; othersome were cast vpon the lower part of the Ilande, which lieth to the West warde; and there casting anchor tooke in such seas, that they were forced to commit themselues againe to the sea, and direct their course to the coast of Gallia. The same night it happened, that the moone being in the full, the tides were verie high in those seas; whereof the Romaines being altogether ignorant, both the Gallies which were drawne vp vpon the shore were filde with the tide, and the shippes of burthen that laie at anchor, were shaken with the tempest, neither was there anie helpe to be giuen vnto them: so that many of them were rent, and split in peeces; and the rest lost both their anchors, Gables and other tackling: and by that meanes became altogether vnseruiceable. Whereat the whole armie was exceedinglie troubled; for there was no other shipping to recarrie them backe againe: Neither had they anie necessaries to newe furnish the olde: and euerie man knew that they must needes winter in Gallia; for as much as there was no prouision of corn in those places where they were. Which thing beeing knowne to the Princes of Britanie, that were assembled to confer of such thinges as Cæsar had commanded them to performe, when they vnderstood that the Romaines wanted both their horsemen, shipping, and prouision of corne, and coniecturing of the paucitie of their forces, by the small circuit of their camp; and that which was more important then all the rest, that Cæsar had transported his soldiours without such necessarie cariages, as they vsed to take with them: they thought it their best course to rebell, and to keepe the Romaines from corne and conuoies of prouision, and so prolong the matter, vntil winter came on. For they thought that if these were once ouerthrown

Cæsar.

and cut off from returning into Gallia, neuer any man would afterward aduenture to bring an army into Britanie: therefore they conſpired againe the ſecond time, and conuaied themſelues by ſtealth out of the campe, and got their men priuily out of the fields, to make head in ſome conuenient place againſt the Romans.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

COncerning the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, and the cauſes thereof; it hath already beene handled in the ſecond booke, to which I will adde this much, as may ſerue to ſhew, how the Romaines became ſo ignorant of the ſpring tides, which happen in the full and new of the moone. It is obſerued by experience, that the motion of this waterie element is altogither directed by the courſe of the moon, wherin ſhe exerciſeth her regency, according as ſhee findeth the matter qualified for her influence. And for aſmuch as all mediterrean ſeas, and ſuch guſfes as are incloſed in ſinues and boſomes of the earth, are both abridged of the liberty of their courſe, and through the ſmallnes of their quantity, are not ſo capable of celeſtiall power; as the Ocean it ſelfe: it conſequently followeth, that the Tuskane ſeas, wherwith the Romains were chiefly acquainted, were not ſo anſwerable in effect to the operation of the moon, as the maine ſea, whoſe bounds are ranged in a more ſpacious circuit; and through the plenteous abundance of his parts, better anſwereth the vertue of the moone. The Ocean therfore being thus obedient to the courſe of the celeſtial bodies, taking hir courſe of flowing from the North, falleth with ſuch a currant between the Orcades, and the maine of Noruegia; that ſhe filleth our channel between England and France, with great ſwelling tides; and maketh her motion more eminent in theſe quarters, then in any other partes of the world. And hence it happeneth, that our riuer of Thames, lying with her mouth ſo ready to receiue the tyde as it commeth, and hauing withall a plaine leuelled belly, and a very ſmal freſh currant, taketh the tide as far into the land, as any other known riuer of Europe. And for this cauſe the Romans were ignorant of the ſpring tides in the ful of the moone.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SVch as either by their own experience, or otherwiſe by obſeruation of that which hiſtory recordeth, are acquainted with the gouernment of common weales, are not ignorant with what difficulty a nation, that either hath long liued in liberty, or bin gouerned by cõmanders of their own choſing, is made ſubiect to the yoake of bondage, or reduced vnder the obediẽce of a ſtranger. For as we are apt by a naturall inclination to ciuill ſocietie; ſo by the ſame nature wee deſire a free diſpoſition of our ſelues and poſſeſsions, as the cheefeſt end of the ſaide ſociety: And therefore in the gouernment of a ſubdued ſtate, what loſſe or diſaduantage happeneth to the victor, or how indirectlie ſoeuer

ſoeuer it concerneth the bond of their thraldome, the captiue people behold it as a part of their aduerſaries ouerthrow; and conceiue thereupon ſuch ſpirites, as anſwere the greatnes of their hope, and ſort with the ſtrength of their will, which alwaies maketh that ſeeme eaſie to be effected which it deſireth. And this was the reaſon, that the Britaines altered their reſolution of peace, vpon the loſſe which the Romans had receiued in their ſhipping.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar new trimmeth his late ſhaken nauie: the Britaines ſet vpon the Romans as they haruеſted; but were put off by Cæſar.

CAESAR although he had not diſcouered their determination, yet coniecturing of the euent by the loſſe of his ſhipping, and by their delay of giuing vppe hoſtages; hee prouided againſt all chances: for he brought corne daily out of the fields into his campe; and tooke the huls of ſuch ſhips as were moſt diſmembred, and with the tymber and braſſe thereof hee mended the reſt that were beaten with the tempeſt, cauſing other neceſſaries to bee brought out of Gallia. Which being handeled with the great induſtrie and trauell of the ſouldiers, he loſt onely twelue ſhippes, and made the other able to abide the ſea.

While theſe thinges were in action, the ſeuenth legion being ſent out by courſe, to fetch in corne, and little ſuſpecting any motion of warre; as part of the ſouldiers continued in the field, and the reſt went and came betweene them and the campe; the ſtation that watched before the gate of the campe, gaue aduertiſement to Cæſar, that the ſame way which the legion went, there appeared a greater duſt then was vſually ſeene. Cæſar ſuſpecting that which in deede was true, that the Britaines were entered into ſome new reſolution, he tooke thoſe two cohorts which were in ſtation before the port, commanding other two to take their place, and the reſt to arme themſelues, and preſently to follow him, and went that waie, where the duſt was deſcried. And when he had marched ſome diſtance from the campe, he ſaw his men ouercharged with the enemie, and ſcarce able to ſuſtaine the aſſault, the legion thronged together on a heape, and weapons caſt from all partes amongſt them. For when they had haruеſted all other quarters, there remained one piece of corne, whither the enemie ſuſpected the Romans would at laſt come; and in the night time conuaied themſelues ſecretly into the woods, where they continued, vntill the Romans were come into the field, and as they ſaw them diſarmed, diſperſed and occupied in reaping; they ſuddenly ſet vpon them, and ſlaying ſome few of them, rowted the reſt and incompaſſed them about with their horſemen, and chariots. Their manner of fight with chariots, was firſt to ride vp and downe and caſt their weapons, as they ſaw aduantage; and with the terrour of their horſes & ratteling of their wheeles, to diſorder the companies; and when

they had wound themſelues betweene anie troupes of horſe, they forſooke their chariots and fought on foot: in the meane time the guiders of their chariots would driue a little aſide, and ſo place themſelues, that if their maiſters needed anie helpe, they might haue an eaſie paſſage vnto them. And thus they performed in all their fightes, both the nimble motion of horſemen, and the firme ſtabilitie of footmen; and were ſo readie with daily practiſe, that they could ſtaie in the declinitie of a ſteepe hill, and turne ſhort or moderate their going, as it ſeemed beſt vnto them; and runne along the beame of the coach and reſt vpon the yoake, or harneſſe of their horſes, and returne as ſpeedely againe at their pleaſure. The Romans being thus troubled, Cæſar came to reſcue them in verie good time: for at his comming, the enemie ſtood ſtill; and the ſouldiers gathered their ſpirits vnto them, and began to renew their courage that was almoſt ſpent. Cæſar, thinking it an vnfit time, either to prouoke the enemy, or to giue him battell; he continued a while in the ſame place: And then returned with the legions into the campe. While theſe thinges were a doing, and the Romaines thus buſied; the Britaines that were in the field, conuaied themſelues all awaie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

BY this wee plainely finde, that there were vſually two cohortes (which according to the rate of 120 in a maniple, amounted to the number of 720 men) which kept the daie watch before the gate of the campe, and were alwaies in readineſſe vpon any ſeruice. The commoditie whereof appeareth by this accident, for conſidering that the aduertiſement required haſte and ſpeedie recourſe, it greatly furthered their reſcue to haue ſo manie men readie to march forward at the firſt motion, that they might giue what helpe they could, vntill the reſt of their fellowes came in.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THeir manner of fight with chariots, is very particularly deſcribed by Cæſar, and needeth not to bee ſtood vpon any longer: onely I obſerue, that neither in Gallia, nor any other country of Europe, the vſe of chariots is neuer mentioned: but they haue euer beene attributed, as a peculiar fight, vnto the eaſterne countries, as ſutable to the plaine and leuell ſituation of the place, whereof we finde often mention in the ſcripture: which may ſerue for an argument to Geffrey of Monmouth, to proue the Britaines deſcent from Troie in Aſia, where we likewiſe finde mention of ſuch chariots.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly we may obſerue, the diſcreete or moderate temper of his valour, and the meanes he vſed to make his ſouldiers confident in his directions: for notwithſtanding the Britaines had exceedingly vrged him, to make hazard of a preſent reuenge; yet finding it an vnfit time, (inaſmuch as his men had beene ſomewhat troubled, with the furie of the Britaines) hee thought it beſt to expect ſome other oportunitie. And againe, to auoid the inconueniences of a fearefull retrait, he continued a while in the ſame place, to imbolden his men with the ſight of the enemie. And this manner of proceeding wrought a full perſwaſion in his ſouldiers, that his actions were directed with knowledge, and with a carefull reſpect of their ſafetie; which gaue his mē reſolution when they were caried vpon ſeruice, being aſſured that what ſeruice ſoeuer they were imploied vpon, was moſt diligently to bee performed, as a matter much importing the fortunate iſſue of that warre: whereas if they had perceiued that headſtrong furie, which carrieth men on with a deſire of victorie, and neuer looketh into the meanes whereby it may be obtained, had directed the courſe of their proceedinges, they might with reaſon haue drawne backe from ſuch imploiments, and valewed their ſafetie aboue the iſſue of ſuch an enterpriſe. And hence ariſeth that confident opinion, which the ſoldiers haue of a good Generall; which is a matter of great importance in the courſe of a warre.

CHAP. XIII.

The Britaines make head, with their forces; and *are beaten by Cæſar: his returne in-* to Gallia.

AFTER this; for manie daies together, there followed ſuch tempeſts and foule weather, that both the Romans were conſtrained to keepe their campe, and the Britaines were kept from attempting any thing againſt them: But in the meane time, they ſent meſſengers into all quarters, publiſhing the ſmall number of the Roman forces, and amplifying the greatneſſe of the bootie, and the eaſie means offered vnto them of perpetuall libertie, if they could take the Roman campe. Shortly vpon this, hauing gathered a great companie, both of horſe and foote; they came to the place where the Romans were incamped. Cæſar (although he foreſaw the euent by that which before had happened, that if the enemie were beaten backe, he would auoide the danger by flight) yet hauing ſome 30 horſe, which Comius of Arras had carried with him, at his comming *Cæſar.*

comming into Britanie; he imbattailed his legions before his campe; and ſo gaue them battell. The enemie not being able to beare the aſſault of the Roman ſouldiers, turned their backes and fled: the Romans followed them, as farre as they could by running on foote; and after a great ſlaughter, with the burning of their townes farre and neare, they returned to their campe. The ſame daie the Britaines ſent meſſengers to Cæſar, to intreat for peace; whom he commanded to double their number of hoſtages, which he commanded to be carried into Gallia. And foraſmuch as the Aequinoctium was at hand; he thought it not ſafe to put himſelfe to the winter ſea, with ſuch weake ſhipping: and therefore hauing got a conuenient time, he hoiſed ſaile a little after midnight, and brought all his ſhips ſafe vnto the continent. Two of theſe ſhips of burthen, not being able to reach the ſame hauen, put in ſomewhat lower into the land: the ſoldiers that were in them being about 300, being ſet on ſhore, and marching towardes their campe: the Morini, with whom Cæſar at his going into Britany had made peace, in hope of a bootie, firſt with a few of their men ſtood about them, commanding them vpon paine of death to laie downe their weapons; and as the Romans, by caſting themſelues into an Orbe, began to make defence, at the noiſe and clamour amongſt them, there were ſuddenly gathered together about 6000 of the enemy. Which thing being knowen, Cæſar ſent out all the horſemen to relieue them: in the meane time the Romans ſuſtained the force of the enemie, and fought valiantly the ſpace of foure houres; and receiuing themſelues ſome few woundes, they ſlew many of the enemie. After the Roman horſemen came in ſight, the enemie caſt awaie their weapons and fled, and a great number of them fell by the horſemen.

OBSERVATIONS.

OF al the figures which the *Tactici* haue choſen to make vſe of in militarie affaires; the circle hath euer beene taken for the fitteſt, to be applied in the defenſiue part, as incloſing with an equall circuit on all partes whatſoeuer is contained within the circumference of that Area: and therefore Geometrie tearmeth a circumference a ſimple line, for as much as if you alter the ſite of the parts, and tranſport one arch into the place of another; the figure notwithſtanding will remaine the ſame, becauſe of the equall bending of the line, throughout the whole circumference. Which propertie, as it proueth an vniformitie of ſtrength in the whole circuit, ſo that it cannot be ſaid that this is the beginning, or this is the end; this is front, or this is flanke. So doth that, which Euclide doth demonſtrate in the 3 of his Elements, concerning the ſmall affinitie betweene a right line, and a circle (which being drawen to touch the circumference, doth touch it but in a point only) ſhew the greatnes of this ſtrength in regard of any other line, by which it may be broken. Which, howſoeuer they ſeeme, as ſpeculatiue qualities, conceiued rather by intellectuall diſcourſe, then manifeſted to ſenſible apprehenſion; yet foraſmuch as experience hath proued the ſtrength of this figure, in a defenſiue part, aboue any other maner of imbattailing; let vs not neglect the knowledge of theſe naturall properties, which diſcouer the cauſes of this effect: neither let vs neglect this

this part of militarie knowledge, being ſo ſtrong a meanes to maintaine valour, and the ſinew of all our abilitie: for order correſpondent to circumſtances, is the whole ſtrength and power of an Armie. Neither ought there any action in a well ordered diſcipline, to be irregular, or voide of order: and therefore the Romans did neither eate nor ſleepe, without the direction of the Conſull, or chiefe commander; otherwiſe their valour might rather haue beene tearmed furie then vertue: but when their courage was ranged with order, and diſpoſed according to the occurrences of the time; it neuer failed as long as the ſaid order continued perfect.

It appeareth therfore, how important it is for a commander to looke into the diuerſitie of orders for imbattailing, and to waigh the nature thereof; that hee may with knowledge apply them to the quality of any occaſion. The Romans tearmed this figure *Orbis*, which ſignifieth a round body both with a concaue, and a conuex ſurface: in reſemblance whereof, I vnderſtand this Orbe of men imbattailed to be ſo named; which might peraduenture conſiſt of fiue or more or fewer rankes, incloſing one another after the nature of ſo manie circles, deſcribed about one Center: ſo that either the middeſt thereof remained voide, or otherwiſe contained ſuch cariages, and impediments, as they had with them in their march. This forme of imbattailing was neuer vſed, but in great extremitie: for as it was the ſafeſt of all other; ſo it gaue ſuſpition to the ſouldiers of exceeding danger, which abated much of their heat in battell, as wil herafter appeare by the teſtimonie of Cæſar himſelfe, in the fift Commentarie, vpon the occaſion which happened vnto Sabinus and Cotta.

CHAP. XIIII.

THE next daie, Cæſar ſent Titus Labienus a Legate, with thoſe legions which he had brought out of Britanie, againſt the reuolted Morini; who hauing no place of refuge becauſe their bogs & fens were dried vp, where they had ſheltered themſelues the yeare before; they all fell vnder the power of his mercie. Q. Titurius, and A. Cotta the Legats, who had led the legions againſt the Menapij, after they had waſted their fieldes, cut vp their corne, burned their houſes, for the Menapij were all hid in thicke woods; they returned to Cæſar: theſe thinges being thus ended, Cæſar placed the wintering campes of all his legions amongſt the Belgæ; to which place two only of all the cities in Britanie, ſent hoſtages vnto him: the reſt neglecting it. Theſe wars being thus ended: vpon the relation of Cæſars letters, the ſenate decreed a ſupplication for the ſpace of 20 daies. Cæſar.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN the ende of the ſecond Commentarie, we reade of a ſupplication granted by the ſenate, for 15 daies; which was neuer granted to anie man before that time, ſince the firſt building of the citie: but foraſmuch as in this fourth yeare of the warres in Gallia, it was augmented from 15

vnto 20 daies, I thought it fit to referre the handling thereof, vnto this place. We are therfore to vnderſtand, that whenſoeuer a Roman Generall had carried himſelfe well in the warres, by gaining a victorie, or enlarging the boundes of their Empire; that then the ſenate did decree a ſupplication to the Gods, in the name of that captaine. And this dignitie was much ſought after, not onely becauſe it was a matter of great honour, that in their names the Temples of their Gods ſhould be opened, and their victories acknowledged, with the concourſe and gratulation of the Roman people: but alſo becauſe a ſupplication was commonly the forerunner of a triumph, which was the greateſt honour in the Roman gouernment: And therfore Cato nameth it the prerogatiue of a triumph. And Liuie in his 26 booke ſaith, that it was long diſputed on in the ſenate, how they could denie one that was there preſent to triumph, whoſe abſence they had honoured, with ſupplication, and thankeſgiuing to the Gods, for things happily effected? The maner of the Ceremonie was; that after the Magiſtrate had publikely proclaimed it with this forme or ſtile, *quod bene & faciliter rempublicam adminiſtraſſet*; the Roman people cloathed in white garmentes and crowned with garlands, went to all the temples of the Gods, and there offered ſacrifices, to gratulate the victorie in the name of the Generall. In which time they were forbidden all other buſineſſes, but that which pertained to this ſolemnity. It ſeemeth that this time of ſupplication, was at firſt included within one or two daies at the moſt, as appeareth by Liuie in his third booke, where he ſaith, that the victorie gained by two ſeuerall battels, was ſpitefully ſhut vp by the ſenat in one daies ſupplication: the people of their owne accord keeping the next daie holie and celebrating it with greater deuotion then the former.

Li. 15. fami. Cicero.

Vpon the victorie which Camillus had againſt the Veij, there were granted foure daies of ſupplication; to which there was afterward a daie added, which was the vſuall time of ſupplication vnto the time that Pompei ended the warre, which they called Mithridaticum; when the vſuall time of fiue daies was doubled, and made 10, and in the ſecond of theſe Commentaries, made 15, and now brought to 20 daies. Which ſetteth foorth the incitements and rewardes of wel doing, which the Romans propounded both at home and abroad, to ſuch as indeuoured to enlarge their Empire, or manage a charge, to the benefit of their common-wealths. And thus endeth the fourth Commentarie.

THE

THE FIFT COMMENTARIE OF THE WAR, WHICH CÆSAR MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

CÆsar causeth a great nauie to be built in Gallia: he caried 5 legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the riuer Thames: at his returne into Gallia, most of the Galles reuolted; and first the Eburones vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, set vpon the campe of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumuented by subtilty; and then besieged the campe of Cicero: but were put by, and their Armie ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great store of shipping made by the souldiers, and commandeth them to be brought to the hauen Iccius.

LVCIVS Domitius, and Appius Claudius, being Consuls; Cæsar at his going into Italie, gaue order to the Legats to build as manie ships that winter, as possibly they could; commanding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are vsed in the mediterranean sea, for the speedier lading & vnlading of thē, and because the tides in these seas were verie great: and forasmuch as he was to transport great store of horse, he commanded them to be made flatter in the bottome then such as were vsuall in other places, and all of them to be made for the vse of Oares, to which purpose their low building serued verie conueniently. Other necessaries and furniture for rigging, he gaue order to haue it brought out of Spaine. Cæsar after the assembly of the states in Lombardie, and that he set free Illiricum from the incursions of the Piruſtæ, he returned into Gallia; where he found 600 ships built, by the extraordinarie industrie of the souldiers, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessarie matter, with 28 Gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanched: hauing commended the soldiers and ouerseers of the worke, he commanded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britanie, was not aboue thirtie mile ouer. Cæsar.

THE OBSERVATION.

THis Iccius Portus Floide thinketh to be Caleis; others take it to bee Saint Omer, partly in regard of the ſituation of the place, which being in it ſelfe verie lowe, hath notwithſtanding very high bankes, which incompaſſe the towne about; and in times paſt was a verie large hauen. To this maie be added the diſtance from this towne, to the next continent of the Iland of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320 ſtadia, which agreeth to the French computation of 13 leages. Cæſar maketh it thirtie mile: this is the hauen, which Pliny calleth *Britannicum portum Morinorum.*

CHAP. II.

Cæſar ſaileth into Britanie: landeth his forces, *and ſeeketh the enemie.*

Cæſar.

CAESAR hauing prepared all things in readineſſe, he left Labienus in the continent with three legions, and 2000 horſe, both to keepe the hauen and make prouiſion of corne; and alſo to obſerue the motion of the Galles: and with fiue legions and the like number of horſe, as he left in the continent, about ſun-ſetting he put out to ſea, with a ſoft ſouth winde, which continued vntill midnight; and then ceaſing, he was carried with the tide vntill the morning, when he perceiued that the Iland laie on his left hand: and againe, as the tide changed, hee laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where he had found good landing the yeare before: wherein the ſouldiers deſerued great commendation; for by ſtrength and force of Oares, they made their great ſhips of burthen to keepe waie with the Galleies. About high noone, they arriued in Britanie, with all their ſhips: neither was there any enemie ſeene in that place; but as afterward Cæſar vnderſtood by the captiues, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrified with the infinite number of ſhipping, which they diſcouered from the ſhore (for there were in all aboue 800) they forſooke the ſhore, and hid themſelues in the vpland countrie. Cæſar hauing landed his men, and choſen a conuenient place to incampe, aſſoone as he vnderſtood by the captiues where the enemy laie, in the third watch of the night, he marched towards them; leauing ten cohortes and 300 horſe, for a garizon to his ſhipping: which he the leſſe feared, becauſe it lay at anchor in a ſoft and open ſhore: he marched that night about 12 mile before he founde the enemie: The Britaines ſending out their horſe, and chariots to a riuer that ran betweene them and the Romans, and hauing the aduantage of the vpper ground; began to hinder the Romans, and to giue them battell, but being beaten backe with our horſemen, they conuaied themſelues into a wood. The place was ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, and made for a defence (as it ſeemeth) in their ciuill wars: for all the entrances were

ſhut

ſhut vp with great trees, laid ouerthwart the paſſages. And the Britaines ſhewed themſelues out of the wood but here and there, not ſuffering the Romans to enter the fortification: but the ſoldiors of the ſeauenth legion, with a Teſtudo which they made, and a mount which they raiſed, tooke the place and droue them all out of the woods, without any loſſe at all; ſauing ſome fewe wounds which they receiued. But Cæſar forbad his men to follow after them, with any long purſuit, becauſe hee was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that daie being ſpent, he would imploy the reſt thereof in the fortification of his campe.

OBSERVATIONS.

CÆſar, hauing taken what aſſurance of peace he could with the Galles, both by carrying the chiefeſt of their Princes with him, and by leauing three legions in the continent, to keepe the vulgar people in obedience: he imbarked al his men at one place, that they might be all partakers of the ſame caſualties, and take the benefit of the ſame aduentures, which being neglected the yeare before, drew him into many inconueniences, for want of horſe, which being imbarked at an other hauen met with other chãces, and ſaw other fortunes; and neuer came to him into Britanie: The place of landing in this ſecond voiage, was the ſame where he landed the yeere before: and by the circumſtances of this hiſtory, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is ſaid that Cæſar landed. In the firſt yeere we finde, that he neuer remoued his campe from the ſea ſhore, where he firſt ſeated himſelfe; although his men went out to bring in corne, as far as they might wel returne againe at night: but now hee entered further into the Iland, and within twelue miles march came vnto a riuer, which muſt needs be that of Canturbury, which falleth into the ſea at Sandwich.

In that he ſaith that the garizon of his ſhipping conſiſted of ten cohortes, which I haue ſaid to be a legion: we muſt vnderſtande, that Cæſar left not an entire legion in that garizon; but he tooke ten cohorts out of his whole forces, peraduenture two out of euerie legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his ſhipping.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar returneth to his nauies to take order for *ſuch loſſes as had happened by tempeſt* the night before.

THE next daie earlie in the morning, hee deuided his forces into 3. companies, and ſent them out to purſue the enemy: but before they had marched any farre diſtance, and came to haue the rereward of the enemy in vewe; there came newes from Q. Atrius, with whom he left the ten Cæſar.

cohorts, and the charge of the ſhipping, that the night before there was ſuch a tempeſt at ſea, that the whole nauy was either ſore beaten or caſt on ſhore; and that neither anchor nor Gable coulde holde them, nor yet the Sailers indure the force of the weather; and that there was great loſſe in the ſhipping, by running againſt one another, in the violence of the tempeſt. Vpon theſe newes Cæſar cauſed the legions to be called backe againe, and to ceaſe for that time, from following the enemy any further; he himſelfe returned to the nauy, where he found 40. ſhips loſt, and the reſt not to be repaired but with great induſtry and paines: firſt therefore he choſe ſhipwrites and Carpenters out of the legions, and cauſed others to bee ſent for out of Gallia; and writ to Labienus to make ready what ſhipping he could. And although it ſeemed a matter of great difficulty and much labour; yet he thought it beſt, to hale vp all the ſhips on ſhore, and to incloſe them within the fortification of his campe: in this buſineſſe he ſpent ten daies, without intermiſſion either of night or day, vntill hee had drawn vp the ſhips, and ſtrongly fortified the camp; leauing the ſame garriſon which was there before to defend it.

THE OBSERVATION.

WHerein we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible induſtry (as Tully tearmeth it) which hee vſed to preuent fortune of her ſtroke in his buſines, and comprehende caſualties and future contingents, within the compas of order and the bounds of his owne power, being able in tenne daies ſpace, to ſet almoſt eight hundred ſhips from the hazarde of winde and weather; and to make his campe the Roade for his nauie, that ſo he might reſt ſecure of a meanes to returne at his pleaſure.

CHAP. IIII.

The Britains make Caſsiuellaunus generall in this warre: the Iland, and the maners of the people deſcribed.

Cæſar.

CAESAR returning to the place from whence hee came, founde far greater forces of the Britans there aſſembled, then he left whē he went to the nauie. And that by publike conſent of the Britaines, the whole gouernment of that war was giuen to Caſsiuellaunus, whoſe kingdom lay deuided from the maritimate ſtates, with the riuer Thames, beginning at the ſea, & extending it ſelfe 80. mile into the Iland. This Caſsiuellaunus, made continuall war with his neighbor ſtates: but vpon the comming of the Romans, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and caſt the whole gouernment vpon his ſholders, as the fitteſt to direct that war.

The

The inner part of Britanie is inhabited, by ſuch as memory recordeth to be borne in the Iland; and the maritimate coaſt by ſuch as came out of Belgia, either to make incurſions or inuaſions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the poſſeſſions they had gained, and were called by the name of the cities from whence they came: the countrey is very populous, and well inhabited with houſes, much like vnto them in Gallia. They haue great ſtore of cattell, and vſe braſſe for money, or yron ringes waighed at a certaine rate. In the mediterranean partes there is found great quantity of Tyn, and in the maritimate parts yron: their braſſe was brought in by other nations. They haue all ſorts of trees that they haue in Gallia, excepting the figge and the Beech. Their religion will not ſuffer them to eate, either Haire, Hen, or Gooſe; notwithſtandig they haue of all ſorts, as well for nouelty as variety. The country is more temperate, and not ſo colde as Gallia. The Ilande lieth triangle wiſe, whereof one ſide confronteth Gallia, of which ſide that angle, wherein Kent is pointed to the Eaſt, and the other angle to the South: this ſide containeth about 500. mile. An other ſide lieth toward Spaine and the Weſt, that waie where Ireland lieth, being an Ilande halfe as big as England; and as farre diſtant from it as Gallia: in the midway betweene England & Ireland, lieth an Iland called Mona, beſides many other ſmaller Ilands, of which ſome write that in winter time for 30. daies together, they haue continuall night, whereof we learned nothing by inquirie, only we found by certaine meaſures of water, that the nights in England were ſhorter then in the Continent. The length of this ſide, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth 700. mile. The thirde ſide lieth to the North and the open ſea, ſauing that this angle doth ſomwhat point towards Germanie; this ſide is thought to contain 800. miles: And ſo the whole Iland containeth in circuit 2000. miles. Of al the inhabitants, they of Kent are moſt curteous and ciuill; al their countrey bordering vpon the ſea, and little differing from the faſhion of Gallia. Moſt of the inlande people ſow no corne, but liue with milke and fleſh, clothed with skins; and hauing their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may ſeeme more terrible in fight: they haue the haire of their head long, hauing al other parts of their body ſhauen, ſauing their vpper lip. Their wiues are common to ten or twelue, eſpecially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put vnto them, vnto whom the mother was firſt giuen in mariage.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN the deſcriptions of the ancient Britains, we may firſt obſerue their pedegree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we muſt vnderſtand that in thoſe ages, the Ntiaons of the worlde thought it no ſmall honor, to deriue their deſcent from a certaine beginning, and to make either ſome of their Gods, or ſome man of a famous memorie, the father of that progenie, and founder of their ſtate; that ſo they might promiſe a fortunate continuance to their gouernment, being firſt laide and eſtabliſhed by ſo powerfull a meanes. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and caſt all their glory vpon the fertility of their ſoile, being ſo ſtrong and fruitful, that it yeelded of it ſelfe ſuch a people, as they were: and ſo we read howe the Athenians, for as much as they were ignoraunt from whence they came, were

ware an Oaken leafe,in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And hereupon alſo grew the controuerſie, betweene the Egyptians and the Scythians,concerning antiquity: wherein the Egyptians ſeemed to haue great aduantage,becauſe ofthe fertility and heat of their countrey;whereas the Scythians inhabited a colde climate, vnfruitfull and an enemy to generation. Of this ſort were the Britains,that inhabited the mediterranean part of the Ilande: who not knowing from whence they came, nor who firſt brought them thither, ſatisfied themſelues with that common receiued opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The ſea coaſt was poſſeſt by ſuch as came out of the continent and retained the names of the cities from whence they came,as a memoriall of their progenitors.

The forme of the Iland is very well deſcribed, and meaſured out, according to the ſcale of our moderne Geographers. For concerning the difference of longitude between the Eaſterne angle of Kent,and the furtheſt point of Cornewal, they make it eight degrees; which in a maner iumpeth with Cæſars dimenſuration: the other ſides are ſomewhat longer; and therefore Tacitus in the life of Agricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that ſide which bordereth vpon France to reſemble the Edge; and the other two ſides to incline by little and little, one towardes an other; and ſo make the Ilande narrower at the top, according to the forme of that inſtrument. Hee ſetteth downe the whole compaſſe of the Iland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers, who by the quantity of the circuit, did vſually iudge of the content, not conſidering that the *Area* of euery figure dependeth as well of the quantity of the angle, as the length of the ſide. Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the colde winters in France,we muſt vnderſtand that Britanie hath euer beene found of a more temperate conſtitution, in regarde of ſharpe and colde winters, then any other countrey lying vnder the ſame parallell: whether the cauſe thereof may bee imputed to the continuall motion of the ſea about the Iland, which begetteth heat, as ſome haue imagined; or to the ſite thereof, in regard of other Continents from whence the winde alwaies riſeth,and carieth with it the nature of the countrey by which it paſſeth; and ſo the Ilande hauing no other continent lying North to it, from whence the winde may riſe,but all for the moſt part vpon the South, hath no ſuch colde windes to diſtemper it, as other parts of Germany,which are vnder the ſame parallel; but the Southern wind,which is ſo frequent in Britany, tẽpereth the ayre,with a mild diſpoſition, and ſo keepeth it warme; or whether it be ſome other vnknowne cauſe,our Philoſophers reſt vnſatisfied. But as touching Gallia, it may bee ſaide, that foraſmuch as it beareth more to the South, then this Iland doth, the aire thereof by reaſon of the continuall heate, is of a farre purer diſpoſition; and ſo pierceth more then this groſſer aire of Britany,& carieth the cold further into the pores; and ſo ſeemeth ſharper and of a far colder diſpoſition.

This Iland,which Cæſar nameth *Mona*, is known at this time by the name of *Man*, and lieth betweene Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemie calleth it *Monæda*, Tacitus calleth Angleſey by the name of *Mona*,peraduenture from the nomination of the Britains,who calleth it *Tyr mon*,the land of Mon.

Concer-

Concerning thoſe places, where the night continueth in the midſt of winter for 30. daies together, they muſt be ſited 6. degrees beyond the circle Articke, and haue a day in ſummer of like continuance, according to the rules of Aſtronomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie ſhorter then in the continent, we muſt vnderſtand it to be only in ſummer: for the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnall circles which it cutteth; and the neerer it commeth to a right horizon, the neerer it commeth to an equality of daie and night: and hence it happeneth, that in ſummer time, the nights in France are longer then here in England; and in winter ſhorter. The like wee muſt vnderſtand of al Southerne and Northerne countries.

Tō conclude, I may not omit the ciuility of the Kentiſh men, and their curteous diſpoſition, aboue the reſt of the Britains, which muſt be imputed to that ordinarie courſe which brought ciuility vnto all other nations: of whom ſuch as were firſt ſeated in their poſſeſſions, and entertained ſocietie, were the firſt that brought in ciuill conuerſation, and by little and little were purified, and ſō attained to the perfection of ciuill gouernment. So we find that firſt Aſſirians and Babilonians (as neereſt to the mountaines of Armenia where the Arke reſted, and people firſt inhabited) reduced their ſtates into common weales of monarchies of exquiſite gouernment, floriſhing with al maner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other countries laie either waſte, or ouerwhelmed with Barbariſme. From thence it flowed into Egypt; out of Egypt into Greece; out of Greece into Italie; out of Italie into Gallia; and from thence into England: where our Kentiſhmen firſt entertained it, as bordering vpon France; and frequented with marchants of thoſe countries.

CHAP. V.

Diuers skirmiſhes betweene the Romans *and the Britaines.*

THE Caualrie of the enemy and their chariots, gaue a ſharpe conflict to the Romaine horſemen, in their march: but ſo, that the Romaines got the better euery way, driuing them with great ſlaughter to the woods and hils, and looſing alſo ſome of their owne men, beeing too venturous in the purſuit. The Britaines after ſome intermiſsion of time, when the Romans litle thought of them, & were buſied in fortifying their cāpe, came ſodainly out of the woods and charged vpon thoſe that kept ſtation before the campe. Caſar ſent out two the chiefeſt cohorts of two legions, to ſecond their fellowes: theſe two cohortes ſtanding with a ſmall alley betweene them, the other that were firſt charged, being terrified with that ſtrange kinde of fight, boldelie brake through the thickeſt of the enemy, and ſo retired in ſafetie to their fellowes. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune of the ſoldiours, was ſlaine; the Britaines were repelled with moe cohortes, which Caſar ſent to ſecond the former. Caſar.

And for aſmuch as the fight happened in the vewe of all the campe, it was plainly perceiued, that the legionarie ſoldiors, being neither able for the waight of their armor, to follow the enemy as he retired, nor yet daring to go far from his enſigne; was not a fit aduerſarie to conteſt this kind of enemy: and that the horſemen likewiſe fought with no leſſe danger, inaſmuch as the enemy would retire backe of purpoſe, and when they had drawne them a little from the legions, they woulde then light from their chariots and incounter thē, with that aduantage, which is betweene a foote man and a horſeman. Furthermore, they neuer fought thicke and cloſe together, but thin and in great diſtances, hauing ſtations of men to ſuccour one another, to receiue the wearie, and to ſend out freſh ſupplies.

OBSERVATIONS.

VPpon this occaſion of their heauie armour, I will deſcribe a legionarie ſoldior in his compleat furniture, that we may better iudge of their maner of warfare, and vnderſtand wherein their greateſt ſtrength conſiſted. And firſt we are to learne, that their legionarie ſoldiors were called *Milites grauis armaturæ*, ſoldiors wearing heauie armour, to diſtinguiſh them from the Velites, the Archers, ſlingers, and other light armed men. Their offenſiue armes were, a couple of Piles, or as ſome wil, but one Pile, and a Spaniſh ſword, ſhort and ſtrong, to ſtrike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defenſiue armes were, a helmet, a corſlet, and boots of braſſe, with a large Target; which in ſome ſort was offenſiue, in regarde of that *vmbonem* which ſtucke out in the middeſt thereof. The Pile is deſcribed at large in the firſt booke, and the Target in the ſecond: the ſworde (as Polybius witneſſeth) was ſhort, two edged, verie ſharpe, and of a ſtrong point: and therefore Liuie in his 22. Booke ſaieth, that the Galles vſed verie long ſwordes without pointes; but the Romaines had ſhort ſwordes, readier for vſe; theſe they called Spaniſh ſwordes, becauſe they borrowed that faſhion from the Spaniarde. The olde Romaines were ſo girt with their ſwordes, as appeareth by Polybius, and their monuments in Marble, that from their left ſhoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vſe of theſe times, which as I haue noted before, was in regard of their target, which they caried on their left arme: this ſworde was hung with a belt of leather, beſet with ſtuds as Varro noteth, and theſe were their offenſiue weapons. *Lib. 4.*

Their Helmet was of braſſe, adorned with three Oſtrich feathers of a cubite in length, by which the ſoldiour appeared of a larger ſtature, and more terrible to the enemie, as Polybius ſaieth in his 6. booke. Their breſt plate was either of braſſe, or Iron, ioynted together after the maner of ſcales, or platted with little ringes of yron: their bootes were made of barres of braſſe, from the foote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionarie ſoldiours armed, to ſtand firme rather then to vſe any nimble motion, and to combine themſelues into a bodie of that ſtrength which might not eaſilie recoile, at the oppoſition of anie confrontment; for agilitie ſtandeth indifferent to helpe either a retreit *Pli. lib. 10*

or

or a purſuit, and nimble footed ſoldiors are as readie to flie backe, as to march forward; but a waighty body keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffe: ſo that whenſoeuer they came to firme buckeling, and felt the enemy ſtand ſtiffe before them, ſuch was their practiſe, and exerciſe in continual workes, that they neuer fainted vnder any ſuch taske; but the victorie went alwayes cleere on their ſide. But if the enemy gaue waie to their violence, and came not in but for aduantage, and then as ſpeedilie retired, before the counterbuffe were well diſcharged; then did their nimbleneſſe much helpe their weakeneſſe, and fruſtrate the greateſt parte of the Romaine diſcipline. This is alſo proued in the ouerthrowe of Sabinus and Cotta, where Ambiorix finding the inconuenience of buckeling at handy blowes, commaunded his men to fight a far off; and if they were aſſaulted, to giue backe; and to come on againe as they ſaw occaſion: which ſo wearied out the Romaines, that they all fell vnder the execution of the Galles. Let this ſuffice therefore to ſhew, how vnapt the Romans were to flie vpon any occaſion, when their armour was ſuch, that it kept them from al ſtarting motions, and made thē ſutable to the ſtaied and wel aſſured rules of their diſcipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a ſtanding battaile; and therefore not ſo fit either for a purſuit, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betweene a horſeman and a footeman, it may be thought ſtrange, that a footeman ſhoulde haue ſuch an aduantage againſt a horſeman, beeing ouermatched, at leaſt with a Sextuple proportion both of ſtrength and agilitie: but wee muſt vnderſtande, that as the horſe is much ſwifter in a long cariere; ſo in ſpeedie and nimble turning at hand, wherein the ſubſtance of the combate conſiſteth, the footeman farre exceedeth the horſeman in aduantage, hauing a larger marke to hit by the Horſe, then the other hath. Beſides, the horſeman ingageth both his valour, and his fortune in the good ſpeede of his horſe, his woundes and his death doe conſequentlie pull the rider after, his feare or furie maketh his maiſter either deſperate or ſlowe of performance, and what defect ſoeuer riſeth from the horſe, muſt bee anſwered out of the honour of the rider. And ſurely it ſeemeth reaſonable, that what thing ſoeuer draweth vs into the ſocietie of ſo great a hazard, ſhould as much as is poſſible, be contained in the compaſſe of our owne power. The ſword which we manage with our owne hand, affoordeth greater aſſurance then the harquebuſe, wherein there are many partes belonging to the action, as the pouder, the ſtone, the ſpring, and ſuch like; whereof if the leaſt faile of his part, we likewiſe faile of our fortune: but howe probable ſoeuer this ſeemeth, this is certaine, that in the courſe of the Roman wars, the horſe were euer defeated by the foot, as is manifeſtly proued in the firſt of theſe bookes.

CHAP. VII.

Cæſar giueth the Britains two ſeuerall ouerthrowes.

Cæſar.

THE next daie, the enemie made a ſtand vpon the hils a far off from the campe, and ſhewed themſelues not ſo often; neither were they ſo buſie with our horſemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, when Cæſar ſent out three legions, and al his Caualry to get forrage, vnder the conduction of the Caius Trebonius a legate, they made a ſodaine aſſault vpon the forragers, and fell in cloſe with the Enſignes, and the legions. The Romans charged very fiercely vpon them, and beate them backe; neither did they make an end of following them, vntill the horſemen truſting to the ſuccour of the legions which were behinde them, put them all to flight, with the ſlaughter of a great number of them; neither did they giue them reſpite either to make head, to make a ſtand, or to forſake their chariots. After this ouerthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romans with any great power. Cæſar vnderſtanding their determination, caried his armie to the riuer Thames, and ſo to the confines of Caſſiuellaunus, which riuer was paſſable by foot but in one place only, and that very hardly; at his comming hee found a great power of the enemy to be imbattailed on the other ſide, and the banck fortified with many ſharpe ſtakes, and many other alſo were planted couertly vnder the water. Theſe things being diſcouered to the Romans by the Captiues and fugitiues; Cæſar putting his horſe before, cauſed the legions to followe ſodainlie after, who notwithſtanding they had but their heades cleere aboue the water, went with that violence, that the enemy was not able to endure the charge, but left the bancke and betooke themſelues to flight.

THE OBSERVATION.

THis attempt of Cæſar ſeemeth ſo ſtrange to Brancatio, that hee runneth into as ſtrange concluſions, concerning this matter, as firſt that he that imitateth Cæſar, may doubt of his good fortunes: for his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war; and that a great commander hath nothing common with other leaders: but eſpecially, he crieth out at the baſeneſſe of the Britains, that woulde ſuffer themſelues ſo cowardly to be beaten. But if wee looke into the circumſtances of the action, we ſhal find both Art & good direction therein; for being aſſured by the fugitiues, that the riuer was paſſable in that place, & in that place onlie, he knew that he muſt either aduēture ouer there, or leaue Caſſiuellaunus for an other ſūmer, which was a very ſtrong inducement to vrge him to that enterpriſe. The difficultie

difficultie wherof was much relieued by good direction, which consisted of two pointes, first, by sending ouer the horsemen in the front of the legions, who might better indure the charge of the enemie, then the footmen coulde, that were vppe to the necke in water; and withall, to shelter the footmen from the furie of the enemie. Secondly, he sent them ouer with that speede, that they were on the other side of the water, before the enemie coulde tell what they attempted: for if he had lingered in the seruice, and giuen the enemie leaue to find the aduantage which he had by experience, his men had neuer bin able to haue indured the hazard of so dangerous a seruice. It is hard to coniecture at the place, where this seruice was performed; for since the building of London bridge, manie foordes haue beene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time carried not such a depth as now they doe.

CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of the Brittish warre: Cæsar returneth into Gallia.

Cassiuellaunus hauing no courage to contend anie longer, dismissed his greatest forces, and retaining onely foure thousand chariots, obserued their iourneies, keeping the wood countries, and driuing men and cattell out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans; and as their horsemen straied out either for forrage or bootie, hee sent his chariots out of the woods by vnknowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill: in regard whereof, the horsemen durst neuer aduenture further then the legions, neither was there anie more spoile done in the countrey, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselues. In the meane time, the Trinobantes, being almost the greatest state of all those countries (from whom Mandubratius had fled to Cæsar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was slaine by Cassiuellaunus) sent Ambassadours to Cæsar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppression of Cassiuellaunus, and sent vnto them to take the kingdome. Cæsar hauing receiued from them fortie pledges, and corne for his Armie, sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Trinobantes, being thus kept from the violence of the souldiers, the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Anacalites, Bibrocassi, yeelded themselues to Cæsar. By these he vnderstood, that Cassiuellaunus his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and bogges, and well stored with men and cattell. The Britaines call a towne a thicke wood, inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retrait when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cæsar with his Armie, and found it well fortified both by arte and nature: And as he assaulted it in two seuerall places, the enemie vnable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe waie, and so he tooke it. Where he found great store of cattell, and slew manie of the Britaines.

While theſe thinges were a doing, Caſsiuellaunus ſent meſſengers into Kent, wherin there were foure ſeuerall kinges, Cingetorix, Caruilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, them he commanded with all the power they could make, to ſet vpon the campe where the nauie was kept. Theſe kinges comming to the place, were ouerthrowne by a ſallie which the Romans made out vpon them, manie of them being ſlaine, and Cingetorix taken priſoner. This battell concurring with the former loſſes, and eſpecially moued thereunto with the reuolt of the forenamed cities, Caſsiuellaunus intreated peace of Cæſar by Comius of Arras. Cæſar being determined to winter in the continent, for feare of ſudden commotions in Gallia, and that the ſummer was now farre ſpent, and might eaſilie be lingered out, hee commanded pledges to be brought vnto him, and ſet downe what yearely tribute the Britaines ſhould paie to the Romans: the hoſtages being taken, he caried backe his Armie to the ſea, imbarked his men and arriued ſafe with all his ſhips vpon the coaſt of Gallia.

THE OBSERVATION.

AND thus ended the warre in Britanie, which affoordeth little matter of diſcourſe, being indeede but a ſcambling warre, as wel in regard of the Britaines themſelues, who after they had felt the ſtrength of the Roman legions, would neuer aduenture to buckle with them in any ſtanding battel, as alſo in regard that there were no ſuch townes in Britany as are recorded to haue been in Gallia, which might haue giuen great honour to the warre, if there had been any ſuch to haue been beſieged, and taken in by Cæſar. And although Tacitus ſaith, that Britanie was rather viewed then ſubdued by Cæſar, being deſirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we finde here, that the Trinobantes, which were more then either the skirt, or the heart of Britanie, (for our Hiſtorians doe vnderſtand them to haue inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkeſhire and Lancaſhire) were brought vnder the Roman Empire by Cæſar: who was the firſt that euer laide tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalfe of the people of Rome; or caſt vpon them the heauie name of a ſubdued people.

TO THE VVOORTHIE KNIGHT SIR ROBERT DRVRIE.

SIR, my purpoſe was to haue concluded theſe diſcourſes, with the ende of the Brittiſh warre: reſeruing the latter part of this fift booke, for an entrance vnto ſuch obſeruations, as may be gathered from the ſixt and ſeauenth Commentaries, which I intend to make a ſecond part of this worke: but your deſire to ſee the errours of Sabinus and Cotta diſcouered, and the famous fight of Q. Cicero in his wintering campe, hath brought them forth ſomwhat before their time, annexing that to the firſt part which was meant for the latter. If my labour ſhall be found too weake to deſerue well of militarie deſignes; yet I thinke it verie well imploide in that it pleaſeth you to giue it the reading, and ſo reſt

Readie to doe you ſeruice,

C. EDMVNDS.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar diſpoſeth his legions into their winte-tering campes.

Cæſar. *Either Cambray, Amiens or S. Quintin

*AFTER he had put his ſhips in harbour, and held a councell of the Galles at * Samarobrina; foraſmuch as that yeare by reaſon of the drought there was ſome ſcarcitie of corne in Gallia; he was conſtrained to garizon his Armie, and to diſperſe them into more cities then he had done the years before. And 1 he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be led among the Morini; another to Q. Cicero, to be carried to the Neruij; another to L. Roſcius, to be conducted to the Eſſui; a fourth he commanded to winter amongſt the men of Rheimes, in the marches of the Treuiri vnder T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia, with whom hee ſent Marcus Craſſus his Queſtor, L. Munatius Planus, and C. Trebonius Legates; he ſent one legion, that which he had laſt inrolled, beyond the riuer Po in Italie, with fiue cohortes, vnto the Eburones, the greateſt part of whoſe countrie lieth betweene the Maze and the Rhene; with them he ſent Q. Titurius Sabinus, and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta. By diſtributing his legions in this maner, he thought to remedie the ſcarcitie of corne; and yet the garrizons of all theſe legions, excepting that which Roſcius carried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the ſpace of 100 mile: and vntil his legions were ſettled, and their wintering campes fortified, he determined to abide in Gallia.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

I Haue heard it oftentimes contradicted by ſome, that vnderſtand not the waight of a multitude, when it was ſaid, that an Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthenſome to the common-wealth in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was diſperſed into particular cities and families, before the time of the muſter and inrolement: for (ſay they) in the generall account of the publike weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000 men be maintained with neceſſarie prouiſions in one intire body together, or diſperſed particularly throughout euerie part of the countrie: foraſmuch as euerie man hath but a competent quantitie allotted vnto him, which hee cannot want in what ſort or condition of life ſoeuer he be ranged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnited together, but in regard they amount to ſuch a multitude whereſoeuer. But ſuch as looke into the difference with iudgement, ſhall finde a maruellous inequalitie, both in regarde of the portion of victuals which is ſpent, and the meanes whereby it is prouided: for firſt we muſt vnderſtand,

ſtand, that an armie lying continually in one place, falleth ſo heauie vpon that part, that it quickly conſumeth both the fatte and the fleſh (as they ſay) and leaueth nothing vnſpent, which that part can affoord them; and without further ſupply of prouiſions, would in a ſmall time come to vtter deſtruction. This want then muſt be relieued by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to furniſh the wants of ſo great a multitude: wherin there cannot be obſerued that proportion of moderate taking, to vittaile the Armie with a ſufficient competencie, but the partiall reſpect which the purueiers, and vittailers will haue to their priuat commodity, wil quickly make an inconuenience either in the countrey, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is prouided; according as the errour may beſt aduantage their particular, what diſcipline ſoeuer be eſtabliſhed in that behalfe. Whereas on the contrarie part, when euerie particular man of that multitude ſhal be billeted in a ſeueral family, throughout all parts of the kingdome, the charge will be ſo inſenſible, in regard of the expence of the ſaid families, that the country will neuer feele any inconuenience. And if euerie houſholder that had receiued into his houſe one of the ſaid army, ſhould giue a true account of that which riſeth aboue his ordinary expence; by the addition of one man, it would fall farre ſhort of that treaſure, which is neceſſarily required, to maintaine the ſaide number of men vnited together into one bodie. Neither doth the difference conſiſt in the quantitie of vittailes, which euerie man hath for his portion, whether they be diſperſed or vnited; but in the maner of prouiſion, and the meanes which is vſed to maintaine them: wherein euery maſter or ſteward of a familie, endeuoureth to make his prouiſions at the beſt hand, & ſo to husband it, that it may ſerue for competencie, and not for ſuperfluitie; and by that means, the general plenty of the country is maintained, & the cõmon-wealth floriſheth by well directed moderation. But in the victualing of an army, there is no ſuch reſpect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for there the gaine of the purueier riſeth by experience & ſuperfluous waſting, rather then by thrift and ſauing frugalitie: and ſo the common-wealth is weakned by the il husbanding of that great portion of vittaile, which is allowed for ſo great a multitude. And if they ſhould haue ſuch varietie of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they ate in ſeuerall families, it were vnpoſſible it ſhould continue any time together. And therefore the Romans, notwithſtanding the exactneſſe of their diſcipline, could affoord their armies no other prouiſion but corne, and larde, as well in regard of the commoditie which that kinde of diet affoorded them in the courſe of their warres, as alſo for the good of that countrey, wherein they were reſident. And if it ſo fell out, that the extremitie of the ſeaſon, or any other cauſe, had brought a dearth into the lande, there was no readier waie to helpe that inconuenience, then by diſperſing their Armies into diuers quarters; which Cæſar diſpoſed with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

CONcerning the choice of their ſouldiers and their maner of inrolement, I had rather referre the reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular diſcourſe of that action; which was carried with ſuch grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might beſt ſerue to poſſeſſe their mindes of the waight and conſequence of that buſineſſe: but for as much as the largeneſſe of their Empire, and the neceſſitie of their occaſions would not admit, that the enrolment ſhould ſtill be made at Rome amongſt the citizens, as it appeareth by this legion which was inrolled beyond the riuer Po; it conſequently followeth, that ſuch Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot ſpeake of that which the olde Romans did in that part of their diſcipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæſars time. But he that deſireth to ſee the maner of their choiſe, with ſuch complements as might adde both a reuerent reſpect, and a Maieſtie to the worke; let him reade Polybius of that argument.

CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to ſurpriſe the campe of *Sabinus and Cotta*; *and failing, practiſeth* to take them by *guile*.

Cæſar. *FIFTEENE daies after the legions were ſettled in their wintering campes, there began a ſudden tumult and rebellion by the meanes of Ambiorix, and Catiunculus, who, hauing receiued Sabinus & Cotta into their confines, and brought them in corne to the place, where they laie; at the inducement of Induciomarus of Triers, they ſtirred vp their people to rebellion: and ſuddenly ſurpriſing thoſe that were gone abroad to get wood, came with a great power to aſſault the campe. But when our men had tooke Armes, and were got vppe vpon the rampier, and had ouermatched them in a skirmiſh of horſe, which made a ſallie out of the campe vpon the Galles: Ambiorix deſpairing of good ſucceſſe, withdrew his men from the aſſault; and then after their manner, they cried vnto vs, that ſome of our companie ſhould come and ſpeake with them: for they had ſomewhat to diſcouer touching the publike ſtate, whereby they hoped all controuerſies might be ended. Whereupon Caius Carpineius a Roman horſeman, and one of Titurius his familiar friendes, and one Iunius a Spaniard, who*

diuers

diuers times before had beene ſent by Cæſar to Ambiorix; were ſent out to treat with them. Ambiorix firſt acknowledged himſelfe much indebted to Cæſar; for manie curteſies, in that by his meanes hee was freed from a penſion which hee paied to the Aduatici; and for that both his own ſonne, and his brothers ſonne, whom the Aduatici had held in priſon vnder the name of hoſtages, were by Cæſar releaſed and ſent home againe. And touching the aſſault of the campe, hee had done nothing of himſelfe, but by the impulſion of the ſtate, among whom ſuch was his condition, that the people had as great authoritie ouer him, as he himſelfe had in regard of the people: who were likewiſe inforced to this warre, becauſe they could not withſtand the ſudden inſurrection of the Galles, whereof his ſmall meanes might be a ſufficient argument. For his experience was not ſo little, to thinke himſelfe able with ſo ſmall a power to ouerthrow the people of Rome; but it was a generall appointment throughout all Gallia, vpon this daie to aſſault all Cæſars garrizons, to the end that one legion might not giue reliefe vnto another: Galles could not eaſily denie the requeſt of Galles, eſpecially when it concerned their publike libertie. Nowe hauing ſatiſfied that duetie which he owed to his countrey, hee had reſpect to Cæſar and his benefites, in regard whereof, he admoniſhed them, and praied Titurius for the hoſpitalitie that had beene betweene them, that he would looke to the ſafetie of himſelfe, and his ſouldiers. There were a great number of Germaines that had alreadie paſſed the Rhene, and would be here within two daies: and therefore let them aduiſe themſelues, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceiued it, to depart with their ſoldiers out of their wintering places, either to Cicero or Labienus, of whō the one was not paſt fiftie mile off, and the other a little further: for his owne part, he promiſed them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they ſhould haue ſafe paſſage through his territories; for ſo he ſhould both doe a pleaſure to his countrey, in diſburdening it of garrizons, and ſhew himſelfe thankefull to Cæſar for his benefits. This ſpeech being ended, Ambiorix departed, and Carpineius and Iunius made report thereof to the Legates.

OBSERVATIONS.

LEander his counſell, to vſe the foxes skin where the lyons faileth, doth ſhew, that the diſcourſe of our reaſon is ſooner corrupted with errour, then the powers of our bodie are ouercome with force. For oftentimes the minde is ſo diſquieted, with the extremitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehenſion can take ſound inſtructions, nor the iudgment determine of that which is moſt for our good: but according as any paſſion ſhall happen to raigne in our diſpoſition; ſo are we caried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without ſenſe of errour, or miſtruſt of welſucceeding: where as the bodie continueth firme in his owne ſtrength, and is ſubiect onelie to a greater waight of power, by which it maie bee ſubdued and ouerthrowen. It behooueth vs therefore to take good heed, that our ſureſt holde bee not vnfaſtened by the ſubtiltie of the foxe, when it

hath continued firme againſt the force of the Lyon: and that the trecherie of the ſpirit doe not diſaduantage thoſe meanes, which either our owne power or oportunitie, hath gained in our actions. Wherein a commander cannot haue a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of paſſion doe not hinder the courſe of ſound deliberation: and withall, to bee iealous of whatſoeuer an enemie ſhall, either by ſpeech or action, ſeeme to thruſt vpon him, how colourable ſoeuer the reaſons maie be, which are alleadged to induce him thereunto. For firſt, if the minde be not confirmed by the vertue of her better faculties, to reſiſt the motion of fruitleſſe apprehenſions, it may eaſily bee ſeduced either by feare or vaine imagination, diffident conceptions or ouer eaſie credulitie, with manie other ſuch diſturbing powers, from that waie, which a good diſcretion and an vnderſtanding, free from paſſion, would haue taken. Firſt therefore I holde it neceſſarie, to haue the conſiſtorie of our iudgment well ſettled, with a firme reſolution, and with the preſence of the minde, before wee enter into deliberation of ſuch thinges, as are made happie vnto vs by good direction. And then this, amongſt other circumſtances, will giue ſome helpe to a good concluſion; when we conſider how improbable it is, that an enemie, whoſe chiefeſt care is to weaken his aduerſarie, and bring him to ruine, ſhould aduiſe him of anie thing that maie concerne his good; vnleſſe the profite, which he himſelfe ſhall thereby gather, doe farre exceede that which the contrarie part may expect. I grant that in ciuill warres, where there are many friendes on either partie, and haue the aduerſe cauſe as deere vnto them as their owne; there are oftentimes many aduertiſements giuen, which proceede from a true and ſincere affection, and maie aduantage the partie whom it concerneth, as well in preuenting any danger, as in the furtherance of their cauſe; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but to be waied by circumſtances, and accordingly to be reſpected; whereof wee haue manie pregnant examples in the ciuill warres of France, and particularly in *Monſieur La Nou* his diſcourſes: But where there are two Armies, different in nation, language and humor, contending for that which peculiarly belongeth vnto one of them; where care to keepe that which is deareſt vnto them, poſſeſſeth the one, and hope of gaine ſtirreth vp the other; there is commonlie ſuch an vniuerſall hatred betweene them, that they are to looke for ſmall aduantage, by aduertiſements from the enemie: which if the Romans had well conſidered, this ſubtile Gall had not diſpoſſeſt them of their ſtrength, nor brought them to ruine.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Romans call a councell vpon this aduertiſement, and reſolue to depart, and ioyne themſelues to ſome other of the legions.



HE Romans being troubled at the ſodainneſſe of the matter, albeit thoſe thinges were ſpoken by an enemie, yet they thought them no way to be neglected; but eſpecially it moued them, for that it was incredible that the Eburones, beeing baſe and of no reputation, durſt of themſelues make war againſt the people of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a councell, wherein there grew a great controuerſie among them: L. Arunculeius and moſt of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the firſt orders, thought it not good to conclude of any thing raſhlie, nor to depart out of their wintering campes, without expreſſe commandement from Cæſar; for aſmuch as they were able to reſiſt neuer ſo great a power, yea euen of their Germans, hauing the garizons well fortified: an argument whereof was, that they had valiantly withſtood the firſt aſſault of the enemy, and giuen them many wounds. Neither wanted they anie victuals, and before that prouiſion which they had was ſpent, there would come ſuccor frō other garizons and from Cæſar. And to conclude, what was more diſhonorable, or ſauored of greater inconſtancy, then to conſult of their waightieſt affaires, by the aduertiſement of an enemy? Titurius vrged vehementlie to the contrarie, that it then would be too late for them to ſeeke a remedie, when a greater power of the enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were aſſembled againſt them; or when anie blow were giuen to anie of the next wintering campes hee: tooke Cæſar to be gone into Italie, for otherwiſe the Eburones, would not haue come ſo proudly to the camp. Let them not reſpect the authour, but the thing it ſelfe; the Rhene was not far off, and hee knewe well that the ouerthrow of Arioviſtus, and their former victories, were greeuous to the Germans. The Galles were vexed with the contumelies they had receiued, being brought in ſubiection to the Romaine Empire, and hauing loſt their former reputation in deedes of armes. And to conclude, who would imagine that Ambiorix ſhould enterpriſe ſuch a matter, without any ground, or certaintie thereof? but howſoeuer thinges ſtoode, his counſell was ſure, and could bring no harme: for if there were no worſe thing intended, they ſhould but goe ſafelie to the next garizons; or otherwiſe, if the Galles conſpired with the Germans, their onelie ſafetie conſiſted in celeritie. As for the counſell of Cotta, and ſuch as were of the contrarie opinion, what expectation could be had thereof? wherein if there were not preſent danger; yet aſſuredly famine was to be feared by long ſiege. The diſputation being thus continued on either part, and Cotta with the Centurions of the firſt orders, earneſtly repugning it; doe as pleaſe you, ſince you will needes haue it ſo, ſaith Sabinus; and that he ſpake with a loud voice, that a great part of the ſoldiours might well heare him. For I am not he that moſt feareth death among you, let

Cæſar.

let theſe be wiſe: and if any miſchance happen vnto them, they ſhall aske account thereof at thy hands, inaſmuch as if thou wouldeſt let them, they might ioine themſelues within 2. daies to the next garizons, & with them ſuſtaine what chance ſoeuer their common deſtinie ſhould allot them; and not periſh with famine and ſword, like a people caſt off and abandoned from their fellowes. After theſe wordes, they began to riſe out of the councell; but holde was laide vpon them both; entreatie was made that they would not obſtinatelie bring all vnto a deſperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or ſtaied, ſo that they all agreed vpon one thing; wheras in diſagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the diſputation was prolonged vntill midnight; at length Cotta yeelded, and the ſentence of Sabinus tooke place. And thereupon it was proclaimed, that they ſhould ſet forth by the breake of day: the reſt of the night was ſpent in watching, euery ſoldior ſought out vvhat he had to carry with him, and what he ſhould be conſtrained to leaue behind him of ſuch neceſſaries, as he had prepared for winter: all things were diſpoſed in ſuch ſort, to make the ſoldiours beleeue, that they could not ſtay without danger.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY the reſolution in this diſputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wiſe deliberation auaileth, when it is impugned with the violence of paſſion, according to the truth of my former obſeruation; for the matter was well reaſoned by Cotta, and his poſitions were grounded vpon thinges certaine, and well knowne to the whole councell: and yet the feare of Sabinus was ſuch, that it caried the concluſion by ſuch ſuppoſed aſſertions, as the qualitie of his paſſion had ratified for true principles; being grounded altogether vpon that which the enemy had ſuggeſted, and not vpon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often ſeene, when a Councell diſputeth vpon matters of ſuch conſequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from ſuch troubleſome motions, but that it will ſomwhat incline to the partialitie of a ſtrong affection; ſo powerfull is paſſion in the gouernment of the ſoule, and ſo intereſſed in the other faculties. And this is one cauſe of the vncertainty of mans iudgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do ariſe. Neither is this ſo ſtrange a matter, that a councell of warre ſhould ſo much varie in caſe of deliberation, when as many eſpeciall points of military diſcipline remaine yet vndecided; hauing the authoritie of the great Commaunders of all ages, to ratifie the trueth on either parte; whereof I coulde alleage many examples. But concerning the iſſue and euent of our deliberations, what can bee more truelie ſaide then that of the Poet?

Et malè conſultis pretium eſt, prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat cauſas, ſequiturque merentes;
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo diſcrimine fertur:
Scilicet eſt aliud quod nos cogatque regatque
Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.

Notwithſtan-

Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as our wiſdome is not ſo ſubiect to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it ſelfe, the good direction of moſt of the occurrences, which fall within the courſe of our buſineſſe; or if we muſt needes miſcarrie, yet it ſomwhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went vpon beſt probabilities; it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet down ſome rules for the better directing of a mature conſultation. Wherein we are to vnderſtand, that as all our knowledge ariſeth from ſome of our ſenſes, and our ſenſes comprehende onely particularities, which being caried vnto the apprehenſion, are diſpoſed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or diſagree in their ſeuerall properties: from whence there ariſe intellectual notions, and rules of Arte; wherein the ſcience of the ſaid particulars conſiſteth: ſo hee that intendeth to debate a matter, with ſound deliberation, muſt deſcend from confuſed conceptions and a knowledge in generall, to the exact diſtinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiall ſubſtance of euery action: he therfore that can giue beſt direction, either by experience, or iudicious diſcourſe, concerning ſuch particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can beſt aduiſe which is the ſafeſt way to auoid the oppoſition of contradicting natures. But to make this ſomewhat plainer, I will alleage 2. examples: the one moderne in caſe of conſultation; the other ancient, and may ſeeme not ſo pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meere Apology, yet foraſmuch as it freely cenſureth the quality of particular circumſtances, it may giue great light to that which we ſeeke after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the warres which *Lewis* the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the ſtate of Ferrara and the Duchie of Milan: wherein there aroſe a controuerſie among the French captaines, whether it were better to go directlie to ſeeke the enemy, who albeit were lodged in a ſtrong and ſecure place, yet there was hope, that with the virtue of armes and importunitie of artillerie, they might bee diſlodged and driuen to a retreit: or otherwiſe, to take the way either of Modina or Bolognia, that ſo the enemy for feare of looſing either of thoſe townes, might quit their holde, and by that meanes Ferrara ſhould bee freed from the warre. Monſieur Chaumont the Generall of the French, inclined to the former aduiſe: But Triuulce, a man of great authoritie and experience, hauing beene an executioner in 18. battailes, reaſoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (ſaith he) to go ſeeke the enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great captaines holde this as a firme principle: Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vnleſſe there be either an offer of an eſpeciall aduantage, or otherwiſe, compulſion by neceſſitie. The rules of warre giue it to the enemy that is the inuader, and hath vndertaken the conqueſt of Ferrara, to ſeeke to aſſaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is ſufficient to defende our ſelues, it cannot be but impertinent to vndertake an action, contrary to all direction and diſcipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by euident reaſon, that there is no poſsibility to execute that deuiſe, but to our harmes and diſaduantage: for we cannot go to their campe but by the ſide of a hill, a ſtreight and narrowe way, where all our forces cannot be imploied; and yet they

Lib. 9.

they with ſmall numbers will make reſiſtance, hauing the oportunitie of the place fauourable to their vertues: wee muſt march by the riſing of a hill, one horſe after another; neither haue we anie other waie to draw our Artillerie, our baggage, our cartes and bridges, but by the ſtreight of the hill: and who doubteth not but in a waie ſo narrowe and combrous, euerie artillerie, euerie carte, or euery wheele that ſhall breake, will not ſtay the Armie a whole houre at the leaſt? By which impediments euerie contrarie accident may put vs to diſorder. The enemie is lodged in couert, prouided of victuals and forrage; and wee muſt incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which ſhould ſerue for our neceſſarie nouriture, but expect the things to come after; which in reaſon ought to go with vs. To attempt newe enterpriſes, whereof the victorie is leſſe certaine then the perill, is contrarie to the grauitie and reputation of a leader; and in actions of the warre, thoſe enterpriſes are put to aduenture, that are done by will and not by reaſon. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our aboade there, two or three daies; yea the ſnowes and raines ioyned with the extremitie of the ſeaſon, may ſuffice to detaine vs: how ſhall we then doe for victuals and forrages? What ſhall we be able to doe in the warres, wanting the thinges that ſhould giue vs ſtrength and ſuſtenance? What is he that conſidereth not, how dangerous it is to go ſeeke the enemie in a ſtrong campe, and to be driuen at one time to fight againſt them, and againſt the diſcommoditie of the place? If we compell them not to abandon their campe, wee cannot but be inforced to retire; a matter of great difficultie in a countrey ſo wholy againſt vs, and where euerie little diſfauour will turne to our great diſaduantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that graue diſcourſe, in the diſcouerie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterpriſe; which being laied open to their confuſed iudgments, did manifeſtly point at the great diſaduantages, which were to be vndergone, by that attempt.

Anal. 6. The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneth the araignment of certaine ſenatours, for the friendſhip that had paſt betweene Seianus and them. Amongſt whom M. Terentius thus anſwered for himſelfe; according as it hath of late been publiſhed by tranſlation.

It would be peraduenture leſſe behoouefull for my eſtate to acknowledge, then to denie the crime I am charged with: but happe what happe maie, I will confeſſe that I haue beene Seianus friend, and that I deſired ſo to bee, and that after I had obtained his friendſhip, I was glad of it. I had ſeene him ioint officer with my father, in the gouernment of the pretorian cohort; and not long after in managing the cittie affaires, and matters of warre: his kinſemen and allies were aduanced to honour, as euerie man was inward with Seianus, ſo he was graced by Cæſar: and contrariwiſe, ſuch as were not in his fauour, liued in feare, and diſtreſſed with pouertie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not priuie to his laſt attempts, with the danger of my onely eſtate I will defend: not Seianus the Vulſinienſis, but a part of the Claudian and Iulian familie, which by alliance hee had entered into; thy ſonne in law Cæſar, thy companion in the Conſulſhip, and him, who tooke vpon him thy charge of adminiſtring the common-wealth, wee did reuerence and

and honor. It is not our part to iudge of him, whom thou doeſt exalt aboue the reſt, nor for what conſiderations: to thee the higheſt iudgement of thinges the gods haue giuen; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. We looke into thoſe thinges which we ſee before our eies, whom thou doeſt inrich, whome thou doeſt aduance to honours, who haue greateſt power of hurting or helping, which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about any ſecret drift, it is not lawful to ſound, and dangerous; neither ſhalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. Thinke not onely Lordes of the ſenate, of Seianus laſt daie; but of ſixteene yeeres, in which wee did likewiſe fawne vppon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be knowne vnto his freed men and partners, was reckoned for a high fauour. What then? ſhall this defence bee generall, and not diſtinguiſhed, but a confuſion made of times paſt, and his latter actions? no, but let it by iuſt boundes and tearmes be deuided: let the treaſons againſt the common wealth, the intentions of murdering the Emperour bee puniſhed; but as for the friendſhips, dueties, pleaſures and good turnes, the ſame ende ſhall diſcharge and quit thee, O Cæſar, and vs! The conſtancie of this Oration preuailed ſo much, that his Accuſers were puniſhed with exile. And thus wee ſee howe particularities decide the controuerſie, and make the waie plaine to good direction.

CHAP. XI.

The Romaines take their iourney towardes *the next legion; and are ſet vpon by* the Galles.

AS ſoone as the daye lyght appeared, they ſet foorth of their Campe, like men perſuaded that the counſell had beene giuen them not by an enemie, but by Ambiorix an eſpeciall friende, with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Galles vnderſtanding of their iourney, by their noiſe and watching in the night; ſecretlie in the woodes ſome two miles off layed an Ambuſcado, in two ſeuerall places of aduantage, and there attended the comming of the Romaines; and when the greateſt part of the troupes were entered into a valley, ſodainlie they ſhewed themſelues on both ſides the vale, preſſing harde vppon the rereward, and hindering the formoſt from going vppe the hill; and ſo beganne to charge vppon the Romaines in a place of as great diſaduantage for them as coulde bee. Then at length Titurius, as one that had prouided for nothing before hande, began to tremble, ran Caeſ.

vp and down, and diſpoſed his cohorts, but ſo fearefully and after ſuch a faſhion, as if all things had gone againſt him, as it happeneth for the moſt part to ſuch, as are forced to conſult in the inſtance of execution.

THE OBSERVATION.

IT nowe plainelie appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for incounter which the Galles gaue thē, that feare had ratified in the iudgment of Sabinus the ſmooth ſuggeſtion of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth, and laied that for a principle, which a diſcourſe free from paſſion would haue diſcerned to be but weake, and of no probabilitie: which ſo much the more amazed Titurius, by howe much his apprehenſion had erred from the truth, and betraied good counſell to a courſe full of danger; which as Cæſar noteth, muſt needes fall vpon ſuch, as are then to ſeeke for direction when the buſineſſe requireth execution. I haue handled alreadie the inconueniences of diſappointment; and therfore at this time wil but bring it only into remembrance, that wee may take the greater care to preuent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the beſt remedie for an euill is to foreſee it, according to the ſaying, *præuiſa pereunt mala*; ſo the greateſt miſchiefe in an euill, is when it commeth vnthought of, and beſides our expectation; for then it falleth vpon vs with a ſupernaturall waight, and affrighteth the minde with a ſuperſtitious aſtoniſhment, as though the diuine powers had preuented our deſſignements, with an irremediable calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: although peraduenture the thing it ſelfe carie no ſuch importance, but might be remedied, if wee were but prepared with an opinion, that ſuch a thing might happen. It were no ill counſell therefore, what reſolution ſoeuer bee taken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to croſſe our intentions, as that which is likelie to happen from the direction of our chiefeſt proiects; and ſo we ſhall be ſure to haue a preſent mind in the middeſt of our occaſions, and feele no further danger, then that which the nature of the thing inforceth.

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CHAP. XII.

The Romans caſt themſelues into an Orbe; *and are much diſcouraged.*

BVT Cotta, who had before thought that theſe things might happen by the waie, and for that cauſe would not bee the author of the iourney, was not wanting in anie thing that concerned their common ſafetie: for both in calling vppon the ſoldiours and incouraging them, hee executed the place of a Commaunder; and in fighting, the dutie of a ſoldiour. And when they found, that by reaſon of the length of their troupe, they were not able in their owne perſons to ſee all thinges doone, and to giue direction in euerie place; they cauſed it to bee proclaimed, that they ſhould all forſake their baggage, and caſt themſelues into an Orbe: which direction, although in ſuch a caſe bee not to be reprooued; yet it fell out illfauoredlie: for it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gaue the enemie greater incouragement, inaſmuch as it ſeemed that that courſe was not taken, but vppon a great feare and in extremitie of perill. Moreouer, it happened, as it coulde not otherwiſe chooſe, that the ſoldiours went from their Enſignes, to take from the cariages ſuch thinges as were moſt deere vnto them: and there was nothing heard amongſt them but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne howe to carrie themſelues: for their Commaunders cauſed it to bee proclaimed, that no man ſhoulde ſturre out of his place; for the praie was theirs, and all that the Romaines had laide aparte, was reſerued for them: and therefore let them ſuppoſe that al things conſiſted in the victorie. The Romans were equal to the Galles, both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were deſtitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they repoſed in their manhoode al the hope of their ſafety: and as often as any cohort iſſued out, they failed not to make a great ſlaughter of the enemy on that part.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IHaue alreadie handeled the nature of an Orbe, with ſuch properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I ſhewed the conueniencie of this figure, in regarde of ſafe and ſtrong imbattailing: I will nowe adde this much concerning the vſe thereof, that as it is the beſt manner of imbattailing for a defenſiue ſtrength, and therefore neuer vſed but in extremitie; ſo we muſt be very carefull, that the ſodaine betaking of our ſelues to ſuch a refuge, doe not more diſmaie the ſoldiours, then the aduantage of that imbattailing canne benefit them.

them. For vnleſſe a leader be carefull to keepe his men in courage, that their hearts may bee free from deſpaire and amazement, what profit can there ariſe from any diſpoſition or bodie ſoeuer, when the particular members ſhall bee ſenceleſſe of that duty, which belongeth vnto them? for order is nothing but an aſsiſtance to courage, giuing meanes to manage our valour with aduantage. In the warre of Africke wee reade, that Cæſars legions being incircled about with great multitudes of enemies, were forced to make an Orbe; but he quicklie turned it to a better vſe, by aduancing the two Cornets two contrary waies, and ſo deuided the enemy into two partes; and then beate them backe to their great diſaduantage.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I Neede not ſtand vpon this order which the Galles heere tooke, concerning pillage, that no ſoldior ſhould forſake his ſtation, or diſranke himſelfe in hope of ſpoile; which is a thing that from the very infancie of warres hath often changed the fortune of the day, and ſolde the honor of a publike victorie, for priuate lucre and petty pilfering. Amongſt other examples, let that which Guichardine reporteth of the battell of Taro, ſuffice to warne a well directed armie, as well by the good which Charles the eighth of that name, King of France, receiued at that time, as by the loſſe which the Italians felt by that diſorder, not to ſeeke after pillage vntil the victory be obtained.

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THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe inſufficiency of theſe Commanders, whereof Cæſar now complaineth as the only want, which theſe Romans had to cleere themſelues of this daunger; bringeth to our conſideration that which former times haue made a queſtion, which is, whether it were the vertue of the Roman leaders, or the valor of their ſoldiers, that inlarged their Empire to that greatnes, and made their people and ſenate Lords of the world? Polybius waighing the cauſes of a victorie, which the Carthagineans gained of the Romans, by the counſell and good direction of one Zantippus a Grecian, hauing before that time receiued diuers ouerthrowes, during the time of thoſe warres in Africke; concluded, that it was more in the worthines of the Commanders, then in any extraordinary vertue of the ſoldiours, that the Romans atchieued ſo many conqueſts. And beſides the preſent example of Zantippus, he confirmed his opinion with the proceedings of Hanniball; who from the beginning of the ſecond punicke warre, ſtill gained of the Roman Empire, enlarging the territories of Carthage, and ſtreightening the iuriſdiction of mightie Rome, vntill it had got a leader matchable to that ſubtle Carthagineian, and found a Scipio to confront their Hannibal. To this may be addded that famous

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famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the laſt Latines; wherein both parties were equally ballaunced, both in number and quality of their ſouldiers, hauing both the ſame Armes, the ſame vſe of their weapons, and the ſame diſcipline, as if it had beene in a Ciuill warre: neither could fortune tell by the preſence of their Armies, where to beſtowe her fauour, or where to ſhewe her diſdaine; but that the worthineſſe of the Roman leaders brought the oddes in the triall, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of an Armie, to haue a leader worthie of the place which he holdeth: foraſmuch as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequalitie betweene two equall Armies, then the wiſedome and experience of a graue commander, or the diſabilitie of an vnskilfull leader; which are ſo powerfull in their ſeuerall effectes, that there is greater hope of a heard of Hartes led by a Lyon, then of ſo many Lyons conducted by a Harte.

CHAP. XIII.

Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might *beſt fight with aduantage, and fruſtrate* the weapons of Romaine *ſouldiers.*

THE which thing when Ambiorix perceiued; he commanded his men to throwe their caſting weapons a farre off, and keepe themſelues from comming neare at hand, and where the Romans charged vpon them to giue waie; and againe, as they ſawe them retire to their enſignes, then to purſue them. Which commandement was ſo diligently obſerued by the Galles, that as oft as any cohort ſallied out of the Orbe to giue an aſſault, the enemie gaue backe as faſt as they could; and in the meane time there was no help, but that part muſt be left naked and open to the inconuenience of caſting weapons; and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumuented as well by them that had giuen place vnto them, as by ſuch as ſtood next about them: And if they went about to keepe their ground, they could neither helpe themſelues by their manhood; nor ſtanding thicke together, auoide the dartes that ſuch a multitude caſt vpon them: and yet notwithſtanding theſe inconueniences beſides the woundes which they had receiued, they ſtood ſtill at their defence, and hauing ſo ſpent the greateſt part of the daie (for they had fought eight houres together) they counted nothing diſhonourable or vnworthie of themſelues. Caſar.

THE OBSERVATION.

I Haue ſpoken alreadie of the manner of the Roman fight, conſiſting altogether in good diſpoſition of imbattailing, and in firme ſtanding, and buckling at handy-blowes: as may appeare by this circumſtance, where Ambiorix forbiddeth his men to buckle with them, but to giue backe and follow on againe, as the lightneſſe of their Armes gaue them oportunitie. In like manner in the firſt booke of the Ciuill warres, in the battell betweene Cæſar and Affranius, it appeareth, that Cæſar his ſouldiers were bound to keepe their araie, not to leaue their enſignes, nor without a waightie occaſion to forſake their ſtations appointed them: whereas the Affranians fought thinne, and ſcattered here and there; and if they were hard laied vnto, they thought it no diſhonour to retire and giue backe, as they had learned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous nations.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Romans are ouerthrowen.

THEN T. Baluentius, who the yeare before had beene Primipile of that legion, a valiant man and of great authoritie, had both his thighes darted through with a Iauelin: and Q. Lucanius, of the ſame order, valiantly fighting to ſuccour his ſonne, was ſlaine: and L. Cotta the Legate, as he buſilie incouraged all the Cohortes and Centuries, was wounded in the mouth with a ſling. Titurius mooued with theſe thinges, as he beheld Ambiorix a farre off incouraging his men, ſent C. Pompeius vnto him, to intreat him that he would ſpare him and his ſouldiers. Ambiorix anſwered, that if he were deſirous to treat, he might: for he hoped to obtaine ſo much of the people, to ſaue the ſouldiers: but for himſelfe he ſhould haue no harme at all; for the aſſurance whereof, he gaue him his faith. Titurius imparted the matter to Cotta, who abſolutely denied to go to an armed enemie, and continued reſolute in that opinion. Titurius commanded ſuch Tribunes and Centurions that were preſent, to follow him; and when he came neere to Ambiorix, being commanded to caſt awaie his armes, hee obeied, and willed thoſe that were with him, doe the ſame. In the meane time while they treated of the couditions, and Ambiorix began a ſolemne proteſtation of purpoſe, Titurius was by little and little incompaſſed about and ſlaine. Then according to their cuſtome, they cried victorie, and taking vp a houling, charged the Romans with a freſh aſſault, and routed their troupes. There L. Cotta fighting valiantly was ſlaine, with the moſt part of the ſouldiers with him. The remnant retired into their campe, amongſt whom L. Petroſidius the eagle-bearer, when he ſawe himſelfe ouercharged with enemies, threw the Eagle within the rampier, and fighting with a great courage,

rage, before the campe was slaine. The rest with much adoe indured the assault vntill night, and in the night being in despaire of all succour shewe themselues euerie man: a few, that escaped from the battell, came by vnknowne waies through the woods to Labienus, and certified him how all things had fallen out.

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus haue we heard of the greatest losse, that euer fel at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that hee was first Proconsull in Gallia, vnto the ende of his dictatorship. For in the two ouerthrowes at Dirrachium, he lost not aboue 1000 men, and in that at Gergouia not so manie: but here fifteene cohortes were cut in pieces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Which maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more hatefull, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharsalia, cost him but the liues of two hundreth men. The resolution of such as returned to the campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman souldier, if a valiant leader had had the managing thereof; or if Cotta alone had beene absolute commander, there had beene great hope of better fortune in the successe: but here it happened as it commonly doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authoritie, the direction for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which being a propertie rather of passion then of iudicious discourse, forceth a consent against the temperat opposition of a true discerning vnderstanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, hauing place and authoritie in the councel, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberations of the rest of the leaders: for his timerousnesse flieth alwaies to extremities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, and base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of mischieuing fortune.

CHAP. XV.

Ambiorix hasteth to besiege Cicero; and stirreth vp the *Aduatici*, the *Neruij*; and so raiseth a great power.

AMBIORIX tooke such spirites vnto him vpon this victorie, that with his horsemen he went immediatly vnto the Aduatici, being the next borderers vpon his kingdome, without intermission of night, commanding his footmen to follow him: The Aduatici being stirred vp to Commotion, the next daie after he came to the Neruij, exhorting

ting them not to let ſlippe this occaſion of taking to themſelues perpetuall libertie, and reuenging them of the Romans for the wrong they had receiued. He tolde them that two Legates were alreadie ſlaine, and a great part of the Armie ouerthrowne: it was now no great matter, ſuddenly to ſurpriſe the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, he offered himſelfe to be their aſſiſtant. Theſe remonſtrances eaſilie perſwaded the Neruij, and therefore they diſpatched ſpeedie meſſengers to the Centrones, Grudij and other people vnder their dominion, and raiſed verie great forces, and with them they haſted to the campe where Cicero wintered, before anie inkling of the death of Titurius was brought vnto him.

THE OBSERVATION.

THE ambitious and working ſpirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raiſe the baſeneſſe of a ſmall and ignoble ſtate, to ſo high a point of reſolution, that they durſt aduenture vpon the Roman legions, being ſetled in the ſtrength of their Empire, by the memorie of ſo manie victories in Gallia: wanted now no meanes to make an ouerture to a vniuerſall commotion, propounding libertie and reuenge to the Galles, two the ſweeteſt conditions that can happen to a ſubdued people, if they would but ſtretch out their hands to take it, and follow that courſe which his example had proued ſure and eaſie. Which maie ſerue to ſhewe, that he that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vnſafe Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a ſmall beginning a ſufficient meanes for his greateſt deſſignes.

CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his campe from the ſurpriſe *of the Neruij, and prepareth himſelfe* againſt a ſiege.

IT happened to Cicero alſo (as it coulde not otherwiſe chuſe) that manie of the ſouldiers, that were gone into the woods for timber and munition, were cut off by the ſudden approach of the enemies horſemen. Theſe being circumuented, the Eburones, Neruij, and Aduatici, with all their confederates and clientes, began to aſſault the campe. The Romans betooke them ſpeedily to their weapons; and got vpon the rampier, with much adoe they helde out that daie: for the Galles truſted much vpon celeritie, hoping if they ſped well in that action, to be victors euer after. Cicero diſpatched letters

letters with all ſpeede to Cæſar, promiſing great rewardes to him that ſhould carie them: but all the waies were ſo forelaid, that the meſſengers were taken. In one night there was built in the campe 120 towers, of ſuch timber as was brought in for fortification, & whatſoeuer wanted of the reſt of the worke, was perfected. The enemie the next daie with a farre greater power aſſaulted the campe, and filled vp the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the daie before; the like was continued diuers daies after. The Romaines made no intermiſſion of their worke at anie part of the night, nor gaue anie reſt either to the ſicke or the wounded. Whatſoeuer was needfull for the next daies aſſault, was prouided in a readineſſe the night before; a great number of ſtakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and manie murall piles were made; the towers were floored in their ſtories, Pinacles and Parapets were ſet vp of hurdles: and Cicero himſelfe being ſickly, and of a weake conſtitution, tooke not ſo much leaſure as to reſt himſelfe in the night time; ſo that the ſouldiers of their owne accord compeld him, by intreatie, to ſpare himſelfe.

THE OBSERVATION.

THis Q. Cicero is ſaid to bee the brother of Marcus Cicero the famous Oratour, & to him were the letters ſent which are found in his Epiſtles, directed *Quincto fratri*. In this action his cariage deſerued as great reputation, in the true cenſure of honor, as euer his brother did for his eloquence, *pro Roſtris*. And if it had been the others fortune to haue performed the like ſeruice, he would haue made it the greateſt exploit that euer Roman had atchieued by armes: wherein particularly may be commended the diligence and induſtrie, which was vſed in raiſing ſo manie towers, in ſo ſmall a time; for prouiding the night before, ſuch thinges as were neceſſarie for the next daies defence; for making ſo manie ſtakes hardened at the ende with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the ſtore of theſe murall piles, which reſembled the forme of the ordinarie pile, but were farre greater and waightier in regard they were to be caſt from the rampier; which gaue them ſuch aduantage, by reaſon of the height, that being caſt by a ſtrong and well practiſed arme, they were verie effectuall and of great terrour.

CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the ſame things to Cicero *which Ambiorix had done to Sabinus*; but are reiected.

THEN the Princes and chiefe commanders of the Neruij, which had anie entrance of ſpeech and cauſe of acquaintance with Cicero, ſignified their deſire to ſpeake with him: which being granted, they propounded the ſame things they had vſed to deceiue Sabinus; all Gallia was in Armes; the Germans were come ouer the Rhene; Cæſar and the reſt were beſieged in their wintering campes; Sabinus and his men were cut in pieces; notwithſtanding they carried this minde to Cicero, that they refuſed nothing but their wintering among them, they might depart in ſafetie whither they would, without diſturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this anſwere: that it was not the cuſtome of the people of Rome, to take anie article or condition from an armed enemie; but if they would laie their armes aſide, let them vſe his furtherance in the matter, and ſend ſome to negotiat it with Cæſar; there was great hope in regard of his iuſtice and equitie, that they ſhould not returne vnſatiſfied.

THE OBSERVATION.

THe firſt attempt, which Ambiorix made vpon the campe of Sabinus and Cotta, was but ſhort; but here what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the aſſailants, they continued it longer, in hope to carrie it by aſſault: for the firſt aſſault of a place, eſpecially when it commeth by waie of ſurpriſe, is of greater hope to the aſſailant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then ſuch as afterward are made in the ſequell of the warre: for after the firſt brunt, the heate of the enemy is much abated, as well through the nature of a hot deſire, which is moſt violent in the beginning, and afterward groweth colde and remiſſe, as alſo with the harmes and perill which they meete with in the incounter; and on the contrarie ſide, the defendants hauing withſtood the firſt furie, wherein there is moſt terrour and diſtruſt, grow more confident and better aſſured of their manhood, and in experience of their ſtrength ſtand firme againſt anie charge whatſoeuer.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij beſiege Cicero, with a ditch and a *rampier, and worke meanes to ſet fire* on their tents.

THE Neruij diſappointed of this hope, carried a ditch and a rampier round about the campe; the rampier was 11 foot high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines, partly by being conuerſant among them certaine yeares before, and partly by the priſoners and captiues which they had taken; but they had no yron tooles fit for that purpoſe, but were driuen to cut vp turfe with their ſwords, and gather earth with their hands, and carrie it away with their mantles and gaberdines. Wherby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the ſiege; for in leſſe then three houres, they finiſhed the fortification of fifteene miles in circuit. The daies following, the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great hooks and ſtrong penthouſes, or ſauegardes of boords and timber, according as the captiues had giuen them inſtruction. The ſeauenth daie of the ſiege being a very windie daie, they caſt hoat bullets of claie out of ſlinges, and burning dartes vpon the cabines of the Romans, which after the manner of the Galles, were thatched with ſtrawe: theſe cabines were quickly ſet on fire, which by the violence of the winde was carried ouer all the campe; the enemie preſſing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were alreadie gotten, began to bring their Turrets and Teſtudines to the rampier, and to ſcale it with ladders. But ſuch was the valour of the Roman ſouldiers, that albeit they were ſcorched on all ſides with fire, and ouer-charged with multitude of weapons, and ſaw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man forſooke the rampier, or ſcarce looked backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and with an exceeding courage.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis one example may ſerue to ſhew the excellencie of the Romaine diſcipline, and the wiſedome of the firſt founders of that Arte: for they perceiuing that the fortune of warres conſiſted chiefelie in the maſtering of particular occurrences, trained their ſouldiers in that forme of diſcipline, as might ſtruggle with inconueniences, and ſtrong oppoſitions of contradicting accidents; and ſo ouerwage all difficulties and hinderances, with a conſtant perſeueration and a courage inuincible. For the great attempting ſpirit of an ambitious commãder, that ſeeketh to ouertop the trophes of honour, with the memorie of his exploites, will quickly periſh by his owne direction, if the inſtruments of execution be weaker, then the meanes which

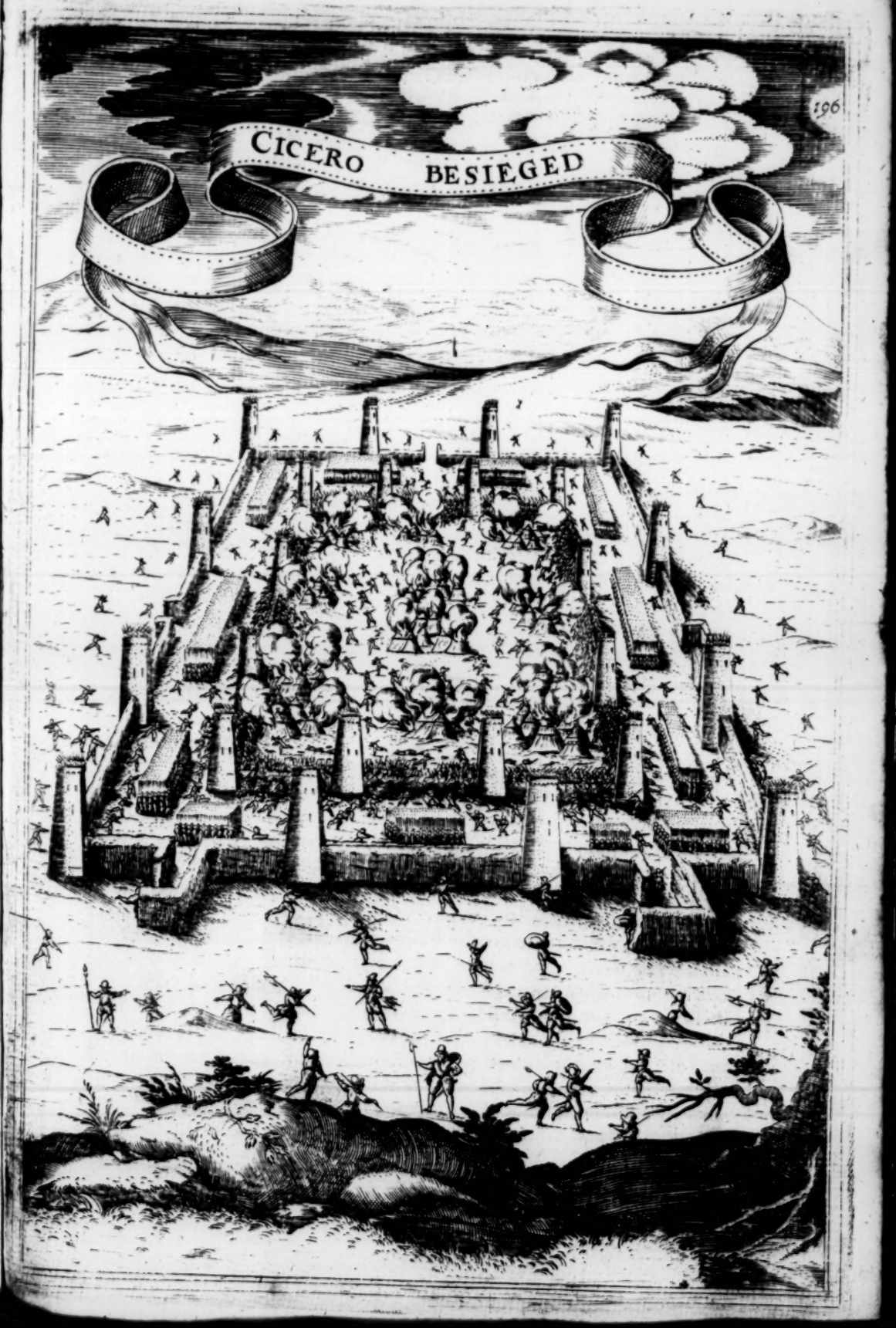
lead him to his deſſignments. For where the waight is greater then the ſtrength, the engine will ſooner breake, then lift it vp. Let a diſcreet leader therefore ſo leuell his thoughts, that his reſolution may not exceede the abilitie of his particular means; but firſt let him be well aſſured what his ſouldiers can doe, before he reſolue what he will doe: or otherwiſe, let him ſo inable them by diſcipline and inſtructions, according to the example of the old Romans, that their worth maie anſwere the height of his deſires and follow his aſpiring minde, with a reſolution grounded vpon knowledge and valour; and ſo making their ability the ground of his deſſignes, he ſhall neuer faile of meanes to performe what he intendeth. The want of this conſideration hath, within theſe late yeares, repaide our commanders in many partes of Chriſtendome with loſſe and diſhonour; when as they meaſured the humour of their poore needie and vndiſciplined ſouldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughtes, and ſo laide ſuch proiects of difficultie, as were verie vnſutable in the particularitie of occurrences to that, which their ſouldiers were fit to execute.

CHAP. XIX.

The æmulation betweene two Centurions, Pulfio, *and Varenus, with their fortunes in* the incounter.

THERE were in that legion two valiant men, Titus Pulfio, and L. Varenus Centurions, comming on a pace to the dignitie of the firſt orders: theſe two were at continuall debate which of them ſhould be preferred one before another, & euery yeare contended for place of preferment, with much ſtrife and emulation. Pulfio at a time, that the fortification was very ſharply aſſaulted, called to Varenus, and asked him why he now ſtood doubtfull? or what other place he did looke for to make triall of his manhood? this is the daie (ſaith hee) that ſhall decide our controuerſies; and when he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he went out of the fortification, and where he ſaw the enemie thickeſt, he fiercely ſet vpon thē: then could not Varenus hold himſelfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reaſonable diſtance.. Pulfio caſt his pile at the enemie, and ſtrooke one of the multitude through that came running out againſt him; he being ſlaine, all caſt their weapons at him, giuing no reſpite or time of retrait: Pulfio had his target ſtrooke through, and the dart ſtucke faſt in his girdle: this chance turned aſide his ſcabberd and hindered his right hand from pulling out his ſword, in which diſaduantage the enemy preſſed hard vpon him; Varenus came and reſcued him: immediatly the whole multitude, thinking Pulfio to be ſlaine with the darte, turned to Varenus, who ſpeedely betooke him to his ſword, and came to handy-ſtrokes, and hauing ſlaine one he put the reſt ſomewhat backe. But as he followed ouerhaſtely vpon them, he fell downe: him did Pulfio reſcue,

being


CICERO BESIEGED

being circumuented and in danger; and ſo both of them hauing ſlaine manie of the enemie, retired to their campe in ſafety, to their great honour. Thus fortune caried as well the contention, as the incounter of them both, that being enemies, they neuertheleſſe gaue helpe to ſaue each others life, in ſuch ſort, that it was not to bee iudged which of them deſerued greateſt honor.

OBSERVATIONS.

CÆſar inſerteth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthie to be related amongſt the deeds of armes contained in theſe commētaries: wherein we are firſt to obſerue the grounds of this quarrel, which was their continual ſtrife for place of preferment, which they ſought after by ſhewing their valour in time of danger, and approouing their worth by the greatneſſe of their deſert; a contention worthy the Roman diſcipline, and may ſerue for a paterne of true honour full of courage, accompliſhed with vertue. For theſe *Simultates*, which deſire of honor had caſt between them, brought forth emulation which is the ſpur of vertue, far from enmitie or hatefull contention: for the difference betweene theſe two qualities is, that enmitie hunteth after deſtruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduerſary vtter ruine, diſhonour or ill atchieuement: but emulation contendeth only by well deſeruing, to gaine the aduantage of an other mans fame, that vſeth the ſame meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinity of their affections, and the ſympathie of their deſires, not ſeeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but ſuecouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamitie, that he may ſtill continue to ſhew the greatnes of his worth by the oppoſition of inferior actions, which are as a leſſer ſcantling of deſert to meaſure the eſtimation of the others honour.

A vertue rare and vnknowne in theſe daies, and would hardly find ſubiects to be reſident in, if ſhe ſhould offer her helpe in the courſe of our affaires, or ſue to be entertained by the crooked diſpoſitiōs of our times: for we can no ſooner conceiue the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth preſently to hatred, which is followed to the vttermoſt of our malice, and reſteth better ſatisfied with the miſerable end of our oppoſed partner, then with thouſand of Trophes deſeruedly erected to our honor. Which maketh me wonder, when I looke into the difference of theſe and thoſe ages, whether it were the diſcipline of that time, which brought forth ſuch honeſt effectes of vertue, to their glory and our ignominy, hauing learned better rules then were known vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want ſtrength in theſe times to bring foorth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in thoſe daies; or what other cauſe hath made our worſt affections ſo violent, and our better faculties ſo remiſſe and negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but wordes of praiſe, our whole practiſe being conſecrated to actions of reproch. The iniuries, murthers, ſcandalous cariages of one towards an other, which in theſe daies are ſo readily offe-

red, and ſo impatientlie digeſted, will admit no ſatisfaction but priuate combate, which in the firſt monarchies was granted only againſt ſtrangers, and forraine enemies, as the only obiects of armes and wrath, and capable of that iuſtice, which the priuate ſworde ſhoulde execute: for they well perceiued that theſe ſingle battels were, as ſparkles of ciuill diſcorde, and inteſtine warres; although not ſo apparant in the generall viewe of their ſtate, yet as odious in particular, and as diſhonourable to good gouernment. And if there were a true recorde of ſuch, as haue beene either ſlaine or wounded within theſe fortie yeeres, either in this kingdome, or in France, or in Germanie, by this licentious and brutiſh cuſtome; I make no queſtion, but they woulde amount to a number capable of that fearefull ſtile, which is attributed to ciuill warres.

Neither is there any lawe howe rigorous or harde ſoeuer, that can giue reliefe to this diſorder, but the reſtraint will drawe on as great enormities, and as vntolerable in a good gouernment. Rotaris king of the Lumbardes forbade his ſubiectes this manner of combate; but ſhortlie after, hee was conſtrained to recall the edict, for the auoiding of greater euils; although hee proteſted the thing to bee both inhumane, and barbarous. The like edict was publiſhed in France by Philip the Faire, but was within two yeeres reuoked againe, at the inſtante requeſt of his ſubiectes, in regarde of the murthers and aſſaſinats committed in that kingdome. The onelie remedie, that I finde to take effect in this caſe, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphe in Piemont, inuented to preuent this euill: for perceiuing howe ordinarie quarrels and bloudſhed were in his campe, hee aſſigned a place betweene two bridges for the performance of the *Duellum*, with this charge; that hee that had the worſt ſhoulde alwaies bee ſlaine, and caſt from the bridge into the water; the daunger ioyned with diſhonour (which by this decree attended ſuch as vndertooke priuate combate) made the ſoldiours wiſer in their cariage, and put an end to their ſedition and ciuill diſcordes. But that which is yet worſt of all, is that cuſtome hath now made it ſo familiar, that euery trifle ſeemeth ſufficient to call the matter to a priuate combate; a croſſe looke calleth an others mans honour in queſtion; but the word lye is of as great conſequence, as any ſtabbe or villanie whatſoeuer. Whereat we may well wonder howe it happeneth, that wee feele our ſelues ſo much exaſperated at the reproch of that vice, which we ſo ordinarilie commit; for in the cuſtome of theſe times to caſt vpon vs the lie, is the greateſt iniurie that wordes can doe vnto vs; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a propertie in our nature, to ſtand chiefely in the defence of that corruption vnto which wee are moſt ſubiect: I ſpeake not this to qualifie the fouleneſſe of this vice; for I holde a lier to bee a monſter in nature, one that contemneth God and feareth man, as an ancient father ſaith; but to ſhew the crookedneſſe of our diſpoſition in diſdaining to acknowledge that fault, which wee ſo commonlie commit. But I would faine learne when honor firſt came to be meaſured with words, for from the beginning it was not ſo. Cæſar was often called to his face theefe, and dronkard, without any further matter; and the liberty of inuectiues, which great

great perſonages vſed one againſt another, as it beganne, ſo it ended with words. And ſo I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and ſo letteth it reſt, vntill further proofe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that firſt gaue the diſgrace.

CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertiſe Cæſar of this *Accident; who haſting, raiſeth the ſiege, and* putteth the Enemie to a great ſlaughter.

AS the ſiege grew daily hotter & ſharper, and ſpecially, for-that the greateſt part of the ſouldiours were laid vp vvith wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands that vvere able to make any defence; ſo they ſent out Letters and Meſſengers the more often to Cæſar: of vvhom, ſome vvere taken, and in the ſight of our ſouldiours, tortured to death. There was one within the plate beſieged, of the Nation of the Neruÿ, called Vertico, of honeſt parentage; vvho in the beginning of the ſiege had ſleade to Cicero, and caried himſelfe faithfully in that ſeruice: this man did Cicero chuſe, perſwading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carie Letters to Cæſar; vvhich he tooke, & haning tied them vp in his Dart, tranelled as a Gall amongſt the Galles, without any ſuſpicion, & ſo came to Cæſar: Of vvhom he vnderſtood, how dangerouſly Cicero and the legion vvas beſet.

Cæſar, hauing receiued thoſe Letters about the eleuenth houre of the day, diſpatched preſently a Meſſenger to M. Craſſus, the Treaſurer, in the country of the Bellonaci, twentie fiue miles off; commaunding the legion to ſet out at midnight, and ſpeedily to come vnto him. Craſſus ſet out and came along with the Meſſenger. He ſent another Poſt to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the confines of the Atrebatÿ, through vvhich he was to paſſe: And writ in like manner to Labienus; that if it ſtood with the conueniencie of the State, hee ſhould bring the legion to the territories of the Neruÿ: for, the reſt of the Armie that vvere further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew foure hundred horſe or therabouts, from the neereſt vvintering Campes. And beeing aduertiſed about the third houre (by the fore-runners) of Craſſus comming, hee marched that day twentie miles.

Hee made Craſſus Gouernour of Samarobrine, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the vvhole Armie, the hoſtages of the Prouinces, the publique tranſactions and Letters, together vvith all the Corne vvhich hee had got for the prouiſion of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him with the legion. Cambray.

Labienus, vnderſtanding of the death of Fabrius, and the ſlaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing alſo that the vvhole forces of the Treuiri vvere marching towards him; he doubted, that if his ſetting forward out of his vvinter ſtation, ſhould ſeeme as a ſtealing away, he ſhould not be able to vndergoe the charge of the enemy, whō a late victory had made inſolent: and therefore informed Cæſar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their vvintering Camp; relating what had happened amongſt the Eburones, and how that all the forces of the Treuiri, both horſe and foote, lay but three miles diſtant from his Campe.

Cæſar, allowing of theſe reaſons, howſoeuer his hope of three legions was fallen vnto two; yet his whole truſt was in celeritie, as the onely meanes of all their ſafeties: and ſo by great iourneis, came into the confines of the Neruij; where he vnderſtood by the Captiues, how matters paſſed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he perſwaded a certaine horſman of the Galles, by great rewards offered vnto him, to carrie a Letter to Cicero; which hee ſent writ in Greeke Characters, leaſt his purpoſes ſhould be diſcouered, if the Letter had been intercepted: aduiſing, that if he could not come to his preſence, hee ſhould tie it to the ſtring of a Dart, and ſo caſt it into the fortifications. Hee aduertiſed them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there inſtantly to raiſe the ſiege. The Gall, fearing ſome danger, followed the directions, and caſt it into the workes by a Dart; which fell by chance vpon a turret, and there ſtuck two daies before it was perceiued: the third day, a ſouldiour finding it, tooke it downe, & brought it to Cicero; vvho read it publiquely in the aſſembly of the ſouldiours, and put them all into exceeding great ioy. And at the ſame time, the ſmoake of their fires began a farre off to be diſcouered: which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.

The Galles, beeing aduertiſed thereof by their Diſcouerers, left the ſiege and made towards Cæſar with all their power; vvhich conſiſted of threeſcore thouſand men or there-bouts. Cicero, finding himſelfe at libertie, ſought out the ſame Vertico before mentioned, to carry Letters to Cæſar: aduiſing him to bee vvarie and diligent in his paſſage; ſignifying by thoſe Letters, that the Enemie had left the ſiege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Leters, beeing brought vnto Cæſar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents thereof, and prepared them by incouragement to fight. The next day, as ſoone as it began to be light, he remoued his Campe; and hauing marched about foure miles, he diſcouered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a Riuer. It was a matter of exceeding danger to giue battell to ſo great a number, in a place of diſaduantage: yet, foraſmuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the ſiege, he thought he might the better forbeare to make ſuch haſte: and therevpon ſate downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuſe, fortified his Campe. Which beeing of it ſelfe very little, as not hauing ſcarce ſeauen thouſand men, & thoſe without any cariages: yet he leſſened it as much as hee could, by narrowing the vſuall ſtreetes thereof; to the end he might the better defend it, if happely the enemie might be drawne to ingage himſelfe ſeriouſly in any attempt vpon the ſame. In the meane time, hauing ſent out Diſcouerers into all parts, he informed himſelfe

ſelfe which way he might moſt conueniently paſſe ouer the valley.

The ſame day, after ſmall incounters of the Caualrie at the vvater, either partie contained themſelues within their fortifications: the Galles, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Cæſar, that by a counterfet feare, he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this ſide the valley, and ſo ſtrike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it ſo about, then vpon diſcouery of the waies, to paſſe the Valley and the Riuer vvith leſſe danger. As it began to be day light, the Caualrie of the enemy came neere vnto the Campe, and began to skirmiſh with our horſemen. Cæſar, of ſet purpoſe, cõmaunded the horſmen to fall back, and to betake themſelues into the Camp: and withall, to fortifie their Camp on all ſides with a higher rampier, to ſtoppe vp the Gates; and in doing of theſe things, to cary themſelues tumultuouſly, and vvith a fained ſhow of great feare. With which inducemẽts, the enemy was ſo drawn on, that he brought ouer all his forces, and imbattailed them in an vnequall and diſaduantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparant) they were imboldened to come neerer, and to caſt vveapons from all parts into our works: ſending Herralds round about with Proclamation, That if any Gall or Roman would come ouer vnto thẽ before the third houre, he ſhould be taken into their ſafe protection; but, after that time, there vvas no hope of any ſuch reception. And they did ſo contemne our party, that wher as the Ports were ſhut vp for a ſhewe, with a ſingle rowe of turfes, to the end they might appeare to be made vp in ſuch manner that they could not be broken open; ſome of them began to breake downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill vp the ditches.

Which Cæſar perceiuing, ſalied out at all the Ports at once; & ſending out the Caualrie, put the enemy ſo ſuddainly to flight, that not one of them reſiſted by way of fighting: inſomuch as he ſlew a great number of them, & put them all beſides their Armes. But becauſe he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the vvoods and bogs, that lay in their paſſage (beeing vnwilling to hazard himſelfe vpon the leaſt occaſion of danger) he returned with all his forces in ſafety; and the ſelfe-ſame day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantelets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemie: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not eſcaped without wounds. By all which circumſtances he vnderſtood, with what danger & valour the buſines had been caried. He cõmended Cicero & the legion, according to their merit; calleth out by name ſuch Centurions and Tribunes of the ſouldiours, as by teſtimonie of Cicero, were found to haue deſerued extraordinarily in that ſeruice; informed himſelfe by the Captiues, of the certainty of Sabinus and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee ſpake publiquely to the ſouldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then ſeaſoned them with comfort and incouragement; ſhewing, that the loſſe which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to bee borne with better patience: and the rather, for aſmuch as by the aſsiſtance of the immortall Gods, and by their owne vertue, the loſſe was redeemed, in ſuch a faſhion, as neither the enemy did long ioy it, nor themſelues were long afflicted with griefe for the ſame.

OBSERVATION.

THe paſſages in this Chapter, are of great varietie, and do giue occaſion of much diſcourſe: but that which is moſt remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troopes of men, may be a meanes to bring a partie to an ouerthrow: for, an extraordinarie power doth alwaies beget an opinion ſorting to their owne deſires, and can hardly thinke of anie other end, then that which ſuteth with ſecuritie and victorious ſucceſſe; vvhich beeing croſſed in any materiall circumſtance, & put beſides the courſe of their intendments, whereby they faile of what they expected, doth conſequentlie draw all, the other way; and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here with the Galles, vpon Cæſars ſuddaine ſalying out of his Campe.

CHAP. XXI.

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induciomarus, attempting great matters, was ſlaine, and the Countrey quieted.

IN the meane time, the report of Cæſars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible ſpeed, through the Countrey of thoſe of Rheimes: inſomuch, as being fifty miles diſtant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the ouerthrowe vvas giuen about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a ſhout at the Campe gate before midnight; wherby the men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The fame vvhereof beeing caried to the Treuiri; Induciomarus, that purpoſed the next day to beſiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and caried all his forces backe to the Treuiri. Cæſar remaunded Fabius, with the legion, into their vvinter ſtations: He himſelfe, with three legions, determined to winter about Samarobrine. And foraſmuch as there were ſuch commotions throughout all Gallia, himſelfe reſolued to abide with the Armie all the vvinter: for, vpon the newes of the ouerthrowe of Sabinus, almoſt all the States of Gallia, did enter into a conſultation of war; ſent Meſſengers and Embaſſadours into all parts, to make ouertures for future reſolutions, and to vnderſtand in what place the war might beſt be ſet on foote; holding their Conuenticles by night, in ſecret and deſert places: in ſuch manner, as there paſſed not a day, during all that winter, vvhich brought not ſome newe care or doubt concerning Cæſar, leaſt he ſhould be aduertiſed of theſe meetings and conſpiracies, amongſt theſe occurrences.

He had intelligence frō L. Roſcius the Legat, that great forces of thoſe States and Citties of the Galles, that are called Armorica, were aſſembled together, to fight againſt him; and were come within eight miles of his Campe: but vnderſtanding of Cæſars victorie, they fell backe, in ſuch a faſhion, as though they meant

Britannie.

meant to flie away. But Cæſar, hauing called vnto him the Princes and chiefe men of euery State; terrifying ſome, as ſeeming to vnderſtand their complotments, and perſwading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a ſtrong people, and of great authority amongſt the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Cauarinus, whō Cæſar had ſet to be king ouer them (vvhoſe brother Moritaſgus, at Cæſars comming into Gallia, and whoſe anceſtors formerly, were poſſeſſed of that kingdom): which he perceiuing, fledde away, and was proſecuted to the very borders, and ſo driuen as vvell out of his priuate houſe, as of his kingdome. And hauing ſent Embaſſadours to Cæſar, to ſatisfie him herein; whereas hee cōmaunded the whole Senate to come vnto him, they refuſed to obay his warrant: ſo much it preuailed amongſt barbarous people, that there vvere ſome found that durſt auouch the vndertaking of a vvarre. Which made ſuch an alteration in the minds of all men, that beſides the Hedui, and the ſtate of Rheimes, whom Cæſar had in great fauour and reſpect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelitie to the people of Rome, and the other, for their late ſeruices in the war of Gallia) there was almoſt no State free from ſuſpicion. Inſomuch, as I knowe not vvell, whether it may not be wondered at or no; as well for many other reaſons, as ſpecially for that they greatly grieued, that they, who excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now loſt their reputation ſo farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treuiri and Induciomarus, loſt no time of all that Winter, but ſent Commiſsioners beyond the Rheine, ſoliciting the Citties, and promiſing monies with confident aſſurance, that the greateſt part of our Armie was already cut off; and that which was left, was but a ſmall remainder of the ſame: and yet for all that, no people of the Germaines could be perſwaded to paſſe the Rheine. For, hauing twice made triall to their coſt, in the warre of Ariouiſtus, & in the paſſage of the *Teuchtheri, they vvould tempt Fortune no further. *Franckefort.

Induciomarus, caſt downe from his hope, did notwithſtanding traine and gather forces, got horſes from the bordering States, and with great rewards, drew vnto him baniſht and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did thereby get ſuch an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embaſſadours came flocking vnto him from all quarters, and ſought his fauour both in publique and priuate. When he vnderſtood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other ſide, the Senones and Carnutes were inſtigated with a remembrance of their offences; and on the other ſide, the Neruij and Aduataci, made prouiſion of war againſt the Romaines, and that hee ſhould not want voluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confines; hee gaue order to call a Councell of Armes: which, according to the manner of the Galles, was alwaies the beginning of a war; beeing ſuch, as conſtrained all the men that were of yeeres, by the common law of the Land, to aſſemble together in Armes: and hee that came laſt, was in the ſight of all the reſt, put to death with exquiſite torture. In that Councell, he tooke order to proclaime Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his ſonne in law (who, as we haue before declared, had followed Cæſar, and not left him in any of thoſe ſeruices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods ſhould be confiſcated.

That beeing done, he publiſhed in the Councell, that he was ſent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: vvhether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rhemes; & that he would harry and waſte their country. But firſt, his purpoſe was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gaue order what he would haue done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly fortified, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to himſelfe, or the legion; but rather ſtudied not to let paſſe any occaſion, to carry the matter handſomly, and to purpoſe. And therefore, being aduertiſed by Cingetorix and his allies, what ſpeech Induciomarus had deliuered in the Councell, he ſent Meſſengers to call the confining citties, and commaunded horſemen to be ſent vnto him by a certaine day.

In the meane time, Induciomarus rid vp and downe almoſt euery day, vvith all his caualrie vnder his campe; ſometimes to view the ſite thereof, otherwhile to parlee, or elſe to terrifie the ſouldier: & his horſmen, for the moſt part, would caſt their weapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the fortifications, and did what he could to make the enemy belieue that hee was ſore afraid. And, as Induciomarus came daily with greater contempt to the camp, one night, hauing taken in the caualry of the bordering citties, which he had formerly ſent for, he kept all his party (by good guarding) vvithin his campe, with ſuch diligence, that their receiption could not poſsibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted cuſtome, approched neere the campe, and there ſpent a great part of the day: the horſmen caſt their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight; vvithout any word giuen in aunſwere by them. And a little before the euening, as they diſperſed themſelues and departed; vpon a ſuddaine, Labienus let out all the caualry at two Ports, commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he ſaw would neceſſarily happen) that euery one ſhould make after Induciomarus: and that no man ſhould ſo much as wound any other Enemie, before they ſaw him ſlaine; Being very vnwilling, to giue him time to eſcape, while the ſouldiours were ingaged with the reſt: and propounding great rewards to thē that ſlew him. Fortune made good that direction: for, as all made after one; Induciomarus was ſurpriſed in the foord of a Riuer, & ſlaine; & his head vvas brought backe into the campe: the horſemen returning, ſlew as many of the reſt as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruÿ, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Cæſar had Gallia better ſettled in quietneſſe.

Liege.

OBSERVATION.

AS the misfortune which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; ſo the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace: According as it is ſaid of the Spaniard; that In ſome caſes, one man is worth a thouſand.

And thus endeth the fift Commentarie.

FINIS.

THE SIXT BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGVMENT.

THIS Sommers Commentarie ſetteth forth the malice of an enemie, that refuſeth open encounter: but keeping himſelfe in the faſtneſſe of his holds, forceth the aduerſe partie, either to leaue him vntouched, or to ſeeke him out vpon diſaduantage: together with ſuch caſualties annexed to the matter, as the power of fortune doth commonly intermingle with ſuch occurrences: as alſo the maners and faſhions of life, then in vſe amongſt the Germaines and Gaules.

CHAP. I.

Cæſar fearing a greater commotion in Gallia, *muſtereth more forces.*

CÆSAR *for many reaſons expecting greater troubles in Gallia, appointed* M. Silanus, C. Antiſtius Reginus, *and* T. Sextius *Legates in his armie, to make a new choiſe, and muſter vp more ſouldiers; and withall he intreated* Cneius Pompeius *Proconſull, foraſmuch as he continued at the city about publique buſineſſes, that he would recall to their enſignes, and ſend vnto him ſuch ſouldiers as were before diſcharged of the Conſuls oath: for he thought it very materiall for the future time, to the opinion of the Gaules, when they ſhould ſee Italy ſo mightie, that if they had receiued any loſſe by the caſualties of warre, they could not onely in a ſhort time make a ſupply thereof, but augment their armie with greater forces. Which when* Pompey *had granted, both for the good of the common wealth and* Cæſars *friendſhip, the choice being ſpeedily by his miniſters performed: before the winter was ended, three legions were inrolled and brought vnto him, whereby the number of cohorts were doubled which were loſt with* Q. Titurius: *and withall he made experience both by the ſpeed and by the forces, what the wealth and diſcipline of the people of Rome could do.* *Cæſar.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

NOtwithſtanding any former purpoſe, I will begin this Commentarie with the manner of the choiſe which the Romaines vſed when they muſtered ſouldiers for an intended warre: and will lay it firſt downe, as the baſis and groundſill of all militarie architecture, and caried by them with ſuch a ceremonious and graue reſpect, as might beſt expreſſe the ſeriouſneſſe of the action, and make the ſouldiers vnderſtand what conſequence the ſequell imported. *Polybius*, who onely remaineth of them that haue written of the auncient faſhion of the Romaine warre; amongſt other parts of their diſcipline, hath left vnto poſteritie a compendious relation of their muſters and inrolements, with the helpe of other hiſtories may be thus vnderſtood.

Polyb. lib. 6. Vpon the choiſe of their Conſuls in the beginning of euery yeare, their cuſtome was to inrole foure Legions, two for either Conſull. At which inrolement, they firſt choſe foureteene Tribunes, out of the bodie of their Gentlemen, whom they called Equites: theſe foureteene were ſuch as had ſerued fiue yeares in the warres, whereby they became eligible of that dignitie. And againe, they choſe ten other Tribunes out of the communaltie, being ſuch as had ſeene ten yeares ſeruice: grounding this cuſtome vpon another law; which commaunded the Equites to ſerue ten, and the Pedites or Commons twentie whole yeares before they could be freed and diſcharged from the warres: and therefore according to the proportion of their ſtipendary time, as the Equites were admitted Tribunes at fiue yeares, ſo were the legionarie footmen at ten, as at halfe their complete time of ſeruing in the warres. The generall reſpect which the Romaines had in the choice of euery particular man, from the higheſt to the loweſt, was included in the circumſtances of their age, and of their wealth: the age which they deemed fit to endure the labors of war, was from ſeuenteene to ſixe and fortie, for ſo ſaith *Tubero*. Concerning the firſt limit of militarie abilitie, that *Seruius* did inrole ſouldiers from the age of ſeuenteene yeares, adiudging ſuch to be fit for the ſeruice of the common weale. And *Senſorinus* expreſſeth the ſecond with an etymologie of the name, where he ſaith, that men were called *Iuuenes* vnto the age of 46 yeares, *Quod rempublicam in re militari poſsint iuuare*. In this abilitie of yeares, we are to vnderſtand, that the law required euery man to perfect the complete number of twentie yeares ſtipend: if there were occaſion of ſo many warres in that ſpace of nine and twentie yeares, which is comprehended betweene ſeuenteene and fortie ſix. The wealth which is the ſecond circumſtance that made men capable of military dignity, was neceſſarily required to amount to the value of *Drachmas quadringentas*, as *Polybius* ſaith, which by the latin phraſe was termed, *Quaterna millia æris*: ſuch as were not worth ſo much, were neglected in this choiſe, and reſerued for ſea-ſeruice: neither was it lawfull for any man to attaine to any office or magiſtracie within the citie, vntill he had merited ten yeares ſtipend. Vpon a reſolution to make an inrolement, which was almoſt euery yeare, the

Thirteene pounds ſtarling, or thereabouts.

The Conſuls did proclaime a day when all men of militarie age were to preſent themſelues: vpon which day the Romaine youth being aſſembled in the citie, and then in the Capitoll: the fouretenee Tribunes elected out of the bodie of the Equites, diuided themſelues according as they were choſen by the people into foure parts; foraſmuch as in former time the whole forces of their Empire conſiſted of foure legions or regiments, wherof I haue diſcourſed at large in the former booke. And the foure Tribunes firſt choſen were allotted to the firſt Legion, the 3 next to the ſecond legion, the foure other to the third, and the three laſt to the fourth. In like maner the ten Tribunes which were taken out of the common bodie of the people, diuided themſelues into foure parts: and the two firſt choſen were inrolled in the firſt legion, the three next in the ſecond legion, the two following in the third legion, and the three laſt in the fourth. By which ingenious and diſcreet allotment it came to paſſe, that the communaltie were intermingled in the gouernement of their armies with the gentlemen, in ſuch an excellent mixture, that the Equites were either ſuperiour or equall to the Plebei; notwithſtanding that euery legion had an equall number of Tribunes. The election being thus farre caried, the Tribunes of euery legion ſate them downe by themſelues: the people being deuided firſt into their Tribes, and then into their claſſes and centuries, caſting lots which Tribe ſhould be taken; and out of that Tribe whereon the lot fell, they drew foure men as equall as they could both in age and habitude, who being brought forth, the Tribunes of the firſt legion made the firſt choiſe of one of thoſe foure; then the Tribunes of the ſecond legion had their choiſe, they of the third legion tooke the next, and the fourth had the laſt man. And againe, out of the ſame Tribe were other foure choſen, and then the Tribunes of the ſecond legion began firſt to make their choiſe, and ſo conſequently the firſt legion had the laſt man. Againe foure other being choſen, the Tribunes of the third legion had the firſt election, and in that courſe the ſecond legion had the laſt man. And by this alternate and ſucceſſiue election it came to paſſe, that euery legion was equally compounded both in quality and in number. The inrolement proceeding in this maner vntill their numbers were full: the Tribunes of euery legion aſſembled their ſeuerall troopes together, and tooke one out of euery regiment, and gaue an oath vnto him that he ſhould execute and obey according to his power, whatſoeuer was commanded him by his Generall: the reſt being particularly called, were ſworne to keepe the ſame oath which their foreman had taken: and thus we ſee, both who were the electors, who were eligible, and the maner of their choiſe. Wherein we may obſerue what meanes they vſed to ingage euery particular man, with an intereſt in the generall cauſe: for they thought it not ſufficient to force men out by publike authoritie, and to bind them ſimply to that ſeruice by the mandates of their Empire, conſidering the labours and difficulties of warre, which oftentimes are able to dull the edge of the greateſt ſpirit, and to cauſe omiſſions of duty in the moſt honeſt and obedient minds; but they tied them likewiſe with ſuch particular reſpects, as did both concerne the poſſeſſions of their fortune, and the religion of their ſoule. For it is obſerued concerning mans actions, that vnleſſe the minde do faith-

fully affect the execution, it may be caried with ſuch a perfunctorie ſeruice, as ſhall betray the true intent to no effect, and deceiue the end of that which was promiſed by deſignement: and therefore they refuſed to inrole any man, that had not a conuenient proportion of wealth, to maintaine a ſtedfaſt and well reſolued courage, and to ſettle the motions of a ſtaggering mind, when they bethought themſelues, that the publike duties wherein they were ingaged, were the defenſiue powers of their Empire, and the meanes whereby the publike weale continued happie: and ſo by conſequence their priuate fortunes were aſſured from violence, and preſerued only by an effectuall obſeruance of their militarie diſcipline. I graunt that it is not altogether wealth that doth grace and formalize the actions of men: for in ſome caſes penurie and want makes men more valorous, according to the anſwer which a ſouldier once made to *Lucullus*:

Horace. *Ibit eo quò vis, qui Zonam perdidit, inquit.*

Notwithſtanding foraſmuch as the publike cauſe, is either miſpriſed or well affected, according as it doth concerne euery man in particular, as who will doubt of the vttermoſt diligence of thoſe Mariners, that haue their veſſell fraught with their owne goods? or contrariwiſe, who will blame a mercenarie Pilot, for making peace with death, with the loſſe of other mens merchandize? For *Patria eſt vbicunque, benè eſt*, as one truely ſaith. And the eſtimation we haue of this life, is entertained onely by the benefites we hold by our life. And therefore it much importeth a State, to haue ſuch Agents to negotiate the publike buſineſſes, as are ingaged in the ſame by the intereſt of their owne particular. Neither was it ſufficient in that gouernement to chuſe men of abilitie both in their bodie and in their ſubſtance, but they found it neceſſarie to bind their conſcience with a religious conſecration, and to ſweare a faithfull obedience to their Generall, which with the reuerence of the place being the Capitoll, and other ceremonies of maieſtie attending the inrolement, doth manifeſtly ſhew, how much the Romaines imputed to this part of their diſcipline, being the foundation of the ſequele of that action

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Renforcing of troupes decayed.

SEcondly, I obſerue the benefite which an opulent and able State may make of any loſſe or misfortune receiued by an enemie: which conſiſteth chiefly in the renforcing, or if it may be, in the redoubling of ſuch troupes as the caſualties of warre hath conſumed: for it much abateth the ſpirit of a people, and turneth the pride of a victorie into diſcouragement and faintneſſe of heart, when they ſee their beſt and moſt fortunate indeuours atchieue nothing, but a reiteration of their labours, and are driuen to begin againe that woike, which with much difficultie and hazard they had once ouercome. For it is the end that maketh any labour to be vndertaken, being otherwiſe nothing but a paine of the bodie and a vexation of the ſpirit. And therefore when it ſhall be found either

either circular, or of many confrontments, before it can answer the designements of our mind, we chuse rather to forgo that contentment, which the accomplishment of our desires would affoord vs, then to buy it with such a measure of trouble, as exceedeth that, which the proportion of our meanes seemeth able to effect. In regard whereof, the auncient sages of the world, made a taske of this qualitie to be one of *Hercules* labours, by saining the serpent Hydra to be of this nature, that when one head was smitten off, two other heads grew out presently from the same stumpe: and so his labour multiplied his trauell, and his valour increased the difficultie of his worke. It was *Cæsars* custome in other cases, to haue such a beginning of strength at his first entrance into a war, as by continuance might be augmented, and rather increase then decay, vpon the resistance of an enemie. So he began the warre in Gallia with sixe legions, continued it with eight, and ended it with tenne: he beganne the ciuill warre but with one legion: he ariued at Brundusium with sixe: he followed *Pompey* into Greece, with fifteene thousand foote, and fiue thousand horse, and ended that warre with two and twenty thousand foote, and a thousand horse. He began the warre at Alexandria with 3200. foote, and ended it with sixe legions. He began the warre in Affricke with sixe, and ended it with eight legions. And thus he imitated naturall motion, being stronger in the end then in the beginning, and made his armie as a plant like to grow great, and sprowt out into many branches, rather then to die or decay for want of strength, or fresh renforcing.

CHAP. II.

The Treuiri sollicite the Germaines and some of *the States of Gallia. Cæsar carieth 4 legions* into the territories of the Neruii.

INDVCIOMARVS being slaine, as is related in the former booke, the *Treuiri *gaue the gouernment vnto his kinsfolke: they intermitted no time to sollicite their borderers with the* Germains, *and to promise them money for the wars. When they could not preuaile with their neighbours, they tryed those that were further off, and hauing found some that harkened to their designes, they confirmed their league with a mutuall oath, giuing pledges for assurance of money, and withall they drew* Ambiorix *into their societie and confederation. Which things being knowne,* Cæsar *perceiuing the preparations which in euery part were made for warre: the* [a]Neruii, [b]Aduatici, *and the* [c]Menapii, *with all the* Germains *on the other side of the Rheine to be in armes; the* Senones *not to come being summoned, but to be in councell with the* *Carnutes *and their bordering States, the* Germaines *to be sollicited with often Embassages from the* Treuiri, *he held it best to thinke of warre soo-*

Cæsar.
**Part of the Dioces of Cullen.*

a *Tourney.*
b *Beaumont.*
c *Guelders.*

* *Chartres.*

ner then heretofore he was accuſtomed: and therefore before the winter was ended, with foure legions that lay next together, he entred ſuddenly vpon the confines of the Neruii, *and hauing taken a great number of men and cattell, before they could either make head or flie away, he diſtributed the bootie to the ſouldiers, waſted the countrie, cauſed the people to come in, and to giue pledges vnto him: that buſineſſe being ſpeedily ended, he brought the legions backe againe into their wintering campes.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Exemplarie iuſtice.

THIS exemplarie courſe of proceeding in puniſhing ſome one for the offences of many, hath euer bene held the beſt meanes to repreſſe rebellious and factious motions, as well amongſt particular ſubjects which do conſpire againſt the common Pollicie of a State, as alſo of ſuch inferiour Cities and States, as ſhal entertaine a confederacie preiudiciall to the ſoueraigntie of an Empire: for in all ſuch combinations the vndertakers are euer more confident in the aſſiſtance and mutuall incouragement of each others aſſent and forwardneſſe, then in the ſtrength of their owne particular meanes. For the mind propounding a courſe contrarie to a vertuous direction, is alwaies ſuſpicious and miſtruſtfull of the iſſue: for as honeſt motions and conceptions of the heart are attended with aſſurance, ſo doth diffidencie wait vpon indirect and perfidious deſignements. And thence it happeneth, that when the inward thoughts can affoord no meanes of emboldening, they commonly relie vpon each others example, and do make the action to appeare honeſt vnto themſelues, foraſmuch as ſo many aſſociates do approue it. For the preuention whereof in the continent of *Gallia*, *Cæſar* firſt layed a heauie hand vpon the *Neruii*, being well aſſured, that as rebellious motions are ſtrengthened and drawne on by the mutuall example of conſpiring members, ſo they may be weakened and extinguiſhed by the exemplarie ruine and ſubuerſion of ſome one or more of the ſaid members, and is as forcible to diſſwade as the other to incourage: ſuting right with the tenour of Iuſtice, which ought to be caried in ſuch ſort againſt offenders, that by the puniſhment of ſome few, the feare may touch all. According as the Poet deſcribeth the nature and effect of thunder:

Ipſe Pater media nimborum in nocte coruſca
Fulmina molitur, dextra, quo maxima motu
Terra tremit, fugêre feræ, & mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis ſtatuit pauor, ille flagranti
Aut atro, aut Rhodopea, *aut alta* Ceraunia
Deijcit.

The whole earth trembled, but one hill onely ſmoaked for it.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SECONDLY, I obſerue the reſpect which *Cæſar* had to the extraordinarie labour of his ſouldiers: for whereas they were drawne out of their wintering campes before winter was ended, and were caried vnſeaſonably vpon a ſeruice, he rewarded them with the bootie and ſpoile of the enemie, contrarie to the ordinarie courſe of the Romaine warfare, which reſerued either all or the moſt part thereof for the publike Treaſure, and left the ſouldier to his ſtipendarie entertainement. Which is a point very obſeruable in the cariage of a warre: wherein are required as well eminent and extraordinarie attempts, as common and vſuall duties, and in the iudgement of a wiſe Commaunder are thought worthie their anſwerable rewards. At the ſiege of *Gergonia*, as it followeth in the ſeuenth Commentarie, *L. Fabius* a Centurion told his companions, that the bootie and pillage which he had got at the taking of *Auaricum*, would not ſuffer any man to get vp vpon the wall before himſelfe. And ſo for the moſt part it falleth out, that honorable attemps being honorably rewarded, do as ſeed ſowne in good ground, multiplie the increaſe of like vertuous actions. And this was one principall meanes which he vſed to giue courage and valour to his ſouldiers, as when he went to get *Spaine* from *Pompey* and that faction, he borrowed mony of the Tribunes and Centurions, and gaue it in largeis to the ſouldiers, whereby he gained (as he ſaith) two aduantages, *quòd pignore animos Centurionum deuinxit, & largitione redemit militum voluntates.*

Vpon extraordinarie ſeruice, the ſouldier extraordinarily rewarded.

Lib. 1. ciuili bell.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar ſummoneth a generall Councell, and carieth his armie againſt the Senones.

A GENERALL Councell or meeting of all the States of Gallia being ſummoned, according to his firſt reſolution in the beginning of the Spring, whereas all the reſt ſauing the Senones, Carnutes, and Treuiri made their appearance: he conceiued of it as the beginning of warre and defection, and thereupon ſetting all other things aſide, he transferred the Councell to the citie of Paris in the confines of the Senones, which in the time of their fathers had vnited their ſtate vnto them, but were held cleare of this confederacie. This thing being publiſhed from the Tribunall, the ſame day he caried the Legions againſt the Senones, and by great iourneys came into their countrie, his comming being knowne, Acco the chiefeſt author of that rebellion,

Cæſar.

commaunded the multitude to go into the cities and townes of defence: but as they endeuoured, before it could be accompliſhed newes was brought that the Romaines were alreadie come, whereby they neceſſarily left off their purpoſe, and ſent Ambaſſadors to Cæſar *to intreat for fauour, they vſed the mediation of the Hedui, whoſe ſtate had of old time bene in faith and league with the Romaines.* Cæſar *at the ſute of the Hedui did willingly affoord them pardon and accepted their excuſe, for aſmuch as he iudged the ſommer time fitter to be ſpent in the warre which was comming on him, rather then in matter of queſtion and iudgement: and hauing commaunded an hundred pledges, he deliuered them to be kept by the Hedui. The Carnutes likewiſe ſent meſſengers and pledges, and by the intreatie of the men of Rhemes, whoſe clients they were, receiued the ſame anſwers.* Cæſar *ended the councell, and commaunded horſemen to be ſent him from all the States of Gallia.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The benefite & vſe of coũcels and Parliaments.

IT ſhall not ſeeme impertinent to the Reader, that I take occaſion here to ſay ſomewhat touching the vſe and benefit of this Parliament or Councell generall; wherein all the ſtates of Gallia, or at the leaſt ſuch as did acknowledge the Romaine ſoueraigntie, preſented their fealtie, and were mutuall witneſſes of ech others allegeance. Concerning which we are to vnderſtand, that as all naturall bodies haue a tranſitorie being, depending vpon motion & function of parts, ſo ſpecially States and Common-weales: as ſympathiſing with naturall cauſes haue no certain continuance in one and the ſame being, but are ſubiect to the alteration of time and fortune, and do paſſe the ages of a naturall life, from infancie growing to better ſtrength vntill it come to the beſt perfection which yeares can affoord it, and then decaying again by like degrees, euen to the period and death of that pollicie. For remedy whereof, and for the preuention of any weakning diſeaſe, which might infect either the whole powers of the bodie, or ſo poſſeſſe any part thereof, as it might thereby proue either daungerous or vnprofitable: amongſt other helpes, theſe councels and meetings haue bene thought neceſſary, wherein euery particular State and citie had ſome of their ſocietie preſent, as wel to open their grieuances if any were, and to ſeeke eaſe and releefe by way of treaty and diſpute, as alſo to receiue ſuch directions and mandates, as the wiſdome of the Prince ſhould thinke meete for their gouernement. For as this common councel or generall aſſembly, may well be termed the pulſe of a politicke bodie, whereby the true ſtate and temperature thereof is diſcerned; ſo is it alſo as a treatie or parle, and a renewing of the conditions of peace betweene the head and the members; where ſoueraigntie and obedience being mutually propounded, do concurre in the ſtabliſhing of true and perfect gouernement. And this is that which the politicians of latter time do in their writings call the reducing of a common-weale to the firſt beginning: for the noiſome and ſuperfluous humours being by this meanes purged and abated, the bodie of the publike weale is refined into ſuch true and naturall elements, and ſetled in that diſpoſition

disposition of health, as may giue great hope of long continuance. Besides this vse and benefit of these assemblies, there were many necessary businesses concluded, & many things agreed vnto seruing to the maintenance of war against parties and factions, as namely the leuies and supplies of horse and foot, granted by this Councel as a subsidy; and in the *Romaine* army receiued stipend and pay by the name of Auxiliary or associate forces, whereof we reade in many places of these Commentaries, and particularly in this booke: but the *Romaines* vsed specially the seruice of their horsemen, as the flower of their strength, and farre exceeding their foot companies in execution of armes and vse of war, wherein the *Gaules* haue euer chalenged a preheminence before other their neigbour-nations, and haue continued the same reputation euen vnto this time: whether it be in regard of the nimble and quicke motions of their spirits, which are better suted with the swift and speedie execution of horse, then with any readines which their own strength can affoord them, or what other cause it hath I know not: but this I am sure of, that as the world taketh notice of their hot phantasies, so would the *French* be reckoned the best horsemen of any other nation. The last saying which I obserue concerning this councell, is the time wherein it was summoned, which was the beginning of the Spring rather then any other part of the yeare, whereof there is this reason; that if any State neglected the summons, and refused to make their appearance according to custome, the sommer time comming on, gaue good meanes to the *Romaine* legion to punish the insolencie of such a contempt; as it happened in this place to the *Senones*, *Carnutes* and *Treuiri*, whose absence from this meeting was a sufficient argument to *Cæsar* of their rebellion, and deserued the reward of open reuolt.

The French are better horsemen then footmen.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing which I will briefly obserue in this Chapter, is the pardon which *Cæsar* willingly gaue the *Senones* at the mediation of the *Hedui*, not so much for the respect he bare vnto the *Hedui*, although they had of long time performed good seruice to the *Romaine* Empire, and were found more faithfull then all the States of *Gallia* (howbeit I doubt not but that he was glad of that occasion to gratifie the *Hedui*,) but as a maister in that facultie, well knowing what best suted with the publicke profite in all times and seasons, he would not mispend the sommer in questions and dispute concerning former errors which might better be remembred vpon other occasions, but rather in prosecuting war against other speciall reuolters, as a matter more behouefull to the aduancement of the Empire, and best fitting the time of sommer. For in following a businesse, there is nothing more auaileable to a fortunate issue, then to be able to distinguish of the validity of the parties, & to discerne which hath most interest in the bulke of the matter, that so we may not be mistaken in our designes, but follow that course as shall most aduantage our purpose. And here a Generall is to take speciall care, that no humerous respect do hinder that resolution which

Not to mis-spend the time in vnnecessary services.

true iudgement approueth: for oftentimes it falleth out, that either particular profit, delighting pleaſures, deſire of reuenge, or ſome other vnſeaſonable affection, doth ſo intangle them in their proceedings, as they neuer attaine to the maine drift of the action: and this is called ſtumbling by the way.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæſar intendeth the warre of the *Treuiri.*

Cæſar.

THIS part of Gallia being quieted, he bent his whole mind to make warre againſt the Treuiri and Ambiorix, commanding Canarinus *with the caualrie of the Senones to go along with him, leaſt any tumult ſhould happen in his abſence, either thorough his diſcontentment or the malice of the State: theſe things being thus determined, foraſmuch as he well knew that* Ambiorix *would not come to blowes in open fight, he endeuored by what meanes he could to vnderſtand his other purpoſes. The Menapij were neighbour-borderers vpon the confines of the Eburones, incloſed about with a defence of bogs and woods, onely they of all the ſtates of Gallia had neuer ſent to* Cæſar *touching any contract of peace: of them* Ambiorix *was receiued and had familiar entertainement. And further he vnderſtood, that by the meanes of the Treuiri the Germaines were brought to a contract of friendſhip with him alſo. Theſe helps he thought were fit to be taken from* Ambiorix *before he ſet vpon him with open warre; leſt deſpairing of his ſafety, he ſhould either hide himſelfe amongſt the Menapij, or be compelled to fly ouer the Rheine to the Germaines. In this reſolution he ſent the baggage of the whole armie with a conuoy of two Legions to* Labienus, *who was then in the territories of the Treuiri, and he himſelfe with fiue expedite and vnburthened Legions made towards the Menapij. They hauing made no head, but truſting to the ſtrength of the place, fled into the woods and bogs, and caried all they had with them.* Cæſar *diuiding his forces to* C. Fabius *a legat and* M. Craſſus *the treaſurer, hauing made ſpeedy prouiſion of bridges, did ſet vpon thē in three parts, and burnt houſes and villages, and tooke great numbers of men and cattell, whereby the Menapij were conſtrained to ſend to* Cæſar *for peace: he hauing taken pledges of them, aſſured them that he would eſteeme them as enemies if they did either receiue* Ambiorix *into their countrey, or any meſſengers from him. The matter being thus compounded, he left among them* Comes *of Arras with certaine horſe, as a garriſon to that place, and he himſelfe made towards the Treuiri.*

OBSERVATIONS.

HENCE we may obſerue, that as it falleth out in other things for the moſt part, ſo eſpecially in matter of warre there is ſuch a medley and interlacing of materiall circumſtances, with the bodie of the action, that commonly one buſineſſe begets another. *Cæſars* chiefe deſigne at this time was the warre againſt *Ambiorix* & the *Treuiri*: but conſidering the contract and league betweene thē and the *Menapii*, he would not proſecute the warre of the *Treuiri*, vntill he had takē away that aſſiſtance, & left thē in the nakednes of their own ſtrength. Wherein we may firſt obſerue what opinion *Cæſar* held of allies and aſſociates, or any other that gaue helpe or aſſiſtance to an enemy: for beſides this particular, we may reade in the fourth Commentarie, that the chiefeſt cauſe that mooued him to take the voyage into *Brittaine*, was, for that the *Brittaines* had vnderhand giuen ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the *Gaules*, a matter not to be neglected in his iudgement, whether it were in regard of any friendſhip or good reſpect which they bare vnto the *Gaules*, or otherwiſe to keepe the *Romaines* occupied there, that they in the meane time might liue quietly at home, which I neede not here diſpute: but the matter proueth it ſelfe plainely by *Cæſars* owne confeſſion, that the continuall ſupplies ſent from *Brittaine*, were a ſufficient cauſe to moue him to that warre. And as it followeth in this Commentarie, concerning the ſelfe ſame matter, the onely cauſe that drew him to paſſe the Rheine the ſecond time into *Germanie*, was the ſuccours which the *Germaines* had formerly ſent to the *Treuiri*; according to reaſon in caſes of other natures, that he that will extinguiſh a lampe, muſt not ſuffer an addition of oyle, nor admit the influence of leſſer ſtreames, when he goeth about to drie vp the greater riuer. But that which was the occaſion of this buſineſſe, and might haue challenged the firſt place in this diſcourſe, was: for that *Cæſar* was moſt aſſured that *Ambiorix* would not be brought to a triall of battell; and therefore he laboured to vnderſtand his other proiects. From whence a Commaunder may receiue direction, what courſe to hold in a refuſall of open encounter: for as the art and ſleight of warre is to ſubdue an enemie, ſo are there more waies and meanes to effect that purpoſe, then by waging battell; as I haue diſcourſed at large in the third Commentarie: whereunto I may adde thus much, which is generally obſerued in the cariage of great and eminent Commaunders, that ſuch as failed in matter of negotiation, and wanted dexteritie in managing the courſe of their buſineſſe, (notwithſtanding any fortune or ſingularitie in ſtriking a battell,) did neuer attaine to firme and permanent honour. If any man be deſirous to deſcend into particulars, let him looke into the liues of king *Pirrhus*, *Demetrius*, *Annibal*, and *Caius Marius*, whoſe latter ends, or ſhutting vp of their liues, were not anſwerable to their excellencie in deedes of armes, for want of that iudiciall diſpoſition of their buſineſſe, which *Cæſar* might boaſt of, of whom it may be truly ſaid, that (notwithſtanding the many battels which he fought, yet he did *plura conſilio, quàm vi gerere*.

Cæſars opinion of allies & aſſociates.

Chap. 10.

CHAP. V.

Labienus ouerthroweth the Treuiri *by a guile.*

Cæſar.

WHILE Cæſar *was about theſe things, the* Treuiri *hauing raiſed great forces both of horſe and foote, had a purpoſe to aſſault* Labienus, *wintering in their confines with one legion. And as they were within two dayes iourney of him, they had intelligence of two legions more which* Cæſar *had ſent vnto him; wherupon they encamped themſelues ſome fifteene miles diſtant frō him, and reſolued there to attend the* Germaines *forces:* Labienus *being aduertiſed of their reſolution, hoping through their raſhneſſe to find ſome good oportunitie of encounter, he left fiue cohorts for the ſafetie of the cariages, and with fiue and twenty other cohorts, beſides great forces of horſe he marched towards the enemy and encamped himſelfe within a mile of them. Betweene* Labienus *and the enemy there ranne a riuer, the paſſage whereof by reaſon of the broken bankes was very hard and difficult: this riuer he did not purpoſe to paſſe himſelfe, and doubted the enemie would not be drawne to do it. In the meetings and councels of warre he gaue out, that for aſmuch as the* Germains *were ſaid to be at hand, he would neither hazard himſelfe nor the fortunes of the army, but he would rather remoue his campe the next day very early in the morning. This was quickly caried to the enemy, as amongſt many of the* Gaules *that were with him, ſome of them did naturally ſauour the proceedings of their owne nation.* Labienus *hauing in the night time called vnto him the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and the Centurions of the firſt Orders, acquainted them with his purpoſe, and to the end he might giue greater ſuſpition of feare to the enemie, he cauſed the campe to be diſlodged with more noiſe and tumult then the Romaine diſcipline had vſually obſerued; and thereby made the retreit not vnlike a flight or eſcape: which before day light (the two campes being ſo neare one to the other) was by the diſcouerers brought to the enemie. The laſt troupes of the* Romaines *were ſcarce gone out of the campe, but the* Gaules *incouraging one another not to loſe ſo hopefull a prey, thinking it long (ſpecially the* Romaines *being thus affrighted, to expect the* Germaine *forces, and that it ſtood not with their dignitie, being ſo able, and ſo many in number, not to aduenture vpon a handfull of men, flying from them, and troubled beſides with baggage and burden, and therefore they doubted not to paſſe the riuer, and to giue them battell in a place of diſaduantage.* Labienus *ſuſpecting that which now had happened, to the end he might draw them all ouer the riuer, he made as though he would go on forward: at length ſending the cariages a litle before, and placing them vpon a hill: Ye haue now (ſaid he) fellow ſouldiers that oportunitie which ye deſired, the enemy in a cumberſome and vnequall place, onely affoord me your Leader at this time that valour, which oftentimes heretofore you haue ſhewed to your Generall, imagine him*

to

to be preſent, and to ſee this ſeruice with his owne eyes: and withall he commaunded the Enſignes to be caried towards the enemie, and the armie to be imbattelled, and leauing a few troupes of horſe with the cariages, he diſpoſed the reſt in the wings of the armie. The Romaines *taking vp a crie and a ſhout, did ſpeedily caſt their pikes at the enemie, who when they ſaw the* Romaines *readie to aſſault them whom they had thought had fled from them for feare, they were ſo diſcouraged, that euen in the firſt cloſe they betooke themſelues to flight towards the next woods.* Labienus *purſuing them with his horſemen, killed many of them and tooke more priſoners, and within a few dayes tooke in the whole ſtate of the* Treuiri: *for the* Germaines *which came to their ſuccour vnderſtanding of their ouerthrow, returned home againe; and with them went alſo the kinſmen of* Inducimarus *the authors of that defection. The ſoueraigntie and gouernement was giuen to* Cingetorix, *who from the beginning had euer bene true and loyall to the* Romaines.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

I HAVE alreadie handled this practiſe of a pretended feare, which the Hiſtorie doth ſo often recommend to our conſideration, and haue ſhewed the inconuenience of ouer light credulitie, leading ſuch eaſie weeners to a diſappointment of their hopes, and conſequently to the hazard of their fortune. I will now proceed to that which is further implyed in this relation, and reſpecteth the chiefeſt dutie of a chiefe commaunder: and that is, what ſpecially is required of a Generall, in the cariage and direction of a battell. Concerning which point, as there is nothing more materiall to the effecting of any buſineſſe, then oportunitie of time, conueniencie of place, and an orderly diſpoſition of the meanes according to time and place. So in queſtion of encounter or waging battell, the dutie of a Leader may be included in theſe three circumſtances, concerning the qualitie of the place, as the chiefeſt and firſt reſpected in the choice of a iudiciall director, the whole ſcope of the *Romaine* diſcipline from the time of their firſt Kings, euen to the laſt of their Emperours, did alwayes aime at the aduantage of place, as a neceſſarie helpe for the obtaining of victorie. Which I haue alreadie noted in the *Heluetian* action: yet for as much as the wiſedome and experience of thoſe times did deeme it a circumſtance of ſuch importance, giue me leaue once againe to inforce the vſe thereof by theſe examples. *Habetis milites* (ſaith *Labienus* in this place) *quam petiſtis facultatem, hoſtem iniquo atque impedito loco tenetis, præſtate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam ſæpenumerò Imperatori præſtitiſtis.* Whereby he cleareth himſelfe of all imputation of ill direction, as hauing perfourmed the vttermoſt dutie of a Commaunder, and giuen ſuch helpes by the aduantage of the place as are requiſite to an eaſie victorie, leauing the reſt to the execution of the ſouldiers. *Cæſar* at the loſſe he receiued at *Dyrrachium* cleared himſelfe to his ſouldiers in this ſort: *Quod eſſet acceptum detrimenti cuiuis, potiùs quàm ſuæ culpæ debere tribui, locum ſecurum ad dimicandum dediſci, &c.* And as it followeth in the ſeuenth Commentarie, being imbattelled vpon

Com. 3. cap. 8.

The dutie of a Generall in euerie battell.

Lib. 1. cap. 6.

the ſide of a hill right ouer againſt the armie of the *Gaules*, which ſtood likewiſe in a readineſſe to entertaine the *Romaine* valour, would not ſuffer his men to hazard themſelues in the paſſage of a bogge of fiftie foote in breadth lying betweene both the armies, but rather perſwaded his ſouldiers, diſdaining the confrontment of the enemie, to indure their contumelie, rather then to buy a victorie with the danger of ſo many worthie men, and patiently to attend ſome further oportunitie. Which paſſage of *Cæſar* euen in the ſaid tearmes, as it is there related, was vrged to good purpoſe by Sir *Frauncis Vere* in the yeare 1600 at a conſultation before the battell of *Newport*. For the armie of the Netherlanders being poſſeſt of the Downes, which are ſmall ſwelling hils riſing vneuenly along the ſea ſhore vpon the coaſt of *Flaunders*, and the enemie making a ſtand vpon the ſands at the foote of thoſe hils, and ſo cutting off the paſſage to *Oaſtend*, it was diſputed by the Commaunders, whether they ſhould leaue the Downes, and go charge the enemie where he ſtood imbattelled vpō the ſands, or attend him in the faſtneſſe of the Downes whereof they were poſſeſt. The whole Councell of warre were earneſtly bent to forſake the Downes, and to hazard the fight on equall tearmes, as impatient that their paſſage and retreit to *Oaſtend* ſhould be cut off. But Sir *Frauncis Vere* well knowing how much it imported the buſineſſe of that day to hold a place of ſuch gaine and aduantage, perſwaded Count *Maurice* by many reaſons, and ſpecially by this of *Cæſar* which I laſt alleadged, not to forgo the helpe of the Downes, but to expect the enemie in that place, and ſo make vſe of that benefite vpon the firſt encounter, rather then to aduenture the ſucceſſe of the battell in worſe tearmes, in hope of clearing the paſſage: and ſhewing alſo many probable coniectures, that the enemie would not continue long in that gaze. Wherein as his opinion then preuailed, ſo all that were preſent were eye-witneſſes both of the truth of his cōiecture, and the ſoundneſſe of his iudgement. For the enemie within a while after comming on to charge the troupes of the States, was receiued with ſuch a counterbuffe from the hils, and were violently beaten backe in ſuch rude maner, as our men had the execution of them for the ſpace of a quarter of a mile or more, which was no ſmall aduantage to the fortune of that day. Touching the oportunitie of time, which *Pindarus* calleth the Mother of worthie exploits, and oftentimes dependeth vpon the circumſtance of place, a Generall ought carefully to aduiſe that he neither precipitate nor foreſlow the occaſion, which is well expreſſed in this particular ſeruice of *Labienus*. For where his purpoſe was to draw the enemie ouer a riuer that had ſteepe and vneaſie banks, and thereby of a hard and difficult paſſage, he would not ſhew his reſolution, vntill he had drawne them all ouer the riuer: for he was well aſſured, that the *Romaine* legions would ſo charge the enemie vpon their firſt encounter, with the vnreſiſtable waight of their piles, that in their giuing backe they could not eſcape the daunger of the riuer. And therefore to make the victorie more abſolute and complete, he ſuffered them all to come ouer the water, that all might be endaungered in their paſſage backe againe. And this is the benefite which oportunitie bringeth, which is the rather to be attended with all carefulneſſe, foraſmuch as *Non ſæpè, ac diu, eadem occaſio eſt.*

Battell of Newport.

Concerning

Concerning the laſt circumſtance of the apt and fit diſpoſition of the forces according to time and place, which is neceſſarily required in the dutie of a General; it is referred to this end only, that they may be ranged in ſuch maner, that as one man is aſſiſtant to another in their ſeuerall files and rankes, ſo one troope may be in ſubſidijs to another, to the end that no part may ſtand naked, or fall in the ſinglenes of it owne ſtrength, but that one may ſecond another from the firſt to the laſt. *C. Sempronius* a Romaine Conſull hauing fought vnaduiſedly, and receiued an ouerthrow, *Iulius* the Tribune of the people, cauſed *Tempanius* a horſeman that was preſent at the battel to be called, and as *Liuie* reporteth it, *Coram eis, ſexte* Tempani, *inquit, arbitreris ne* C. Sempronium *Conſulem, aut in tempore pugnam iniiſſe, aut firmaſſe ſubſidijs aciem?* for *Liuie* ſaith, he hath fought *incantè inconſultèq; non ſubſidiis firmata acie non equite aptè locato*. And of theſe three circumſtances, conſiſteth the dutie and office of a Generall, touching the direction of a battell: wherein whoſoeuer faileth, doth hazard the prerogatiue of his commaund ouer that armie which he leadeth, according to that of *Cæſar* in the firſt of his Commentaries, *Se ſcire quibuſcunque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut malè re geſta fortunam defuiſſe, aut aliquo facinore comperto, aduenitur eſſe conuictum*: which *Cæſar* himſelfe needed not to feare, if we may beleeue *Plutarke*, who writeth that he was indowed by nature with an excellent promptitude and aptneſſe, to take oportunitie in any buſineſſe. *In the life of Cæſar.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I May not omit to inſiſt a litle vpon this noiſe or ſhout, which the ſouldiers tooke vp in the inſtant of the charge, and is related in this place as a materiall point in their cariage at this ſeruice. A matter auncient and vſuall in the Romaine armies, as well in the time of their firſt Kings, as their firſt Conſuls. *Fuſi primo impetu & clamore hoſtes*, ſaith *Livie* concerning *Romulus*. And not long after, *Conſul nec promouit aciem, nec clamorem reddi paſſus. Cæſar* in the cenſure which he gaue concerning *Pompey* his direction for the battell at Pharſalia, doeth expreſſe a double vſe of this clamour or ſhouting: firſt the terrour of the enemie, and ſecondly the encouragement or aſſurance of themſelues: *Eſt quædam animi incitatio* (ſayth he) *atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ ſtudio pugnæ incenditur, hanc non reprimere ſed augere imperatores debent: neque fruſtra antiquitus inſtitutum eſt vt ſigna vndique concinerent, clamorem vniuerſi tollerent, quibus rebus & hoſtes terreri & ſuos incitari exiſtimauerunt*. Two contrarie effects, proceeding from a cauſe, which to common ſenſe carieth no ſhew of any ſuch efficacie: *Vox eſt præterea nihil*, as one ſaid of the Nightingale in another ſenſe. But ſuch as do ſeriouſly looke into the reaſons thereof, ſhall find the ſaying true which is aſcribed to the elder and wiſer *Cato*: *Verba plus quàm gladium, & voces quàm manum hoſtes territare & in fugam vertere*. The eare as I haue alreadie noted wil ſooner betray the ſoule to the diſtreſſe of feare, then any other of the fiue ſenſes: which *Ioſephus* well vnderſtood, although peraduenture he applied

The vſe and benefite of a ſhout took vp in a charge or aſſault. *Lib. 1.* *Lib. 2.* *Lib. 3. Ciuil.*

Lib. 1.

Lib. 3. cap. 18

not ſo fit a remedie, when he commaunded his men to ſtop their eares at the acclamations of the *Romaine* legions, leſt they might be daunted and amazed thereat. The reaſon may be, for that our diſcourſe (diligently attending vpon a matter of that conſequence which calleth the liues of both parties in queſtion, and valewing euery circumſtance at the vtmoſt) doth alwayes preſuppoſe a cauſe anſwerable to ſuch an effect of ioy and aſſurance: for theſe ſhouts and acclamations are properly the conſequents of ioy, & are ſo auaileable that they deceiue both parties; for ſuch as take vp the ſhout by way of anticipation, do ſeem to conclude of that which is yet in queſtiō; and the enemy thereupō apprehendeth danger when there is none at all, whereby it hapneth, *Hoſtes terreri, & ſuos incitari*, as *Cæſar* noteth. Beſides theſe examples, I might alleage the authority of holy writ, but that it might ſeeme both vnſauorie and vnſeaſonable to make a commixture of ſuch diuerſities: I will therefore content my ſelfe with a practiſe of our time at the battell of *Newport*, where after diuers retreits and purſuits, either ſide chaſing the other, as it were by turne and mutuall appointment, and as it often falleth out in ſuch confrontments: at laſt commandement was giuen to the *Engliſh* to make head again, and after ſome pauſe to charge the enemie with a ſhout; which being accordingly performed, a man might haue ſeen the enemie ſtartle before they came to the ſtroke: and being charged home were ſo routed, that they made not head againe that day. For the preuention of ſuch a diſaduantage, there can be no better preſident, then that which *Plutarke* noteth, touching the battell betweene the *Romaines* and the *Ambrons*, a part of that deluge of people which came downe into Italy with the *Cimbri* and *Tewtons*; for theſe *Ambrons* coming out to giue battell, to the end they might ſtrike feare into the *Romaines*, they made an often repetition of their owne name with a lowd ſounding voice, *Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons*. The *Italians* on the other ſide that firſt came downe to fight, were the *Ligurians*, inhabiting the coaſt of *Genoa*, who hearing this noiſe, and plainely vnderſtanding them, made anſwer with the like crie, ſounding out their owne name, *Ligurÿ, Ligurÿ, Ligurÿ*. Whereupon the Captaines of both ſides made their ſouldiers crie out altogether, contending for enuie one againſt another who ſhould crie it loudeſt; and ſo both ſides were encouraged, and neither of them diſaduantaged, *Clamore vtramque ſublato*.

In Marius laſe.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THIS *Labienus* was a great ſouldier, and well acquainted with *Cæſars* maner in leading an armie, and made many good fights while he continued vnder his commaund: but after he betooke himſelfe to *Pompeys* part, and ioyned with a faction againſt his firſt maiſter, he neuer atchieued any thing but loſſe and diſhonour.

Dux fortis in armis
Cæſareis Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.

And

And vpon that occaſion he is often mentioned as a memoriall of his diſloyaltie, to proue that good ſucceſſe in matter of warre doth follow the Generall rather then any inferiour Captaine: for it is obſerued of diuers, whoſe fortune hath bene great vnder the conduction of ſome commaunders, and as vnlucky vnder other leaders: like plants or trees that thriue well in ſome grounds, and beare ſtore of fruite; but being tranſplanted, do either die or become barren. And doubtleſſe, there may be obſerued the like ſympathy or contrariety in the particular courſes of mans life, wherein they are caried vpon the ſtreame of their fortunes, according to the courſe of their firſt imbarking. And therefore ſuch as happen in a way that leadeth to ſucceſſull ends, ſhall much wrong themſelues either to turne backe againe, or to ſeeke by-paths, whoſe ends are both vnknowne and vncertaine: and herein the French ſaying may ſerue to ſome purpoſe: *Si vous eſtes bien tenez vous là.*

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar carieth his armie ouer the Rheine *into Germanie.*

CÆSAR *being come from the* Menapij *to the* Treuiri, *did reſolue to paſſe the Rheine for two cauſes: the one was, for that the* Germaines *had ſent ſuccours and ſupplies to the* Treuiri; *the other that* Ambiorix *might haue no reception or entertainement among them. Vpon this reſolution, a litle aboue that place where he caried his armie ouer before, he commaunded a bridge to be made after the knowne and appointed faſhion, which by the great induſtrie of the ſouldiers was ended in a few dayes: and leauing a ſufficient ſtrength at the bridge, leſt anie ſudden motion ſhould riſe amongſt the* Treuiri, *he caried ouer the reſt of his forces both horſe and foote. The* Vbij *which before time had giuen hoſtages and were taken into obedience, ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him to cleare themſelues from imputation of diſloyaltie, and that the* Treuiri *had receiued no ſupplies from their ſtate: they pray and deſire him to ſpare them, leſt the generall diſtaſt of the* Germaines *ſhould cauſe him to puniſh the innocent for the guilty: and if he would aske more hoſtages, they would willingly giue them.* Cæſar *vpon examinatiõ of the matter, found that the ſupplies were ſent by the* Swevi: *and thereupon he accepted the ſatisfaction of the* Vbij, *and inquired the way and the paſſages to the* Swevi. *Some few dayes after he vnderſtood by the* Vbij, *that the* Swevi *had brought al their forces to one place, and had commaunded ſuch nations as were vnder their dominion that they ſhould ſend them forces of horſe and foote. Vpon this intelligence he made prouiſion of corne, and choſe a fit place to incamp in: he commaunded the* Vbij *to take their cattell and all their other goods from abroade out of the fields into their townes, hoping that the barbarous and vnskilfull men might through want of victuall be drawne to fight vpon hard conditions: he gaue order alſo that they ſhould euery day*

Cæſar.

ſend out diſcouerers to the Swevi *to vnderſtand what they did. The* Vbij *did as they were commaunded, and after a few dayes brought word that all the* Swevi *hauing receiued certaine newes of the approach of the* Romaine *armie, had retired themſelues and all their forces to their vtmoſt confines, where there was a wood of an infinite greatneſſe called* Bacenis, *and ſerued as a natiue wall or defence to keepe the* Chiruſci *from the incurſions of the* Swevi, *and the* Swevi *from the iniurie and ſpoile of the* Chiruſci.

OBSERVATIONS.

Bridges.

I WILL hold my former purpoſe, not to deliuer any thing concerning bridges, whereof there are ſo many treatiſes alreadie extant: neither will I go about to deſcribe the ſubſtantiall building or ingenious workemanſhip of this bridge here mentioned, which might wel beſeeme *Cæſar* & his armie: for as he only could, or at the leaſt did, put in practiſe the making thereof, ſo will I leaue the deſcription to himſelfe, as beſt ſuting with his eloquence. But foraſmuch as *Brancatio* an Italian writer, taketh occaſion from hence to runne into ignorance and errour, giue me leaue to ſet a marke vpon this place, leſt others not knowing the auncient courſe, ſhould run their barke vpon the ſame ſhallowes. Amongſt other aduertiſements (being but fourteene in all, which he hath giuẽ vpon *Cæſars* Commentaries) he noteth and commendeth the vſe of bridges made of boates, which are commonly caried in an armie royall to that purpoſe before this or any other inuention of former times, ſpecially in regard of the eaſineſſe and expedition which may be vſed both in making ſuch a bridge, and taking it vp againe: for the boates being prepared readie, as vſually they are in campe royals, ſuch a bridge may be made in a day, which *Cæſar* could not do in tenne, but with great wonderment and admiration. And therein I hold well with *Brancatio*, that for the ſpeedie tranſportation of an armie ouer a riuer, there is no readier meanes then a bridge of boates, preſuppoſing the boates to be firſt in a readineſſe. But that which he concludeth, is, that mens wits in theſe times are much ſharper and readier, then thoſe of former ages, foraſmuch as they haue found out an eaſie and expedite courſe, which former times could neuer reach vnto. Wherein I will not go about to derogate any thing from the condition of the time in which we liue and breath, but do deſire to find them better accompliſhed, then any other foregoing ages, howſoeuer I may ſuſpect a greater weakeneſſe of wit in theſe dayes, wherein the temperature of the body is worſe conditioned then it was in the time of our forefathers, as may appeare by many arguments, and ſerueth not ſo fitly to the working powers of the mind, as it did before this multiplicitie of mixture, when the ſtate of mens bodies were compounded of thoſe perfect elements which were in our firſt parents. But for this reaſon which *Brancatio* alledgeth, the Reader may be pleaſed to vnderſtand, that the vſe of boate bridges was both knowne and in practiſe, aſwell before the *Romaine* Empire, as in the time of their gouernment.

Brancatio li. 5

Whether mẽs wits be ſharper and readier then in former time.

Hero-

Herodotus relating the passage of *Zerxes* armie into *Greece*, describeth this bridg of boates, (which *Brancatio* would attribute to the inuention of our times) in the selfe same manner, or rather more artificially then hath bene accustomed in these later ages: for finding that no timber worke would serue the turne, to make a sufficient bridge ouer the streights of *Hellespont*, being seuen furlongs in breadth, he caused Biremes and Triremes to be placed in equall distance one from another, and fastened with anchors before and behind, and to be ioyned together with plankes and boords, and then couered with sand and grauell, raising a hedge or blind on each side therof, to the end the horse and cattell might not be affraid at the working of the billow, and so made a bridge for the passage of his armie. And in the time of the *Romaine* Empire, *Tacitus* describeth the like bridge to be made ouer the riuer *Po*, by *Valens* and *Cecina* with as great skill as can be shewed at these times: for saith he, they placed boates a crosse the riuer, in equall distance one from another, and ioyned them together with strong plankes, and fastened them with anchors: but in such sort, as *Anchorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, vt augescente flumine inoffensus ordo nauium attolleretur.* Whereby it appeareth how much *Brancatio* was deceiued in ascribing that to these latter times, which was the inuention of former ages, and may serue as a caueat to our out-languist humorists, that can indure no reading but that which soundeth with a straunge idiome: not to trust too much vpon their authors, lest whilst they stifle their memorie with straunge words, in the meane time they starue their vnderstanding.

Polimnia Herodoti.

Hist. 3.

CHAP. VII.

The Factions in Gallia in Cæsars time.

Cæsar.

BVT *here it shall not be amisse to deliuer somewhat touching the manner and fashion of life both of the* Gaules, *and of the* Germaines, *and wherein those two nations do differ. In* Gallia *not onely in euery citie, village, & precinct, but almost in euery particular house, there are parties and factions, the heads whereof are such as they thinke to be of greatest authoritie, according to whose opinion and commaund the maine course of their actions is directed. And this seemeth a custome instituted of old time, to the end that none of the common people how meane soeuer, might at any time want meanes to make their partie good against a greater man: for if they should suffer their parties and followers to be either oppressed or circumuented, they should neuer beare any rule or authoritie amongst them. And this is the course throughout all* Gallia, *for all their States are deuided into two factions. When* Cæsar *came into* Gallia, *the* Hedui *were chiefe ring-leaders of the one partie, and the* Sequani *of the other: these finding themselues to be the weaker side, (for asmuch as the principalitie and chiefest*

power was aunciently ſeated in the Hedui, *hauing many and great adherents and clients) drew the* Germaines *and* Ariouiſtus *by many great promiſes on their party: and after many great victories al the Nobilitie of the* Hedui *being ſlaine, they went ſo far beyond them in power and authoritie, that they drew the greateſt part of clients frō the* Hedui *to themſelues, and took the children of their Princes for pledges, and cauſed them to take a publike oath not to vndertake any thing againſt the* Sequani: *beſides a great part of their countrey which they tooke from them by force, and ſo they obtained the principalitie of* Gallia. *And thereupon* Diuitiacus *went vnto* Rome *to ſeeke ayde of the Senate, but returned without effecting any thing.* Cæſars *comming into* Gallia *brought an alteration of theſe things, for the pledges were reſtored backe againe to the* Hedui, *and their old followers and clients did likewiſe returne to their protection: beſides other new followers which by* Cæſars *meanes did cleaue vnto them. Whereby their nobleneſſe and dignity was ſo amplified and enlarged, that the* Sequani *loſt their authority, whom the men of* Rhemes *ſucceeded. And foraſmuch as the world took notice that they were no leſſe fauoured of* Cęſar *then the* Hedui, *ſuch as by reaſon of former enmities could not endure to ioyne with the* Hedui, *put themſelues into the clientle of the men of* Rhemes, *& found reſpectiue protection from that State, which cauſed a new and ſodaine raiſed authority of the men of* Rhemes: *ſo that at that time the* Hedui *went far beyond all the other States of* Gallia *in power and authority, and next vnto them were the men of* Rhemes.

OBSERVATIONS.

Factions and parties.

FACTIONS are generally the rent of a State, and a diſioynting of thoſe parts which common vnitie hath knit together for the preſeruation of good gouernement: but the *Gaules* maintained ſides and parties throughout the whole bodie of their continent, and found it neceſſary for the vpholding of their pollicie at home: and as it fell out in the courſe of theſe warres, rather a helpe then otherwiſe in their generall defence againſt a forraine enemie. The reaſon of the former benefite was grounded vpon two cauſes, as *Cæſar* noteth; the one proceeding from the oppreſſion vſed by the rich and mightie men towards the poorer and meaner people; and the other from the impatiencie of thoſe of inferiour condition, refuſing to acknowledge any authoritie or preheminencie at all, rather then to endure the wrongs and contumelies of the mighty. And therfore to preuent the licentious might of the great ones, and to giue countenance and reſpect to the lower ſort, theſe factions and ſides were deuiſed: wherein the foote had alwayes a head ſenſible of the wrongs which were done vnto it. Things of greater condition are alwayes iniurious to leſſer natures, and cannot endure any competencie; not ſo much as in compariſon, or by way of relation. In things without life, the prerogatiue of the mountaines doth ſwallow vp the leſſer riſing of the downes, and the ſwelling of the downes, the vneuenneſſe of the

the mole-hils: the Stars are dimmed at the riſing of the Moone, and the Moone loſeth both her light and her beautie in the preſence of the Sunne. So amongſt bruite beaſts and fiſhes, the greater do alwayes deuour the leſſe, and take them as their due by the appointment of nature: and men more iniurious in this point, then either mountaines or bruite beaſts, inaſmuch as they do alwayes ouervalew themſelues beyond their owne greatneſſe, haue in all ages verified the old prouerbe, *Homo homini lupus*. And on the other ſide, as nature maketh nothing in vaine, but hath giuen a being to the leaſt of her creatures: ſo do they endeuour not to be adnulled, but to keepe themſelues in being and continuance, *Habet & muſca ſplenem*, ſaith the Poet: and the Piſmires and Bees haue their common weales, though not equall to a Monarke. And therefore that the mightie and great men of *Gallia*, might not deuoure the loweſt of the people, but that euery man might ſtand in his owne condition, and by the helpe of a *Rowland* liue by an *Oliuer*. And againe, that the poorer ſort might giue as a tribute for their protection, that reſpect and obedience to their ſuperiours, as belongeth to ſuch high callings, theſe factions and bandies were ordained: whereby the Nobles were reſtrained from oppreſſing the poore, and the poore compelled to obey the Nobilitie, which is the beſt end that may be made of any faction.

Concerning the aduantage which the *Gaules* receiued by theſe factions againſt forraine enemies, it was rather in regard of the multiplicitie of States and Common-weales which were in the continent of *Gallia* then otherwiſe; for it manifeſtly appeareth, that their factions and contentions for ſoueraigne authoritie, cauſed one partie to bring in *Arioui ſtus* and the *Germaines*; and the other partie, the *Romaines* to make good their bandy. But foraſmuch as *Gallia* had many diuiſions, and contained many ſeuerall States, relying chiefly vpon their owne ſtrength, and eſteeming the ſubuerſion of their neighbour citie, as a calamitie befalling their neighbour, from which the reſt ſtood as yet free, it was not ſo eaſily conquered as if it had bene all but one kingdome. The battell which *Cæſar* had with the *Neruij*, which was fought ſo hard, that of threeſcore thouſand men there were left but fiue hundred; nor of ſixe hundred Senators, but three; nor againe, the ſelling of three and fiftie thouſand *Gaules* for bond-ſlaues at one time, did not ſo much aduantage the conqueſt of *Gallia*, as the battel of *Edward* the third, or that of *Henrie* the fift, our two Engliſh *Cæſars*: in the former whereof were ſlaine at *Creſſie* thirtie thouſand of the *French*, and in the latter at *Agincourt* but ten thouſand. The reaſon was, for that the former loſſes though farre greater concerned but particular States, whereas theſe latter ouerthrowes extended to the members and braunches of the whole kingdome.

Lib.2.

Lib.3.

CHAP. VIII.

Two sortes of men in Gallia, Druides and Equites.

Cæsar. THroughout all Gallia there are but two sorts of men that are of any reckoning or account; for the common people are in the nature of seruants, and of no worth of themselues, nor admitted to any Parliament: being kept vnder either by debts or by great tributes, or by the oppression of the mightie: do put themselues in the seruice of the Nobilitie, and are subiect to the authoritie which the master hath ouer his bondslaue: of these two sorts, the one are Druides, and the other Equites or gentlemen. The Druides which are alwayes present at their holy duties, do giue order for their publike and priuate sacrifices, and expound their Religion. To the Druides great numbers of the youth do resort for learnings sake, and haue them in great honour and reputation; for they do determine almost of all controuersies both publicke and priuate: for if any offence be committed, as murther or manslaughter, or any controuersie arise touching their lands or inheritance, they sentence it; rewarding the vertuous, and punishing the wicked. If any priuat mā or State do not obey their decree, they interdict him from holy duty, which is the greatest punishment that is amongst them: such as are thus interdicted, are reputed in the number of impious and wicked men, euery man leaues their companie, and doth auoyd to meete them, or speake with them, lest they should receiue any hurt by their contagion: neither haue they law or iustice when they require it, nor any respect or honour that doth belong vnto them. Ouer all the Druides there is one Primat that hath authoritie of the rest: at his decease if any one do excel the rest in dignitie he succeedeth: if many equals are found they go to election, and sometimes they contend about the primacy with force and armes. They meet at a certaine time of the yeare in the confines of the Carnutes, which is the middle part of all Gallia, and there they sit in a sacred place: thither they resort frō al parts that haue cōtrouersies, & do obey their orders & iudgemēts. The art & learning of the Druides was first found out in Britany, and from thence is thought to be brought into Gallia: and at this time such as will attaine to the perfect knowledge of that discipline, do for the most part trauell thither to learne it. The Druides are exempt from warfare and payments, and haue an immunitie from all other duties: whereby it falleth out, that many do betake themselues to that profession of their owne free will, and diuers others are sent to that schoole by their parents and friends: they are said to learne many verses, and that some do study therein twenty yeares. Neither is it lawful for them to cōmit any thing to writing, beside that in other publike and priuat businesses they onely vse the Greeke tongue: & that as I take it for two causes, first for that their learning may not become common and vulgar; secondly, that schollers might not trust so much to their writings as to their memorie, as it happeneth for the most part to such as rely vpon the trust of bookes and papers, & in the meane time omit the benefit of good remembrance.

Potestas vitæ & virūm.

England.

They

They indeuour chiefly to teach men that their ſoules do not die, but that they do fleete from one bodie to another, and this they thinke to be very important to ſtirre men vp to vertue neglecting the feare of death: they diſpute further, and giue many traditions to the youth, touching the ſtarres and their motion, the magnitude of the earth and the world, and the might and power of the Gods.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE qualitie and condition of the *Druides* is in this place very particularly deſcribed by *Cæſar*, and may be reduced to theſe heads. Firſt, their office extending both to things diuine and things temporall, whereby they executed the place both of Prieſts and of Iudges. And for that purpoſe there was one knowne place appointed where they ſate in iudgement: and as I vnderſtand it, there was but one Terme in the yeare, which both began and ended their ſuites in law. The ſecond thing is their authoritie, hauing power to reward vertue, and to puniſh vice. Thirdly, their Priuiledges and immunities, being free from contribution, from warfare and all other burthens of the ſtate. Fourthly, their doctrine and learning which was partly Theologicall, concerning the might and power of the gods, the immortalitie of the Soule: and partly philoſophicall, touching the ſtarres and their motion, the earth and the magnitude thereof: and laſtly, their manner of learning, which was altogether Pythagoricall, refuſing the help of letters and bookes, and committing their doctrine to the tradition of their elders: but that which is ſpecially to be obſerued, is, that this learning was not onely found out here in *Brittanie*, but ſuch as would perfectly attaine to the knowledge thereof, came into *England* to ſtudie the ſame, contrarie to the experience which heretofore hath bene obſerued of the Northerne and Southerne parts of the world: for as the South giueth a temper to the bodie fit for the ſcience and contemplation of Arts, whereby the mind being enlarged and purified in her faculties, doth diue into the ſecret depth of all learning, and cenſure the hidden myſteries thereof: ſo the Northerne climats do bind in the powers of the ſoule, and reſtraine all her vertues to the vſe of the bodie, whereby they are ſaid to haue *animam in digitis*, not affoording her that delight and contentment which is vſually receiued by ſpeculation. And thence it hapneth that all ſpeculatiue arts and ſciences, and what elſe ſoeuer concerneth the inward contemplation of the mind, was found out and perfected by ſuch as border vpon the South, and from them it was brought by litle and litle into the Northerne regions. And ſuch as would be maiſters in the Arts they profeſſed, went alwaies ſouthward for the attaining therof: but here the South was beholding to the North, as well for their principles of Diuinitie, as for their Philoſophie, and morall learning, being as pure, as that which any heathen people euer dranke of. Which proueth an auncient ſingularitie in the inhabitants of this Iland, touching the ſtudie of Arts & matter of learning, and may with like euidence be proued from age to age euen to this time. In witneſſe whereof I

Druides.

England.

By reaſon of the curious and artificiall workes.

Oxford and Cambridge.

appeale to the two Vniuerſities of this land, as a demonſtration of the loue which our nation hath euer borne to learning, being two ſuch Magazins of arts and ſciences, ſo beautified with curious buildings, and ſupplied with indowments for the liberall maintenance of the Muſes, inriched with Libraries of learned Workes, adorned with pleaſant places for the refreſhing of wearied ſpirits, gardens, groues, walkes, riuers, and arborets, as the like ſuch *Athens* are not to be found in any part of the world.

CHAP. IX.

The ſecond ſort of men in Gallia, called *the Equites in Cæſar time.*

Cæſar.

THE other ſort of people are Equites *or Gentlemen, theſe whē there is occaſion, or when any warre happeneth (as before* Cæſar *his comming was vſuall euery yeare, that either they did offer iniuries, or reſiſt iniuries) are alwaies parties therein, and as euery man excelleth other in birth or wealth, ſo is he attended with clients and followers, and this they take to be the onely note of Nobilitie and greatneſſe. The whole nation of the* Gaules *are much addicted to religions, and for that cauſe ſuch as are either grieuouſly diſeaſed or conuerſant continually in the daungers of warre, do either ſacrifice men for an oblation, or vow the oblation of themſelues, vſing in ſuch ſacrifices the miniſterie of the* Druides, *for aſmuch as they are perſwaded that immortall Deitie cannot be pleaſed, but by giuing the life of one man for the life of another. And to that purpoſe they haue publike ſacrifiees appointed, others haue Images of a monſtrous magnitude, whoſe limmes and parts being made of oſiers, are filled with liuing men, and being ſet on fire the men are burned to death: the execution of ſuch as are taken in theft or robberie or any other crime, they thinke to be beſt pleaſing to the gods, but wanting ſuch they ſpare not the innocent. They worſhip chiefly the god* Mercurie, *and haue many of his images amongſt them, him they adore as the inuentor of all arts, the conductor and guide in all voyages and iourneys, & they thinke him to haue great power in all merchandize and gaine of moneys. Next vnto him they preferre* Apollo, Mars, Ioue *and* Minerua, *and of theſe they carie the ſame opinion as other nations do:* Apollo *to be powerfull in healing diſeaſes,* Minerua *in finding out artificiall workes,* Ioue *ruling the celeſtiall Empire, and* Mars *for warre. When they are to encounter with an enemie, they vow all the ſpoile vnto him, and ſuch beaſts as are taken they ſacrifice, other things they lay vp in ſome one place: and many ſuch heapes of things ſo taken, are to be ſeene in the holy places of diuerſe of their cities. Neither doth it often happen that any man neglecting his religion in that point, dare either keepe backe any thing ſo taken, or take away ought laid vp in their Repoſitories. The* Gaules *do all boaſt themſelues in the ſtocke from whence they are deſcended, vnderſtanding by the* Druides, *that they come of the god* Dis. *And therefore*

therefore they end the ſpace of all their times by the number of nights rather then by the number of dayes, obſeruing the dayes of their natiuitie, the beginnings of their moneths, and their yeares, in ſuch ſort, as the day doth alwayes follow the night. And herein they differ from other nations, that they ſuffer not their children to come openly vnto them, but when they are growne fit for warre: thinking it ſhameful and diſhoneſt, that a ſonne in his childhood ſhould in publike places ſtand in the ſight of his father. To the portions which they haue with their wiues, they adde as much more of their owne goods; and the vſe of this money thus added together, is kept apart, and the longer liuer hath both the principall and the intereſt for all the former time. The men haue power of life and death, both ouer their wiues and their children: and when a man of great place and parentage ſhal happen to deceaſe, his kinsfolks aſſemble themſelues together to enquire of his death; if there be any occaſion of ſuſpition, they put his wife to torture after the maner of a ſeruant, and if it be found, ſhe dies tormented with fire and all other tortures as may be imagined. Their funerals (according to the reſt of their life) are magnificall and ſumptuous, burying with the dead corpes all that he tooke delight in while he liued, not ſparing liuing creatures: and not long out of memorie, the cuſtome was to burie with the bodie ſuch clients and ſeruants as were fauoured by him in his life time. Such States as are careful in the gouernment of their common weales, do prohibite by a ſpeciall law, that no man ſhall communicate a rumour or report touching the State to any man ſauing a Magiſtrate, foraſmuch as it had bene often found, that raſh and vnskilful men were ſo terrified with falſe reports, and moued to ſuch deſperate attempts, that they entred into reſolutions touching the maine points of State. The Magiſtrates do keepe ſecret ſuch things as they thinke fit, and that which they thinke expedient they publiſh: but it is not lawfull to ſpeake of matter of State, but in aſſemblies of State.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CONCERNING the beginning of dayes and times, which *Cæſar* noteth in this place to be obſerued by the *Gaules* after Sun ſetting: whereby it happened that in the naturall day of foure and twentie houres, the night alwaies preceded the day time, contrarie to the vſe of *Italy*, where the day began at Sun riſing, and the night followed the artificiall day as the ſecond part of the day natural: we are to vnderſtand, that as all time, and the diſtinction of the parts thereof, dependeth vpon the two motions of the Sunne: the one as it moueth in it own orbe from Weſt to Eaſt, begetting the reuolution of yeares, and the ſeaſons of Sommer and Winter, the Spring and the Autumne, with the meaſure of moneths as it paſſeth through the ſignes of the Zodiacke: and the other, as it is caried from Eaſt to Weſt by the firſt mouing ſpheare, making the diſtinction of nights and dayes, houres and minutes: ſo the beginnings of theſe times and ſeaſons are diuerſly taken amongſt diuerſe people and nations of the earth. The *Iewes* had the ſame computatiõ touching the beginning of the day as the *Gauls* had, but vpon other grounds and reaſons then could be alleadged for this cu-

The beginning of the day diuerſly obſerued.

ſtome in *Gallia*: for they began their day in the euening at Sunne ſetting, as appeareth by many places of the Scripture: and *Moſes* in the repetition of the firſt ſeuen dayes worke, vpon the accompliſhment of a day, ſaith, The euening and the morning were one day, giuing the euening precedencie before the morning, as though the day had begun in the euening. The *Bohemians* in like manner do obſerue the beginning of their day in the euening, and do herein follow the vſe of the *Iewes*. Other nations do begin at Sunne riſing, and take the computation of their day naturall from the firſt appearing of the Sunne in the Eaſt. The *Greekes* begin and end their day at midnight, obſeruing the certaintie of that time, and the correſpondence betweene the equall and planetarie houres in the meridian Circle: whereas otherwiſe by reaſon of the inequalitie of the dayes and the nights, out of a right ſphære there is alwaies ſome difference betweene the ſaid houres: and this vſe alſo is obſerued by vs in *England*.

This god *Ditis* whom he nameth for the father of that nation, is the ſame whome the heathen called *Pluto*, the god of hell and darkeneſſe, and for that cauſe they put darkeneſſe before light, touching the beginning of their naturall day.

But foraſmuch as this circumſtance giueth occaſion to ſpeake of dayes and times, giue me leaue to inſert the reformation of the yeare, which *Cæſar* ſo happily eſtabliſhed, that ſucceeding times haue had no cauſe to alter the ſame.

And although it neither concerneth the art of warre, nor happened within the cõpaſſe of theſe ſeuen ſommers: yet foraſmuch as it was done by *Cæſar*, & deſerueth as often memorie as any other of his noble acts, it ſhall not ſeeme impertinent to the reader to take this much by the way concerning that matter. There is no nation of any ciuill gouernement, but obſerueth a courſe or reuolution differenced with times and ſeaſons, in ſuch manner, as may be aunſwerable to the motion of the Sunne, in the circuit which it maketh through the ſignes and degrees of the Zodiacke. But foraſmuch as the gouernment of a ciuill yeare doth not well admit any other compoſition of parts, to make it abſolute and complete then by naturall dayes; and on the other ſide the Sunne requireth odde houres and minutes to finiſh his race, and returne againe to the goale from whence it came, there hath alwaies bene found a difference betweene the ciuill and the Solar yeare. Before *Cæſars* time, the *Romaines* vſing the auncient computation of the yeare, had not onely ſuch vncertaintie and alteration in moneths and times, that the ſacrifices & yearely feaſts, came by litle and litle to ſeaſons contrary for the purpoſe they were ordained: but alſo in the reuolution of the Sun or Solare yeare, no other nation agreed with them in account; and of the *Romaines* themſelues onely the Prieſts vnderſtood it: and therefore when they pleaſed (no man being able to controle them) they would vpon the ſodaine thruſt in a moneth aboue the ordinary number, which as *Plutarch* noteth, was in old time time called *Mercedonius*, or *Menſis intercalaris*. To remedie this inconuenience, *Cæſar* calling together the beſt and moſt expert Aſtronomers of that time, made a Kalender more exactly calculated then any other that was before: and yet ſuch a one as by long continuance of time hath

Plutarke Cæſar.

hath bred a difference, for the matter ſtandeth thus.

It is found by certaine obſeruation of Mathematicians of all ages, that the Sunne being caried from the Weſt to the Eaſt by the motion of his owne Spheare, finiſheth his yearely courſe in the ſpace of 365. dayes, fiue houres, nine and fortie minutes, aud ſome odde ſeconds: whereupon it was then concluded that their ciuill yeare muſt neceſſarily containe three hundred threeſcore and fiue dayes, which maketh two and fiftie weekes and one day: and foraſmuch as thoſe fiue odde houres, nine and fortie minutes, and ſome ſeconds, did in foure yeares ſpace amount vnto a naturall day (wanting two and fortie minutes, and ſixe and fiftie ſeconds, which was thought nothing in compariſon) they deuiſed euery fourth yeare to adde a day more then ordinarie, to anſwer that time which is vſually added to Frebruary: whereby it happeneth that in euery fourth yeare February hath nine and twentie dayes; and ſo they made an order to reforme their yeare without any ſenſible errour for a long time. But ſince that time, being one thouſand ſixe hundred yeares and more, thoſe two and fortie minutes, and ſix and fiftie ſeconds, which as I ſaid do want of the naturall day of foure and twentie houres which is incerted in euery fourth yeare, haue bred a manifeſt and an apparant errour: for whereas the ciuill yeare is by that meanes made greater then the ſolar yeares, the Sunne ending his taske before we can end our times, it happeneth that ſuch feaſts as haue relation to ſeaſonable times, do as it were foreſlow the oportunitie, and fall out further in the yeare, as though they had a motion towards the ſommers ſolſtice. And as theſe go forward, ſo doth the Equinoctial returne backwards towards the beginning of the moneth. For *Cæſar* by the helpe of the Aſtronomers obſerued the Equinoctium the fiue and twentieth of March. *Ptolomy* in his time obſerued the Equinoctium the two and twentieth of March. And it was obſerued the one and twentieth of March in the yeare from the incarnation 322. what time was holden the firſt generall Councell at *Nice* a citie of *Ponthus*, in reſpect whereof the Paſcall tables and other rules were eſtabliſhed for the celebration of Eaſter. But ſince that time there are paſſed 1281. yeares, and the Equinoctium cometh before the one and twentieth of March ten dayes.

As this errour is reformed among other nations, and reduced to that ſtate as it was at the *Nicene* Councell: ſo there might many reaſons be alleaged to proue the reformation conuenient of a greater number of dayes then ten. For if the Kalender were ſo ordered, that euery moneth might begin when the Sun entreth into that Signe which is for the moneth, and end when the Sunne goeth out of that ſigne, it would auoide much confuſion, and be very eaſie to all ſorts of people as haue occaſion to obſerue the ſame: which doubleſſe was the purport of the firſt inſtitution of moneths; and was obſerued (as it ſeemeth) by the old *Romaines*, who began the yeare at the winter ſolſtice, as *Ovid* noteth:

Bruma noui prima eſt, veteriſq; nouiſſima ſolis,
Principium capiunt Phœbus *& annus idem.*

And therefore they called that moneth Ianuarie of *Ianus* that had two faces, and ſaw both the old and the new yeare: ſuch therefore as would go about to reforme the yeare to this courſe, muſt not cut off ten dayes onely, but one and

twentie; and for one yeare make December to continue but tenne dayes, and then Ianuarie to begin, and ſo ſucceſſiuely to the reſt of the moneths. But it may be ſaid, that although we helpe our ſelues, and put off the inconuenience which is fallen vpon vs, yet in tract of time the like error will fall againe vpon ſucceeding ages, and put their yearely Feaſts beſides the dayes appointed for them. For remedie whereof it may be anſwered: That whereas this error hath happened by adding euery fourth yeare a naturall day, which in true calculation wanted two and fortie minutes and ſixe and fiftie ſeconds of foure and twentie houres, and in euery 136. yeares hath accrued within one minute to a day more then needed: the onely way is euery 136. yeares, to omit the addition of that day, and to make that yeare to containe but 365. dayes, which by the order of *Cæſars* Kalender, is a leape yeare, and hath one day more, which hath brought this error. And ſo there would not happen the error of a day in the ſpace of 111086. yeares, if the world ſhould continue ſo long.

But leſt we ſhould ſeeme more curious in reforming the courſe of our ciuill yeare, then the manners of our ciuill life, I will proceede to that which followeth.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Their reſpect to matter of State.

THE ſecond thing which I obſerue in their manner of life, is the reſpect they had to matter of State, and the care which they took that no man ſhold diſpute of the Commonweale, but in aſſemblies appointed for the ſeruice of the Commonweale. Whereby they gained two ſpeciall points for the maintenance of good gouernement. The firſt, that no man might ſpeake of points of ſtate, but the gouernours of State: for ſuch I vnderſtand to be admitted to their Councels and Parliaments. Secondly, that ſuch matters of conſequence as touched thē ſo nearely, might not be handled, but at ſuch places and at ſuch times as might beſt aduantage the State. Concerning the former, we are to note, that Gouernment is defined, to be an eſtabliſhing of order beſt fitting the maintenance of a people, in a peaceable and happie life. Order requireth degrees and diſtinctions inueſting ſeuerall parts in ſeuerall functions and duties: to theſe duties there belongeth a due obſeruancie according to the motion and place, which euery part holdeth in the generall order. Of theſe degrees and diſtinctions, Soueraigntie and Obedience are two maine relatiues, the one inueſted in the Prince or Magiſtrate, the other in the people and ſubiect, incommunicable in regard of their tearmes and ſubiects, and yet concurring in the maine drift of gouernment, intending the benefite of a happie life. And therefore the *Gaules* did carefully prouide, that no man ſhold exceed the limits of his owne rancke, but that ſuch as ſate at the helme might ſhape the courſe: & for the reſt whoſe lot it was to be directed, they would haue them take notice of their mandates by obedience, and not by diſpute.

Tibi ſummam rerum dij dedêre, nobis obſequij gloria relata eſt: Tacitus.

Touching the ſecond point, we are to conſider the danger which may happen

pen to a State, by common and ordinarie discourse of the Principles of that Gouernment, or of such circumstances as are incident to the same, (without respect of time or place, or any other due regard) which the wisedome of a well ordered pollicie, doth hold requisite thereunto: for whatsoeuer is deliuered by speech, without such helpefull attendance, is both vnseasonable and vnprofitable, and the Cõmonweale is alwaies a sufferer, when it falleth into such rash considerations: for our most serious cogitations assisted with the best circumstances, can but speake to purpose. And as the execution falleth short of the purport intended by discourse, so is our speech and discourse lame and wanting to our inward conceipt. And therefore as religious actions stand in neede of *hoc age*, so may politicke consultations vse the helpe of the same remembrancer.

CHAP. X.

The maner and life of the Germaines.

THE Germaines *do much differ from the* Gaules *in their course of life, for they haue neither Priests nor sacrifices: they worship no Gods but such as are subiect to sense, and from whom they dayly receiue profits and helpe, as the Sunne, the fire, and the Moon, for the rest they haue not so much as heard of: their life is onely spent in hunting, or in vse and practise of war; they inure themselues to labor and hardnesse euen to their childhood; and such as continue beardlesse are most commended amongst them: for this some thinke to be very auaileable to their stature, others to their strength and sinewes: they hold it a most dishonest part for one to touch a woman before he be twentie yeares of age, neither can any such matter be hid or dissembled; forasmuch as they bathe themselues together in riuers, and vse skinnes and other small couerings on the reines of their backes, the rest of their bodie being all naked. They vse no tillage, the greatest part of their foode is milke, or cheese, or flesh: neither hath any man any certaine quantitie of land to his owne vse; but their Magistrates and Princes do euery yeare allot a certaine portion of land to kindreds and tribes that inhabite together, and in such places as they think fit, whereof they giue many reasons, lest they should be led away by continuall custome from the practise of war to the vse of husbandrie, or lest they should endeuour to get themselues great possessions, and so the weaker should be thrust out and dispossest of their liuings by the mightie, or lest they should build too delicately for the auoyding of cold or heate, or lest they should waxe couetous and thirst after money, which is the beginning of all factions and dissentions; and lastly that they might keepe the Commons in good contentment, considering the parity betweene their reuenues and the possessions of the great ones. It is the greatest honor to their States to haue their confines lie wast and desolate far and neare about them: for that they take to be an argument of valour, when their borderers are driuen to forsake their countrey,* Cæsar.

and dare not abide neare them; and withall they thinke themſelues by that meanes much ſafer from any ſodaine incurſion. When a State waketh war, either by way of attempt or defence, they choſe Magiſtrates to commaund that war, hauing power of life and death: but in time of peace they haue no common Magiſtrate, but the chiefeſt men in the country and the villages, do interprete the law and determine of controuerſies. Theft committed out of the confines of their State is not infamous or diſhoneſt, but commended as an exerciſe of the youth and a keeping them from ſlouth: when any one of their Princes and chiefe men ſhall in an aſſembly or councell publiſh himſelfe for a leader vpon ſome exploit, and deſire to know who will follow him vpon the ſame, they that haue a good opinion of the man and the matter, and do promiſe him their helpe and aſſiſtance, are commended by the multitude: the reſt that refuſe to accompany him are held in the number of traitors, and neuer haue any credit afterwards. They hold it not lawfull to hurt a ſtranger that ſhall come vnto them vpon any occaſion, but do protect him from iniuries; to ſuch euery mans houſe is open & his table common. The time was when the Gaules excelled the Germaines in proweſſe and valor, and made war vpon them of their own accord, and by reaſon of the multitude of their people and want of ground for habitatiõ, they ſent many colonies ouer the Rheine into Germany. And therfore thoſe fertile places of Germany, which are neer vnto the wood Hercinia which Erathoſtenes & other Grecians tooke notice of by the name of Orcinia) were poſſeſſed by the Volgæ and Tectoſages, who dwelt there at this time, and keepe their ancient opinion of iuſtice and warlike praiſe. Now the Germaines ſtil continue in the ſame pouertie, want, and patience, as in former time; do vſe the ſame diet and apparell for their bodies; but the neighborhood and knowledge of other nations hath made the Gaules liue in a more plentiful maner, and by litle & litle haue bin weakned & ouerthrown in diuers battels, ſo that now they ſtãd not in cõpariſon with the Germaines. The breadth of the wood Hercinia is 9 dayes iourney ouer, for they haue no other differences of ſpace but by meanes of dayes iourneys: it beginneth at the confines of the Helvetij, Numeti, and runs along the riuer Danubius to the territories of the Daci, thence it declineth to the left ſide from the ſaid riuer, and by reaſon of the large extenſion thereof, it bordereth the confines of many other countries. Neither is there any Germaine that can ſay, that either he durſt aduenture, or did go, or had heard of the beginning of the ſame, although he had trauelled therein threeſcore dayes iourney. In this wood are many ſorts of wild beaſts, which are not to be ſeene in any other place: amongſt the reſt there is an Oxe like vnto a Hart, that in the middeſt of his forehead betweene his eares carieth a horne longer then vſuall, diuided at the end into many large branches; the female is in all reſpects like vnto the male, and beareth a horne of the ſame magnitude and faſhion. There is likewiſe another ſort of beaſts called Alces, not vnlike vnto a Goate, but ſomewhat bigger and without hornes, their legs are without ioynts, that when they take their reſt they neither ſit nor lie vpon the ground, and if they chance to fall they cannot riſe againe. When they take their reſt in the night, they leane againſt trees: the hunters hauing found out their footſteps and their haunt, do either vndermine the roote of ſuch trees, or ſo cut them aſunder that a ſmall matter will ouerthrow them, ſo that when they come according vnto their vſe to reſt themſelues againſt thoſe trees, they ouerthrow them with their waight, and fall with themſelues and ſo are taken. The third kind of beaſt are thoſe which are called Vri, ſomewhat

what leſſer then an Elephant, and in colour, kind and ſhape, not vnlike vnto a Bull, they are both ſtrong and ſwift, and ſpare neither man nor beaſt that commeth in their ſight: theſe they catch with greater labour and diligence in pits and ditches, and ſo kill them. The youth do inure and exerciſe themſelues in this kind of hunting, and ſuch as kill many of theſe beaſts, and ſhew moſt hornes, are highly commended: but to make them tame or any their litle ones, was neuer yet ſeene. The largeneſſe of their hornes, as alſo the faſhion and kind thereof, doth much differ from the hornes of the Oxen, and are much ſought after for cups to be vſed in their greateſt banquets, being firſt bound about the brim and trimmed with ſiluer.

OBSERVATIONS.

CÆSAR in this Chapter deſcribeth the courſe of life which the *Germaines* in his time held throughout the whole pollicie of their gouernement, the ſcope whereof was to make them warlike: to which he ſaith; that in times paſt the *Gaules* were as valiant and as warlike people as the *Germaines*: but the neighbourhood and knowledge of other nations, had taught them a more plentifull maner of life, which by litle and litle had weakened their ſtrength, and made them far inferiour to the *Germaines*. Which bringeth to our conſideration that which is often attributed to a ciuill life, that ſuch as taſt of the ſweetneſſe of eaſe, and are qualified with the complements of ciuilitie, haue alwayes an indiſpoſition to warlike practiſes. The reaſon is grounded vpon vſe and cuſtome; for diſcontinuance doth alwayes cauſe a ſtrangeneſſe and alienation, benumming the apteſt parts with vnreadie and painefull geſtures: and is ſo powerfull, that it doth not onely ſteale away naturall affection, and make parents forget to loue their children; but like a tyrant it is able to force vs to thoſe things which naturally we are vnfit for, as though the decrees of nature were ſubiect to the controlement of cuſtome. Much more then, the things got by vſe and practiſe, are as eaſily forgot by diſcontinuance, as they were obtained by ſtudious exerciſe. On the other ſide, there is nothing ſo horrible or dreadfull, but vſe maketh eaſie. The firſt time the Fox ſaw the Lion, he ſwounded for feare; the next time he trembled, but the third time he was ſo farre from feare, that he was ready to put a tricke of craft vpon him: whereby it appeareth, that the *Germaines* had no further intereſt in deedes of armes aboue the *Gaules*, then what the vſe of war had gained them: for as vſage continueth the property of a tenure, ſo non-vſage implieth a forfeiture. *Cato* was wont to ſay, that the *Romaines* would looſe their Empire, when they ſuffered the Greeke tongue to be taught amongſt them: for by that meanes they would eaſily be drawne from the ſtudie and practiſe of warre, to the bewitching delight of ſpeculatiue thoughts. And *Marcellus* was blamed for being the firſt that corrupted *Rome* with the delicate and curious workes of *Greece*: for before that he brought from the ſacking of *Syracuſa* the wel wrought tables of pictures and imagery, *Rome* neuer knew any ſuch delicacie, but ſtood ful fraught with armor & weapons of barbarous people, of the

Whether a ciuil life do weaken a warlike diſpoſition.

bloudy ſpoyles and monuments of victories and triumphs; which were rather fearefull ſhewes to inure their eyes to the horror of warre, then pleaſant ſights to allure their minds to affections of peace. Whereby it appeareth, that ſuch as ſuffer themſelues to be guided by the eaſie raigne of ciuill gouernement, or take a diſpoſition to that courſe of life, can hardly indure the yoke of war, or vndergo the tediouſneſſe of martiall labours.

CHAP. XI.

Baſilius his ſurpriſe vpon *Ambiorix.*

Cæſar. *CÆSAR finding by the diſcouerers which the* Vbij *ſent out, that the* Sweui *had all betaken themſelues to the woods, and doubting want of corne, foraſmuch as the* Germaines *of all other nations do leaſt care for tillage, he determined to go no further. But that his returne might not altogether free the barbarous people from feare, nor hinder the helpes and ſuccors which they were wont to ſend into* Gallia, *hauing brought backe his armie, he cut off ſo much of the furtheſt part of the bridge next vnto the* Vbij, *as came in meaſure to two hundred foote, and in the end of that which remained, he built a towre of foure ſtories, making other workes for the ſtrengthening of that place, wherein he left a garriſon of twelue cohorts vnder the cõmaund of young* C. Volcatius Tullus: *he himſelfe as corne waxed ripe, went forward to the warre of* Ambiorix *by the way of the wood of* Ardenna, *which is the greateſt in all* Gallia, *and extendeth it ſelfe from the bankes of* Rheine *and the confines of the* Treuiri, *to the ſeate of the* Neruij, *carying a breadth of fiue hundred miles. He ſent* L. M. Baſilius *before with all the horſe, to ſee if he could effect any thing either by preuention and ſpeedie arrinall, or by oportunitie, commaunding him not to ſuffer any fires to be made in his campe, leſt his comming might be diſcouered.* Baſilius *followeth his directions, and comming vpon them contrarie to their expectation, tooke many of the enemie abroad in the fields, and by their conduction made towards* Ambiorix, *where he remained in a place with a few horſemen: As fortune is very powerfull in all things, ſo ſhe challengeth a ſpeciall intereſt in matter of warre: for as it happened by great lucke, that he ſhould light vpon him vnawares and vnprouided, and that his comming ſhould ſooner be ſeene then heard of: ſo was it great hap, that all the armes which he had about him, ſhould be ſurpriſed, his horſes and his charrets taken, and that he himſelfe ſhould eſcape death. But this happened by reaſon of the wood that was about his houſe, according to the manner of the* Gaules, *who for auoyding of heate, do commonly build neare vnto woods and riuers: his followers and friends ſuſtaining a while the charge of the horſemen in a narrow place, while he himſelfe eſcaped in the meane time on horſebacke, and in flying was protected and ſheltered by the woods, whereby Fortune ſeemed very powerfull both in drawing on a danger, and in auoyding it.*

OBSER.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THE prerogatiue which Fortune hath alwayes challenged in the accidents of warre, and the ſpeciall intereſt, which ſhe hath in that courſe of life more then in other mens actions, hath made the beſt ſoldiers oftentimes to ſing a ſong of complaint, the burthen whereof yet remaineth, and ſerueth as a reaſon of all ſuch miſaduẽtures, *Fortune de la guerre*. Such as haue obſerued the courſe of things, and haue found one and the ſame man continuing the ſame meanes, this day happie, and the next day vnfortunate: and againe, two other men, the one aduiſed and reſpectiue, and the other violent and raſh, and yet both attaine the like good fortune by two contrarie courſes, or otherwiſe as oftentimes it falleth out, the more heedleſſe, the more happie; haue bene perſwaded that all things are ſo gouerned by fortune, that the wiſedome of man can neither alter nor amend them: and therefore to ſpend much time or tedious labour, either in carefull circumſpection, or heedfull preuention of that which is vnchaungeable, they hold as vaine as the waſhing of an *Æthiopian* to make him white. Of this opinion *Sylla* ſeemed to be; profeſſing himſelfe better borne to fortune thẽ to the warres, and acknowledging his happieſt victories to haue proceeded from his moſt heedleſſe and vnaduiſed reſolutions. And the great *Alexander* ſo caried himſelfe, as though he had bene of the ſame opinion, of whome *Curtius* ſaith: *Quoties illum fortuna, à morte reuocauit? quoties temerè in pericula vectũ perpetua fœlicitate protexit?* And *Plutarch* ſaith, that he had power of time and place.

Fortune.

Plutarke in the life of Sylla.

In the life of Alexander.

Others are not willing to aſcribe ſo much to Fortune, as to make themſelues the tenniſe ball to her racket: and yet they are content to allow her halfe of euery thing they go about, reſeruing the other moitie to their owne directions. And ſo like partners in an aduenture, they labour to improue their ſhare for their beſt aduantage.

Some other there are that will allow Fortune no part at all in their actions, but do confront her with a goddeſſe of greater power, and make Induſtrie the meanes to adnull her deitie. Of this opinion was *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, who hauing atchieued many notable victories, would not allow of the conceipt of the painter, that had made a table wherein Fortune was taking in thoſe cities, (which he had won) with a net, whilſt he himſelfe ſlept: but proteſted againſt her in that behalfe, and would not giue her any part in that buſineſſe.

Plutarke in the life of Sylla.

And thus the heathen world varied as much in their opinions touching Fortune, as Fortune her ſelfe did in her euents to themward: which were ſo diuers and chaungeable, as were able to enſnare the deepeſt wits, and confound the wiſedome of the greateſt iudgements: whereby the word Fortune vſurped a deitie, and got an opinion of extraordinarie power in the regiment of humane actions. But our Chriſtian times haue a readier leſſon, wherein is taught a ſoueraigne Prouidence, guiding and directing the thoughts of mens hearts, with the faculties and powers of the Soule, together with their externall actions, to

ſuch ends as ſhall ſeeme beſt to that omnipotent wiſedome, to whom all our abilities ſerue as inſtruments and meanes to effect his purpoſes, notwithſtanding our particular intendments, or what the heart of man may otherwiſe determine. And therefore ſuch as will make their wayes proſperous vnto themſelues, and receiue that contentment which their hope exſpecteth, or their labours would deſerue, muſt vſe thoſe helpes which the rules of Chriſtianitie do teach in that behalfe, and may better be learned from a Diuine, then from him that writeth Treatiſes of warre.

THE SEECOND OBSERVATION.

Celeritie and expedition.

QVINTVS *Curtius* ſpeaking of *Alexander* ſaith: *Nullam virtutem Regis iſtius magis quàm celeritatem laudauerim*: whereof this might be a ground, that he followed *Darius* with ſuch ſpeed after the ſecond battell he gaue him, that in eleuen dayes he marched with his armie ſixe hundred miles, which was a chaſe well fitting *Alexander* the Great, and might reſt vnexampled: notwithſtanding *Suetonius* giueth this generall report of *Cæſar*, that in matter militarie, *aut æquauit præſtantiſsimorum gloriam aut exceſsit*: and for this particular he ſaith, *quòd perſæpè nuntius de ſe prævenit*. And to ſpeake truly, he ſeemeth to challenge to himſelfe expedition and ſpeede as his peculiar commendation, grounding himſelfe vpon the daunger which lingring and foreſlowing of time, doth vſually bring to well aduiſed reſolutions: according to that of *Lucan* the Poet,

Nocuit ſemper differre paratis.

For by this ſpeedie execution of well digeſted directions, he gained two maine aduantages: firſt the preuention of ſuch helpes and meanes as the enemie wold otherwiſe haue had, to make the warre daungerous and the euent doubtfull. And ſecondly, the confuſion and feare, which doth conſequently follow ſuch maine diſappointments, being the moſt daungerous accidents that can happen to any partie, and the chiefeſt points to be endeuoured to be caſt vpon an enemie by him that would make an eaſie conqueſt.

Plutarke in the life of Pompey.

For proofe whereof amongſt many other examples, I will onely alledge his expedition to *Rome*, when he firſt came againſt *Pompey*, according to *Plutarkes* relation. In the meane time (ſaith he) newes came to *Rome*, that *Cæſar* had won *Ariminum*, a great citie in *Italie*, and that he came directly to *Rome* with a great power, which was not true: for he came but with 3000. horſe and 5000. foote, and would not tarie for the reſt of his armie, being on the other ſide of the Alpes in *Gallia*, but made haſt rather to ſurpriſe his enemies vpon the ſudden, being afraid and in garboile, not looking for him ſo ſoone, then to giue them time to be prouided, and ſo to fight with them in the beſt of their ſtrength, which fell out accordingly: for this ſudden and vnexpected approach of his, put all *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelfe into ſuch a tumult and confuſion, that no man knew what way to take for his ſafetie: for ſuch as were out of *Rome* came flying thither from all parts, and thoſe on the other ſide that were in *Rome*, went out

as

as fast, and forsooke the citie. And the amazement was such, that *Pompey* and the Senate fled into *Greece*, whereby it hapned that *Cæsar* in threescore dayes, was Lord of all *Italie* without any bloudshed.

Besides this manner of preuention by sudden surprize, we may see the like expedition in the very cariage and forme of his warres: for if the enemie had taken the field, he laboured by all meanes to bring him to fight: or otherwise if he refused to take the field, he thenendeuoured with the like speede to besiege him or blocke him vp in some hold, to the end he might bring the matter to a speedy vpshot, as he did with *Vercingẽtorix* at *Alesia*. But that which is most memorable touching this point, at the first taking in of *Spaine* in the garboile of the ciuill warres, he defeated two armies, ouerthrew two Generals, and tooke in two Prouinces in the space of fortie dayes. Neither did he make vse of expedition onely in his cariage of a war, but also in the action and execution of battel: for he neuer forsooke an enemie ouerthrowne and discomfited, vntill he had taken their campe, and defeated them of their chiefest helpes, which *Pompey* felt to his vtter ouerthrow: for the same day he routed him at *Pharsalia*, he took his campe, and inclosed a hill with a ditch and a rampier, where 25000. *Romaines*, were fled for their safetie, and brought them to yeeld themselues vnto him: and so making vse (as he saith) of the benefite of fortune, and the terror and amazemẽt of the enemie, he performed three notable seruices in one day.

Veni, Vidi, Vici.

Lib. 2. bell. ciuili.

And this he vsed with such dexteritie and depth of wisedome, that commonly the first victorie ended the warre, as by this at *Pharsalia* he made himselfe Commaunder of the East, and by that at *Tapso* he made himselfe Lord of *Africke*, and by the battell at *Monda* he got all *Spaine*.

To conclude this point, I may not forget the like speed and expedition in his workes: in fifteene dayes he cast a ditch and a rampier of fifteene foote in height, betweene the lake at *Geneua* and S. *Claudes* hill, containing nineteene miles. He made his bridge ouer the *Rheine* in ten daies. At the siege of *Marseilles* he made twelue gallies, and furnished them out to sea within thirtie daies after the timber was cut downe. And the rest of his workes with the like expedition.

Lib. 1. bell. ciuili.

CHAP. XII.

Catiuulcus poisoneth himselfe: Cæsar *deuideth his armie into three parts.*

Caesar.

NOW *whether* Ambiorix *did not make head & assẽble his forces of purpose, for that he determined not to fight, or whether he were hindered by the shortnesse of the time, and the sudden comming of the horsemen, thinking the rest of the armie had followed after, it remaineth doubtfull: but certaine it is, that he sent priuie messengers about the countrie, commaunding euery man to shift for himselfe, of whome some fled into the forrest* Arduenna, *others into fennes and bogges, and such as*

were neare the Ocean, did hide themſelues in ſuch Iſlands as the tides do commonly make: and many forſooke their country, and committed themſelues to their fortunes, to meere ſtraungers and vnknowne people. Catiuulcus *the king of the one halfe of the* Eburones, *who was a partie with* Ambiorix *in this matter, being now growne old and vnable to vndergo the labours either of warre or of flying, deteſting* Ambiorix *with all manner of execrations, as the author of that matter, dranke the iuice of Yew (whereof there is great ſtore in* Gallia *and* Germanie*) and ſo died. The* Segni *and* Conderuſi *of the nation and number of the* Germaines *that dwell betweene the* Eburones *and the* Treuiri, *ſent meſſengers to* Cæſar *to intreat him not to take them in the number of the enemie. And that he would not adiudge all the* Germains *dwelling on this ſide of the* Rheine, *to haue one and the ſame cauſe: for their part, they neuer ſo much as thought of warre, nor gaue any aide to* Ambiorix. Cæſar *hauing examined the matter by the torture of the captiues, commaunded them, that if any of the* Eburones *ſhould flie vnto them to bring them vnto him, and in ſo doing he wold ſpare their countrey: then deuiding his forces into three parts, he left the baggage of the whole armie at* Vatuca *a caſtle in the middeſt of the* Eburones, *where* Titurius *and* Armuculeius *were lodged. The winter before he made choice of this place, the rather for that the fortifications made the yeare before continued perfect and good, to the end he might eaſe the ſouldier of ſome labour, and there left the fourteenth legion for a guard to the cariages, being one of the three which he had laſt enrolled in* Italy, *making* Q. Tullius Cicero *their Commaunder, and with him he left two thouſand horſe.*

The armie being deuided, he commaunded Titus Labienus *to carrie three Legions towards that part of the ſea coaſt which bordereth vpon* Henapii, *and ſent* Trebonius *with the like number of Legions to waſt and harrie that countrey which confineth the* Aduatici: *he himſelfe with the other three determined to go to the riuer* Scaldis, *which runneth into the* Maſe, *and to the furtheſt parts of the wood* Ardenna: *for that he vnderſtood that* Ambiorix *with a few horſemen was fled to thoſe parts. At his departure he aſſured them that he would returne after the ſeuenth dayes abſence: for at that day he knew that corne was to be giuen to that legion which he had there left in garriſon. He counſelled* Labienus *and* Trebonius *to returne likewiſe by that day if they conueniently could, to the end that after communication of their diſcoueries and intelligence of the proiects of the enemie, they might thinke vpon a new beginning of warre.*

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS ſudden ſurpriſe vpon *Ambiorix* and the *Treuiri*, preuented (as I haue alreadie noted) their making head together, and put the enemie to ſuch ſhifts for their ſaftie, as occaſion or oportunity would affoord them in particular. And albeit the *Treuiri* were by this meanes diſperſed, yet they were not ouerthrowne, nor vtterly vanquiſhed, but continued ſtill in the nature and qualitie of an enemie, although

though they were by this occasion defeated of their chiefest meanes. And therefore the better to prosecute them in their particular flights, and to keepe thē disioyned, he diuided his armie into 3 parts, and made three seueral inroads vpon their countrey, hoping thereby to meet with some new occasion, which might giue an ouerture of a more absolute conquest: for diuersitie of motions do breed diuersitie of occasions, whereof some may happily be such as being well managed may bring a man to the end of his desires. But herein let vs not forget to obserue the maner he vsed in this seruice; for first he left a Rēdez vous where all the cariages of the armie were bestowed, with a competent garrison for the safe keeping thereof, to the end the soldiers might be assured of a retreit, what difficulty soeuer might befal them in that action, according to that of *Sertorius*, that a good captaine should rather looke behind him then before him: and appointed withall a certaine day when all the troopes should meete there againe: *Vt rursus* (as he sayth) *communicato consilio, exploratisq; hostium rationibus, aliud initium belli capere possint.* *Plutarke in the life of Sertorius.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar sendeth messengers to the bordering *States, to come out and sacke* the Eburones.

THERE was (as I haue already declared) no certaine band or troope of the enemie, no garrison or towne to stand out in armes; but the multitude was dispersed into all parts, and euerie man lay hid either in some secret and vnknowne valley, or in some rough and wooddie place, or in some bog, or in such other places as gaue them hope of shelter or safetie: which places were well knowne to the States of that countrey, and the matter required great diligence and circumspection, not so much in regard of the generall safetie of the armie (for there could no danger happen vnto them, the enemie being all terrified and fled) but in preseruing euery particular souldier; which notwithstanding did in part concerne the safetie of the whole armie: for hope of booty did draw many farre off out of their rankes, and the woods through vncertaine and vnknowne passages would not suffer the souldiers to go in troopes. If he would haue the businesse take an end, and the very race of those wicked people rooted out, the armie must be diuided, and many small bands must be made for that purpose: but to keepe the Maniples at their ensignes, according to the custome and vse of the Romaine *armie, the place it selfe was a sufficient guard for the barbarous people, who did not want courage in particular, both to lie in waite for them, and circumuent them as they were seuered from their companies: as in extremities of that nature what diligence could attaine vnto was prouided, but in such maner, that somewhat was omitted in* *Cæsar.*

the offensiue part, rather then it should be done with any detriment or losse to the souldier. Cæsar *sent messengers to the next bordering States, calling them out to sacke the* Eburones *in hope of bootie and pillage, to the end the* Gaules *should rather hazard their liues in the wood then the legionarie souldiers, as also that there might be many spoylers and destroyers, to the end that both the name and race of that State might be taken away. These things were acted in all parts and quarters of the* Eburones, *and the seuenth day drew neare which he had appointed for his returne to the cariages.*

OBSERVATIONS.

The benefit of open encounter.

IT is a commoditie which a Generall hath, when the enemie doth not refuse open encounter, for so he may be sure that the weight of the businesse will rest vpon militarie vertue and prowes of armes, as ready way makes to a speedy victory: but when it shal happen that the country doth affoord couert & protectiō to him that is more malicious then valorous; and through the fastnesse of the place refuseth to shew himselfe vnlesse it be vpon aduantage, the warre doubtlesse is like to prooue tedious, and the victory lesse honorable. In such cases there is no other way, then so to harry and wast a countrey, that the enemy may be famished out of his holds, and brought to subiection by scarcity and necessity: which is a meanes so powerfull, as well to supplant the greatest strength, as to meete with subterfuge and delay, that of it selfe it subdueth all opposition, and needeth no other help for atchieuing of victory, as may appear by the sequel of this sommers action. And herein let vs further obserue the particular care which *Cæsar* had of his soldiers, adiudging the whole army to be interessed in euery priuat mans safetie; a matter strange in these times, and of small consequence in the iudgement of our commanders, to whō particular fortunes are esteemed non-entities, and men in seueral of no valew: forasmuch as conquests are made with multitudes, concerning which point, I grant it to be as true, as it is often spoken in places besieged; that the losse of one man is not the losse of a towne; nor the defeating of twentie, the ouerthrow of a thousand: and yet it cannot be denied but the lesser is payd for the lawrell wreath, the more precious is the victorie: and it sitteth then at a hard rate, when it maketh the buyer bankerout, or inforceth him to confesse, that such another victorie would ouerthrow him. And therefore he that will buy much honour with litle bloud, must endeuour by diligent and carefull labour to prouide for the particular safetie of his souldiers. Wherein albeit he cannot valew an vnity at an equal rate with a number; yet he must consider, that without a vnity there can be no multitude: and not so only, but the life and strength of a multitude consisteth in vnities; for otherwise, neither had *Nero* needed to haue wished the people of *Rome* to haue had but one head, that he might haue cut it off at a stroke; nor *Sertorius* deuice had caried any grace, making a lustie fellow faile in plucking off the thinne taile of an old leane jade;

Plutarke in the life of Sertorius.

jade; and a litle weariſh man leaue the ſtumpe bare of a great tayld horſe, and that in a ſhort time, by plucking haire by haire.

CHAP. XIIII.

The *Sicambri* ſent out two thouſand horſe againſt *the Eburones, and by fortune they fall vpon* Cicero at Vatuca.

Cæſar.

HERE you ſhall perceiue the power that fortune hath, and what chaunces happen in the cariage of a war. There was (as I haue already ſaid) the enemie being ſcattered and terrified, no troop or band which might giue the leaſt cauſe of feare: the report came to the Germaines *on the other ſide of the* Rheine, *that the* Eburones *were to be ſacked, and that all men had libertie to make ſpoyle of them. The* Sicambri *dwelling next to the* Rheine, *ſet out two thouſand horſe, and ſent them ouer the riuer ſome thirtie miles below that place where* Cæſar *had left the halfe bridge with a garriſon: theſe horſe made directly towards the confines of the* Eubrones, *tooke many priſoners and much cattell, neither bog nor wood hindered their paſſage, being bred and borne in warre and theft. They inquire of the priſoners in what part* Cæſar *was, and found him to be gone farre off, and that all the armie was departed from thence: and one of the priſoners ſpeaking to them, ſaid, Why do yee ſeeke after ſo poore and ſo ſlender a bootie, when otherwiſe you may make your ſelues moſt fortunate? in 3 houres ſpace you may go to* Vatuca, *where the* Romaine *armie hath left all their fortunes; the garriſon in that place is no greater then can hardly furniſh the walles about, neither dare any man go out of the trenches. The* Germains *in this hope did hide the pillage which they had alreadie taken, and went directly to* Vatuca, *taking him for their guide that gaue them firſt notice thereof.*

OBSERVATIONS.

IT were as great a madneſſe to beleeue that a man were able to giue directions to meete with all chances, as to thinke no foreſight can preuent any caſualtie: for as the ſoule of man is endued with a power of diſcourſe, whereby it concludeth either according to the certainetie of reaſon, or the learning of experience, bringing theſe directions as faultie and inconuenient, and approouing others as ſafe and to be followed: ſo we are to vnderſtand, that this power of diſcourſe is limited to a certaine meaſure or proportion of ſtrength, and inſcribed in a

circle of leſſer capacitie, then the compaſſe of poſſibilitie, or the large extenſion of what may happen; for otherwiſe the courſe of deſtinie were ſubiect to our controlement, and our knowledge were equall to vniuerſall entitie, whereas the infinitie of accidents do farre exceede the reach of our ſhallow ſenſes, and our greateſt apprehenſion, is a ſmall and vnperfect experience. And therefore as ſuch as through the occaſion of publike employment, are driuen to forſake the ſhore of minute and particular courſes, and to flote in the Ocean of caſualties and aduentures, may doubtleſſe receiue ſtrong directions, both from the loadſtone of reaſon, and tramontane of experience to ſhape an eaſie and ſucceſſull courſe: ſo notwithſtanding they ſhall find themſelues ſubiect to the contrarietie of winds and extremitie of tempeſts, beſides many other lets and impediments beyond the compaſſe of their direction, to interrupt their courſe and diuert them from their hauen, which made the *Carthaginian* that was more happie in conquering then in keeping to crie out: *Nuſquam minus quàm in bello euentus rerum reſpondent*, as it happened in this accident.

Hannibal.

CHAP. XV.

The Sicambri come to Vatuca, and offer *to take the campe.*

Cæſar.

CICERO *hauing all the dayes before obſerued* Cæſars *direction with great diligence, and kept the ſouldiers within the camp, not ſuffering ſo much as a boy to go out of the trenches: the ſeuenth day diſtruſting of* Cæſars *returne according to his promiſe, for that he vnderſtood he was gone further into the countrey and heard nothing of his returne: and withall being moued with the ſpeeches of the ſouldiers, who termed their patient abiding within their trenches, a ſiege, foraſmuch as no man was ſuffered to go out of them, and exſpecting no ſuch chaunce within the compaſſe of three miles, which was the furtheſt, he purpoſed to ſend them for corne, eſpecially conſidering that nine legions were abroade, beſides great forces of horſe, the enemie being alreadie diſperſed and almoſt extinguiſhed; he ſent fiue cohorts to gather corne in the next fields which were ſeparated from the garriſon onely with a litle hill lying betweene the camp and the corne. There were many left in the camp of the other legions that were ſicke, of whom ſuch as were recouered to the number of three hundred, were ſent with them all vnder one enſigne: beſides a great companie of ſouldiers boyes, and great ſtore of cattell which they had in the campe. In the meane time came theſe* Germaine *Rutters, and with the ſame gallop as they came thither, they ſought to enter in at the Decumane gate; neither were they diſcouered by reaſon of a wood which kept them out of ſight vntill they were almoſt at the trenches, inſomuch as ſuch trades men and merchants as kept their booths and ſhops vnder the rampier, had no time*

time to be receiued into the campe, and the cohort that kept watch did hardly sustaine the first assault. The enemie was quickly spread about the workes, to see if they could find entrance in any other part: our men did hardly keepe the gates: the rest was defended by the fortification and the place it selfe: the whole campe was in a great feare, and one inquired of another the reason of the tumult, neither could they tell which way to carie their ensignes, or how any man should dispose of himselfe: one gaue out, that the campe was taken, and another that the armie and General was ouerthrowne, and that the Barbarous people came thither as conquerours: many tooke occasion from the place to imagine new and superstitious Religions, recalling to wind the fatall calamitie of Cotta *and* Titurius *that died in that place. Through this feare and confusion that had possest the whole campe, the* Germaines *were confirmed in their opinion which they had receiued from the prisoner, that there was no garrison at all in the workes. They endeuored to breake in, and incouraged one another not to suffer so great a fortune to escape them.* Publius Sextius Baculus *that had bene Primipilus vnder* Cæsar *(of whom mention hath bene made in the former battels) was there left sicke, and had taken no sustenance of fiue dayes before: he hearing the danger they were in, went vnarmed out of his cabbin, and seeing the enemie readie to force the gates, and the matter to be in great hazard, taking armes from one that stood next him, he went and stood in the port; the* Centurions *of the cohort that kept watch followed him, and they for a while ingaged the enemie. Sextius hauing receiued many great wounds fainted at length, and was hardly saued by those that stood next him. Vpon this respite the rest did so far assure themselues, that they durst stand vpon the workes, and make a shew of defence.*

OBSERVATIONS.

IN the former obseruation I disputed the interest which the whole armie hath in one particular man, which out of *Cæsars* opinion I concluded to be such as was not to be neglected: but if we suppose a partie extraordinarie, and tye him to such singular worth as was in *Sextius*, I then doubt by this example, whether I may not equall him to the multitude, or put him alone in the ballance to counterpoise the rest of his fellowes. For doubtlesse if his valour had not exceeded any height of courage, elswhere then to be found within those wals, the whole garrison had bene vtterly slaughtered, and the place had bene made fatall to the *Romaines* by two disastrous calamities. In consideration whereof, I will referre my selfe to the iudgement of the wise, how much it importeth a great Commaunder, not onely in honour as a rewarder of vertue, but in wisedome and good discretion, to make much of so gallant a spirite, and to giue that respect vnto him, as may both witnesse his valiant cariage, and the thankfull acceptation thereof on the behalfe of the Commonweale, wherin we need not doubt of *Cæsars* requitall to this *Sextius*, hauing by diuerse honorable relations in these warres, touching his valiantnesse and prowesse in armes, made

him partaker of his owne glorie, and recommended him to posteritie, for an example of true valour.

CHAP. XVI.

The Sicambri continue their purpose in taking the campe.

Cæsar. IN the meane time the souldiers, hauing made an end of reaping and gathering corne, heard the crie: the horsemen hasted before, and found in what daunger the matter stood; there was in that place no fortifications to receiue the affrighted souldiers: such as were lately inrolled and had no experience in matter of warre set their faces towards the Tribunes of the souldiers, and to the Centurions, and expected directions from them. There was none so assured or valiant, but were troubled thereat. The barbarous people hauing spied the ensignes a farre off, left off their assault, and first they thought it had bene the legions that had returned: afterward contemning the smalnesse of their number, they set vpon them on all sides: the souldiers boyes betooke themselues vnto the next hill, and being quickly put from thence, they cast thē-selues headlong amongst the Maniples and ensignes, and so put the souldiers in a worse feare then they were before. Some were of opinion to put thēselues into the forme of battell which resembleth a wedge, and so (forasmuch as the campe was at hand) Cuneus. to breake speedily through the enemie. In which course if any part should be circumuented and cut a peeces, yet they hoped the rest might saue themselues: others thought it better to make good the hill, and all of them to attend one and the same fortune. This aduise the old souldiers did not like of, who (as I said before) went out with the others that were sent a harvesting all vnder one ensigne by themselues: and therfore encouraging one another, Caius Trebonius a Romaine horseman being their captaine, and commaunding them at that time, brake through the thickest of the enemy, and came all safe into the campe. The boyes and horsemen following hard after them were likewise saued by the valour of the souldiers: but those that tooke the hill, hauing neuer had any vse of seruice, had neither the courage to continue in that resolution which they had before chosen, nor to imitate that force and speed which they had seene to haue helped their fellowes: but indeuouring to be receiued into the campe, fell into places of disaduantage: wherein diuers of their Centurions, who had lately bene taken from the lowest companies of other legions, and for their valours sake preferred to the highest and chiefest companies of this legion, least they should lose the honour which they had before gotten, fighting valiantly died in the place. Part of the souldiers by the prowesse of these men that had remoued the enemy, beyond all hope, got safe into the campe, the rest were defeated and slaine by the Germaines.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THIS circumstance doth affoord vs two obseruable points: the one, how much an old experienced souldier, that hath the vse and knowledge of seruice, exceedeth the nouicie of such as are newly enrolled. The second, which dependeth vpon the former, that valour and militarie vertue, is a consequent of vse and practise, rather then any inherent gift of nature. *Camillus* being sent with an armie against the *Thuscanes*, the *Romaine* souldier was much affrighted at the greatnesse of the hoast which the enemie had put on foote, which *Camillus* perceiuing, he vsed no other motiues of perswasion to strengthen their weakened minds, and to assure them of a happie day, but this: *Quòd quisque didicit aut consueuit, faciat*, as well knowing where to rouze their valour, and in what part their greatest strength rested. For as men cannot preuaile in that wherein they are vnexperienced, but will be wanting in the supplies of their owne particular, and miscarie euen vnder the directions of another *Anniball*: so a known and beaten tracke is quickly taken, and the difficulties of a businesse are made easie by acquaintance. Vse maketh maisteries, saith our English Prouerbe, and practise and art do farre exceed nature. Which continuall exercise and vse of armes amongst the *Romaines*, attained to such perfection, as made *militum sine rectore stabilẽ virtutẽ*, as *Liuie* witnesseth. And as *Antiochus* confessed to *Scipio*: *Quòd si vincuntur, non minuuntur animis tamen. Cæsar* in all his battels, had a speciall respect to the inexperience of the new inrolled bands, placing them either behind the armie for a guard to their cariages, as he did in the *Heluetian* action, or leauing them as a defence to the campe, or shewing them aloofe off, signifying thereby, as *Liuie* saith of the *Sicidians*: *Quòd magis nomen quàm vires ad presidium adferebant*. Whereby it consequently followeth, that militarie vertue proceedeth not so much from nature, or any originall habite, as it doth from exercise and practise of armes. I graunt there is a disposition in nature, and a particular inclination to this or that art: according to that of the Poet, *Lib. 7.*

Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis.

But this disposition must be perfected by vse, and falleth short of valour or militarie vertue, which consisteth of two parts. The first, in knowledge of the discipline of warre, and the rules of seruice: wherby they may vnderstand the course of things, and be able to iudge of particular resolutions. The second, is the faithfull indeuour in executing such proiects, as the rules of warre do propound for their safetie: both which parts are gotten onely by vse. For as the knowledge of militarie discipline, is best learned by practise, so the often repetitiõ therof, begetteth assurance in action, which is nothing else but that which we call Valour. In which two parts, these new enrolled bands had small vnderstanding, for they were as ignorant what course to take in that extremitie, as they were vnassured in their worser resolutions.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

A Cuneus described.

THIS *Cuneus*, or troupe of ſouldiers diſpoſed into a Triangle, was the beſt and ſafeſt way to breake through an enemie, for an Angle hath a renting and deuiding propertie, and is ſo ſharpe in the meeting of the two ſide lines, that the point thereof reſembleth indiuiſibilitie, and therefore is apt and proper to deuide aſunder, and to make a ſeparation of any quantitie. Which forme Nature hath alſo obſerued in the faſhion of ſuch creatures that haue a piercing and deuiding motion, as in fiſhes, that haue all heads for the moſt part ſharpe, and thence Anglewiſe are inlarged into the groſſeneſſe of their bodie. And birds likewiſe, the better to deuide the ayre, haue ſharpe billes & litle heads, with a body annexed of a larger proportion. The manner of the *Romaines* was (as I haue alreadie ſhewed) to ſtrengthen the piercing Angle with thicke compacted targets, and then enlarging the ſides as occaſion ſerued, either to the quantitie of an acute, or a right, or an obtuſe Angle: they gaue the charge in ſuch ſort, *vt quacunque parte percutere impetu ſuo, ſuſtineri nequeant*, as *Liuie* ſaith.

CHAP. XVII.

The Sicambri giue ouer their *purpoſe and depart.*

Cæſar.

THE Germains *being out of hope of taking the campe, foraſmuch as they ſaw our men to ſtand vpon the workes, they returned ouer the* Rheine *with the bootie which they had in the woods. And ſuch was the feare of the* Romaine *ſouldier, euen after the enemie was gone, that* Caius Valuſenus *being ſent that night to the campe with the horſemen, they would not beleeue that Cæſar and the armie were returned in ſafetie: feare had ſo poſſeſt their minds, that they did not let to ſay, that all the legions were ouerthrowne and the horſe had eſcaped by flight, and deſired there to be receiued: for they could not be perſwaded the armie being ſafe, that the* Germaines *would haue attempted to ſurpriſe their campe: of which feare they were deliuered by Cæſars arriuall. He being returned not ignorant of the euents of warre, complained of one thing onely, that the cohorts that kept the watch were ſent from their Stations, foraſmuch as no place ought to be giuen to the leaſt caſualtie. And there he ſaw how much fortune was able to do by the ſudden comming of the enemie, and how much more in that he was put off from the rampier and the gates which he had ſo nearely taken: but of all the reſt, this ſeemed the ſtraungeſt, that the* Germaines *comming ouer the* Rheine, *to depopulate and ſpoile* Ambiorix *and his countrey, had like to haue taken the* Romaine

maine *campe, which would haue bene as acceptable to* Ambiorix *as any thing that could happen.*

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old ſaying, auouched by *Plutarke*: *Fortuna id vnum hominibus non aufert quod benè fuerit conſultum*, which *Tiberius* the *Romaine* Emperour well vnderſtood: of whom *Swetonius* reporteth, *Quòd minimum fortunæ, caſibúſque permittebat*: and is the ſame which *Cæſar* counſelleth in this place, *Ne minimo quidem caſui locum relinqui debuiſſe*. It were a hard condition to expoſe a naked partie to the malice of an enemie, or to diſaduantage him with the loſſe of his ſight: an armie without a guard at any time is meerly naked, and more ſubiect to ſlaughter, then thoſe that neuer tooke armes: and the rather where the watch is wanting, for there ſudden chaunces can hardly be preuented: and if they happen to auoid any ſuch vnexpected caſualtie, they haue greater cauſe to thanke fortune for her fauour, then to be angrie with her for her malice: for preuention at ſuch times is out of the way, and they are wholy at her mercy; as *Cæſar* hath rightly deliuered touching this accident. And therefore, whether an armie march forward or continue in a place, ſleepe or wake, play or worke, go in hazard, or reſt ſecure, let not ſo great a bodie be at any time without a competent ſtrength, to anſwer the ſpite of ſuch miſaduentures.

Nothing ought to be left to the hazard of fortune.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæſar returneth to ſpoile the enemie: *puniſheth Acco.*

Cæſar.

CÆSAR *returning againe to trouble and vexe the enemie, hauing called a great number of people from the bordering cities, he ſent them out into all parts; all the villages and houſes which were any where to be ſeene, were burned to the ground, pillage and bootie was taken in euery place, the corne was not onely conſumed by ſo great a multitude of men and cattell, but beaten downe alſo by the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the yeare and continuall raine: inſomuch that albeit diuers did hide themſelues for the preſent, yet the armie being withdrawne, they muſt neceſſarily periſh through want and ſcarcitie. And oftentimes they happened of the place (the horſemẽ being deuided into many quarters,) where they did not onely ſee* Ambiorix, *but kept him for the moſt part in ſight: and in hoping ſtill to take him, ſome that thought to demerit* Cæſars *higheſt fauour, tooke ſuch infinite paines, as were almoſt beyond the power of nature. And euer there ſeemed but a litle betweene them and the thing they moſt deſired, but he conueyed himſelfe away through dens and woods,*

and dales, and in the night time ſought other countreys and quarters, with no greater a guard of horſe then foure, to whom onely he durſt commit the ſafetie of his life. The countrey being in this manner haried and depopulated, Cæſar *with the loſſe of two cohorts brought backe his armie to* Durocortum *in the ſtate of the men of* Rhemes, *where a Parliament being ſummoned, he determined to call in queſtion the conſpiracie of the* Senones *and* Carnutes, *and eſpecially* Acco *the principall author of that Councell, who being condemned was put to death* more maiorum. *Some other fearing the like iudgement, ſaued themſelues by flight: theſe he interdicted fire and water, and leauing two legions to winter in the confines of the* Treuiri, *and two other amongſt the* Lingones, *and the other ſixe at* Augendicum *in the borders of the* Senones, *hauing made prouiſion of corne for the armie, he went into* Italy, ad conventus agendos.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE concluſion of this Sommers worke, was ſhut vp with the ſacke and depopulation of the *Eburones*, as the extremitie of hoſtile furie, when the enemie lyeth in the faſtneſſe of the countrey, and refuſeth to make open warre. That being done, *Cæſar* proceeded in a courſe of ciuill iudgement with ſuch principal offendors as were of the conſpiracie: and namely, with *Acco*, whom he puniſhed in ſuch manner as the old *Romaines* were accuſtomed to do with ſuch offenders as had forfeited their loyaltie to their countrie, a kind of death which *Nero* knew not, although he had bene Emperour of *Rome* thirtene yeares, and put to death many thouſand people. The partie condemned was to haue his necke locked in a forke, and to be whipped naked to death: and he that was put to death after that maner, was puniſhed *more maiorum*. Such others as feared to vndergo the iudgement, and fled before they came to triall, were baniſhed out of the countrey, and made vncapable of the benefit of fire and water in that Empire. And thus endeth the ſixt Commentarie.

THE

THE SEVENTH AND LAST COMMENTARIE, VVRITTEN BY CÆSAR OF THE WARRE HE MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

THIS laſt Commentarie containeth the ſpecialities of the warre which Cæſar made againſt all the States of Gallia vnited into one confederacie, for the expelling of the Romaine gouernement out of that continent, whom Cæſar ouerthrew in the end, *Horribili vigilantia, & proditioſis operibus.*

CHAP. I.

The Gaules enter into new deliberations of reuolt.

GALLIA *being in quiet*, Cæſar *according to his determination went into* Italy *to keep Courts and Seſsions: there he vnderſtood that* P. Clodius *was ſlaine, and of a decree which the Senate had made, touching the aſſembly of all the youth of* Italy, *and thereupon he purpoſed to inrole new bands throughout the whole Prouince. Theſe newes were quickly caried ouer the Alpes into* Gallia, *and the* Gaules *themſelues added ſuch rumors to it, as the matter ſeemed well to beare; that* Cæſar *was now detained by the troubles at* Rome, *and in ſuch diſſentions could not returne to his army. Being ſtirred vp by this occaſion, ſuch as before were inwardly grieued, that they were ſubiect to the Empire of the people of* Rome, *did now more freely and boldly enter into the conſideration of warre. The Princes and chiefeſt men of* Gallia *hauing appointed councels and meetings in remote and wooddie places, complained of the death of* Acco, *and ſhewed it to be a fortune which might concerne themſelues: they pity the common miſery of* Gallia, *and do propound all maner of promiſes and rewards to ſuch as will begin the warre, and with the danger of their liues redeeme the libertie of their countrey: wherein they are to be very carefull not to forſlow any time, to the end that* Cæſar *may be ſtopped from comming to his armie before their ſecret conferences be diſcouered: which might eaſily be done, foraſmuch as neither the Legions*

Cæſar.

durſt go out of their wintering campes in the abſence of their Generall, nor the Generall come to the Legions without a conuoy. To conclude, they held it better to die in fight, then to looſe their auncient honour in matter of warre, and the libertie left them by their predeceſſors.

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS Chapter diſcouereth ſuch ſparkles of reuolt, riſing from the diſcontentment of the conquered *Gaules*, as were like to breake out into an vniuerſall burning; and within a while proued ſuch a fire, as the like hath not bin ſeene in the continent of *Gallia*: for this ſommers worke verified the ſaying of the *Samnites*, *Quòd pax ſeruientibus grauior quàm liberis bellum eſſet*, and was caried on either part with ſuch a reſolution, as in reſpect of this ſeruice, neither the *Gaules* did before that time ingage themſelues ſeriouſly in their countries cauſe, nor did the *Romaines* know the difficultie of their taske. But as *Epaminondas* called the fields of *Beotia*, *Mars* his ſcaffold where he kept his games; or as *Zenophon* nameth the city of *Epheſus* the Armorers ſhop: ſo might *Gallia* for this yeare be called the Theater of war. The chiefeſt encouragement of the *Gaules* at this time, was the trouble and diſſention at *Rome* about the death of *Clodius*, and the accuſation of *Milo* for killing *Clodius*.

Livie, lib. 3.

Plutarke in the life of Marcellus.

Plutarke in the life of Cicero.

This *Clodius* (as *Plutarke* reporteth) was a yong man of a noble houſe, but wild and inſolent, and much condemned for profaning a ſecret ſacrifice, which the Ladies of *Rome* did celebrate in *Cæſars* houſe, by comming amongſt them diſguiſed in the habite of a young ſinging wench, which he did for the loue of *Pompeia*, *Cæſars* wife: whereof being openly accuſed, was quitted by ſecret meanes which he made to the Iudges: and afterwards obtained the Tribuneſhip of the people, and cauſed *Cicero* to be baniſhed, and did many outrages and inſolencies in his Tribuneſhip: which cauſed *Milo* to kill him, for which he was alſo accuſed. And the Senate fearing that this accuſation of *Milo*, being a bold ſpirited man and of good quality, would moue ſome vproare or ſedition in the citie, they gaue commiſſion to *Pompey* to ſee iuſtice executed, as well in this cauſe as for other offences, that the city might be quiet and the commonwealth ſuffer no detriment: whereupon *Pompey* poſſeſt the market place, where the cauſe was to be heard with bands of ſouldiers and troopes of armed men. And theſe were the troubles in *Rome* vpon the death of *Clodius*, which the *Gaules* did take as an occaſion of reuolt, hoping thereby that *Cæſar* (being in *Gallia Ciſalpina*, which prouince was allotted to his gouernement, as well as that *Gallia* Northward the Alpes) would haue bene detained from his armie.

Ne quid reſp. detrementi capiat:

Gallia Ciſalpina & Trāſalpina.

The

CHAP. II.

The men of Chartres take vpon them the beginning of a reuolt, vnder the conduction of Cotuatus and Conetodunus.

THESE things being thus disputed, the men of Chartres did make themselues the chiefe of that warre, refusing no daunger for the common safetie of their countrey: and forasmuch as at that present they could not giue caution by hostage, lest the matter should be discouered; they desire to haue their couenants strengthened by oath, and by mutual collation of their military ensignes, which was the most religious ceremony they could vse to bind the rest not to forsake them, hauing made an entrance and beginning to that warre. The men of Chartres being commended by the rest, and the oathes of all them that were present being taken, and a time appointed to begin, they brake vp the assembly. When the day came, they of Chartres vnder the conduction of Cotuatus and Conetodunus, two desperat fellowes, vpon a watchword giuen, ranne speedily to * Genabum; and such Romaine citizens as were there vpon businesse, namely C. Fusius Cotta a knight of Rome, whom Cæsar had left ouerseer of the prouision of corne, they slue, and tooke their goods. The report thereof was quickly spread ouer all the States of Gallia: for when any such great or extraordinary matter happeneth, they signifie it through the country by an out-cry and shout, which is taken by others, and deliuered to the next, and so goeth from hand to hand, as it happened at this time: for that which was done at Genabum at Sunne rising, was before the first watch of the night was ended, heard in the confines of the Aruerni, which is aboue a hundred and threescore miles distant.

Cæsar.

** Orleans.*

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS manner of out-crie here mentioned to be vsuall in *Gallia*, was the same which remaineth in vse at this present in *Wales*, although not so frequent as in former times. For the custome is there, as often as any robberie happeneth to be committed, or any man to be slaine, or what other outrage or riot is done, the next at hand do go to some eminent place where they may be best heard, and there they make an outcrie or howling, which they call a *Hooboub*, signifying the fact to the next inhabitants, who take it as passionatly, and deliuer it further, and so from hand to hand it quickly spreadeth ouer all the countrey. It is a very readie way to put the countrey in armes, and was first deuised (as it seemeth) for the stay and apprehension of robbers and outlawes, who kept in

The Welch Hooboub.

ſtrong holds, and liued vpon the ſpoile of the bordering inhabitants, but otherwiſe it ſauoureth of Barbariſme, rather then of any ciuill gouernment.

CHAP. III.

Vercingetorix ſtirreth vp the Aruerni *to the like commotion and reuolt.*

Cæſar.

IN *like manner* Vercingetorix *the ſonne of* Celtillus *of the nation of the* Aruerni, *a young man of great power and authoritie, whoſe father was the Commaunder of all* Gallia, *and becauſe he ſought a kingdome, was ſlaine by thoſe of his owne State, calling together his followers and clients, did eaſily incenſe them to rebellion; his purpoſe being knowne, euery man tooke armes, and ſo he was driuen out of the towne of* Gergonia *by* Gabonitio *his vnkle and other Princes, who thought it not ſafe to make triall of that fortune. And yet he deſiſted not, but enrolled needie and deſperate people, and with ſuch troupes, whomſoeuer he met withall of the State, he did eaſily draw them to his partie: perſwading them to take armes for the defence of common libertie: and hauing at length got great forces together, he expelled his aduerſaries out of the towne: by whom he was himſelfe before thruſt out. He was called of his men by the title of King, and ſent Embaſſages into all parts, adiuring them to continue conſtant and faithfull. The* Senones, *the* Pariſij, *the* Pictones, *the* Carduci, *the* Turones, *the* Aulerci, *the* Lemouices, *the* Andes, *and all the reſt that border vpon the Ocean were quickely made on his partie: and by all their conſents the chiefe commaund was conferred vpon him. Which authoritie being offered him, he commaunded hoſtages, to be brought in vnto him from all thoſe ſtates, and a certaine number of ſouldiers to be ſent him with all ſpeed: he rated euery citie what proportion of armes they ſhould haue readie, and ſpecially he laboured to raiſe great ſtore of horſe: to extraordinarie diligence he added extraordinarie ſeueritie, compelling ſuch as ſtood doubtful by hard and ſeuere puniſhmẽt: for ſuch as had committed a great offence, he put to death by fire and torture: leſſer faults he puniſhed with the loſſe of their noſe or their eies, and ſo ſent them home, that by their example others might be terrified. By theſe practiſes & ſeuerity, hauing ſpeedily raiſed a great army, he ſent* Lucterius Carducus, *a man of great ſpirit and boldnes, with part of the forces towards the* Rutheni, *& he himſelf made towards the* Bituriges. *Vpon his coming the* Bituriges *ſent to the* Hedui, *in whoſe protection they were to require aide againſt* Vercingetorix. *The* Hedui *by the aduice of the Legats which* Cæſar *had left with the army, ſent forces of horſe and foote to the aid of the* Bituriges, *who comming to the riuer* Loyer, *which diuideth the* Bituriges *from the* Hedui, *after a few dayes ſtay, not daring to paſſe ouer the riuer, returned home againe, bringing word to our Legats that they durſt not commit themſelues to the* Bituriges, *and ſo returned: for if they had*

had paſſed ouer the riuer, the Bituriges *had incloſed them in on the one ſide, and the* Aruernii *on the other. But whether they did returne vpon that occaſion, or through perfidious trecherie, it remaineth doubtfull. The* Bituriges *vpon departure, did preſently ioyne themſelues with the* Aruernij.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is obſerued by ſuch as are acquainted with matter of Gouernement, that there ought to be alwaies a proportion of qualitie betweene him that commaundeth, and them that obey: for if a man of *Sardanapalus* condition ſhould take vpon him the charge of *Marius* armie, it were like to take no better effect, then if *Manlius* had the leading of laſciuious *Cinædes*. And as we may obſerue in œconomicall pollicie, a diſſolute maiſter may as ſoone commaund haire to grow on the palme of his hand, as to make a vertuous ſeruant: but the reſpect of dutie betweene ſuch relatiues doth likewiſe inferre the like reſpect of qualitie: ſo in all ſorts and conditions of command, there muſt be ſympathiſing means to vnite the diuerſitie of the parts, in the happie end of perfect Gouernement. In this new Empire which befell *Vercingetorix*, we may obſerue a double proportion betweene him and his people. The firſt, of ſtrength and abilitie: and the other of qualitie and reſemblance of affection: vpon the aſſurance of which proportion he grounded the auſteritie of his commaund. For it appeareth that his firſt beginning was by perſwaſion and intreatie, and would indure no direction, but that which was guided by a looſe and eaſie raine, holding it neither ſafe nor ſeemely, but rather a ſtraine of extreame madneſſe, firſt to puniſh or threaten, and then to want power to make good his iudgements: but being ſtrengthened by authoritie from themſelues, and backed with an armie, able to controle their diſobedience, he then added puniſhment as the enſigne of magiſtracie, and confirmed his power by rigorous commaunds; which is as neceſſarie a demonſtration of a well ſetled gouernment, as any circumſtance belonging thereunto.

There ought to be a proportion of quality betweene a Commander and his ſouldiers.

Muli Mariani.

Such a maiſter, ſuch a ſeruant.

Touching the reſemblance and proportion of their qualities, it is manifeſtly ſhewed by the ſequele of this hiſtorie, that euery man deſired to redeeme the common libertie of their couutrey, in that meaſure of indeuour as was fitting ſo great a cauſe. Amongſt whom *Vercingetorix* being their chiefe Commander, *ſummæ diligentiæ* (as the ſtorie ſaith) added *ſummam ſeueritatem*, as well aſſured, that the greater part would approue his iuſtice, and condemne the vncertaintie of doubtfull reſolutions, deſiring no further ſeruice at their hands, then that wherein himſelfe would be the foremoſt. In imitation of *Valerius Coruinus*: *Facta mea non dicta, vos milites ſequi volo, nec diſciplinam modo ſed exemplum etiam à me petere.* And therefore the partie was like to be well vpheld, foraſmuch as both the Prince and the people were ſo farre engaged in the matter intended, as by the reſemblance of an earneſt deſire might anſwer the meaſure of due proportion.

Linie.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar commeth into Gallia, and by a deuice getteth to his armie.

Cæsar.

THESE things being told Cæsar in Italie; as soone as he vnderstood that the matters in the citie were by the wisedome of Pompey brought into better state, he tooke his iourney into Gallia, and being come thither he was much troubled how to get to his armie: for if he should send for the Legions into the Prouince, he vnderstood that they should be certainely fought withall by the way in his absence. If he himselfe should go vnto them, he doubted how he might safely commit his person to any, although they were such as were yet in peace. In the meane time Lucterius Cadurcus being sent against the Rutheni, doth easily vnite that State to the Aruerni: and proceeding further against the Nitiobriges and the Gabales, he receiued hostages of both of them, and hauing raised a great power he laboured to breake into the Prouince, and to make towards Narbo. Which being knowne, Cæsar resolued by all meanes to put him by that purpose, and went himselfe to Narbo: at his comming he incouraged such as stood doubtfull or timerous, and placed garrisons amongst the Rutheni, the Volsci, and about Narbo, which were frontier places and neare vnto the enemie, and commaunded part of the forces which were in the Prouince, together with those supplies which he had brought out of Italy, to go against the Heluij which are adioyning vpō the Aruerni. Things being thus ordered, Lucterius being now suppressed and remoued, holding it to be daungerous to enter among the garrisons, he himselfe went towards the Heluij. And albeit the hill Gebenna which deuideth the Aruernij from the Heluij, by reason of the hard time of winter and the depth of the snow, did hinder their passage, yet by the industrie of the souldier making way through snow of sixe foote deepe, they came into the confines of the Aruerni; who being suddenly and vnawares suppressed, litle mistrusting an inuasion ouer the hill Gebenna, which incloseth them in as a wall, and at that time of the yeare doth not affoord a path to a single man alone, he cōmanded the horsemen to scatter thēselues farre and neare to make the enemie the more afraid. These things being speedily caried to Vercingentorix, all the Aruerni full of feare and amazement, flocked about him, beseeching him to haue a care of their State, and not to suffer themselues to be sacked by the enemie, especially now at this time, when as all the warre was transferred vpon them. Vpon their instant intreatie he remoued his campe out of the territories of the Bituriges, and marched towards the countrey of the Aruerni. But Cæsar hauing continued two dayes in those places, forasmuch as he vnderstood both by vse and opinion, what course Vercingētorix was like to take, he left the armie, pretending some supplies of horse, which he went to raise, and appointed young Brutus to commaund those forces, admonishing him to send out the horsemen into all quarters, and that he himselfe would not be absent from the campe aboue three dayes. These things being thus setled, none of his followers

followers knowing his determination, by great iourneys he came to Vienna, *where taking fresh horse which he had layd there many dayes before, he ceassed neither night nor day, vntill he came through the confines of the* Hedui *to the* Lingones, *where two legions wintered, to the end if the* Hedui *should vndertake any thing against him he might with speed preuent it: being there, he sent to the rest of the Legions, and brought them all to one place, before the* Aruernij *could possibly haue notice of it.*

OBSERVATIONS.

CÆSAR vpon his first entrance into *Gallia*, was perplexed how to get to his armie: and the matter stood in such tearmes, as brought either the legions or his owne person into hazard. For (as he saith) if he should send for the legions to come vnto him, they should doubtlesse be fought withall by the way, which he was loath to aduenture, vnlesse himselfe had bene present: or otherwise if he himselfe had gone vnto them, he doubted of the entertainemenr of the reuolting *Gaules*, and might haue ouerthrowne his armie, by the losse of his owne person. In this extremitie of choice, he resolued vpon his owne passage to the armie, as lesse daungerous and more honorable, rather then to call the legions out of their wintering campes, where they stood as a checke to bridle the insolencie of the mutinous *Gaules*, and so to bring them to the hazard of battell in fetching their Generall into the field: whereby he might haue lost the victorie before he had begun the warres. And for his better safetie in this passage, he vsed this cunning. Hauing assured the *Romaine* Prouince by strong and frequent garrisons on the frontiers, and remoued *Lucterius* from those parts, gathering together such supplies as he had brought with him out of *Italy*, with other forces which he found in the Prouince, he went speedily into the territories of the * *Aruerni*, making a way ouer the hill * *Gebenna*, at such a time of the yeare as made it vnpassable for any forces, had they not bene led by *Cæsar*, only for this purpose, to haue it noised abroad, that whereas *Vercingẽtorix* and the *Aruerni* had principally vndertooke the quarrell against the *Romaines*, and made the beginning of a new warre, *Cæsar* would first deale with them, and lay the weight thereof vpon their shoulders by calling their fortunes first in question, to the end he might possesse the world with an opinion of his presence in that country, and draw *Vercingentorix* back againe to defend his state, whilest he in the meane time did slip to his armie without suspition or feare of perill: for staying there no longer then might serue to giue a sufficient colour to that pretence, and leauing those forces to execute the rest, and to make good the secret of the proiect, he conueyed himselfe to his armie with such speed and celeritie, as doth verifie the saying of *Suetonius*: *quòd persæpè nuncios de se præuenit.*

To abuse an enemy by way of stratageme commendable in a Commaunder.

* *Auergne. La montagne de Geneue.*

Vita Cæsaris.

These blinds and false intendments, are of speciall vse in matter of warre and serue aswell to get aduantages vpon an enemy, as to cleare a difficultie by cleanly euasion: neither is a Commaunder the lesse valued for fine conuey-

ance in militarie proiects, but deſerueth rather greater honour for adding art vnto valour, and ſupplanting the ſtrength of oppoſition, with the ſleight of wit. *Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirit?* hath alwayes bene held a principle amongſt men of warre. And *Liſander* his counſell is the ſame in effect, that where the Lions skin wil not ſerue the turne, there take the foxes. *Carbo* ſpake it to the commendation of *Silla*, that he had to do both with a Lion and a Fox, but he feared more his Foxes pate then his Lions skin. It is reported that *Annibal* excelled all other of his time for abuſing the enemie in matter of ſtratageme, for he neuer made fight but with an addition of aſſiſtants, ſupporting force with art, and the furie of armes with the ſubtiltie of wit.

Of late time amongſt other practiſes of this nature, the treatie at *Oaſtend* is moſt memorable, entertained onely to gaine time, that while ſpeech of parle was continued, and pledges deliuered to the Archduke *Albertus*, for the ſafetie of ſuch as were ſent into the towne to capitulate with the Generall, there might be time gained for the ſending in of ſuch ſupplies of men and munition as were wanting, to make good the defence thereof: which were no ſooner taken in, but the treatie proued a ſtratageme of warre.

In theſe foyles and trickes of wit, which at all times and in all ages haue bene highly eſteemed in men of warre, as ſpeciall vertues beſeeming the condition of a great Commaunder, if it be demaunded how farre a Generall may proceede in abuſing an enemie by deedes or wordes? I cannot ſpeake diſtinctly to to the queſtion, but ſure I am, that *Surena* Lieutenant generall of the *Parthian* armie did his maiſter good ſeruice in abuſing *Craſſus* the *Remaine* Generall by faire promiſes; or as *Plutarch* ſaith by foule periurie, till in the end he brought his head to be an actor in a Tragedie: albeit *Surena* neuer deſerued well of good report ſince that time. Howſoeuer men of ciuill ſocietie ought not to draw this into vſe from the example of ſouldiers, foraſmuch as it is a part of the profeſſion of cutting of throates, and hath no preſcription but in extremities of warre.

Plut. Craſſus.

CHAP. V.

Vercingetorix beſiegeth Gergonia: Cæſar *taketh in Vellaunodunum and* Genabum.

Cæſar.

THIS *being knowne,* Vercingetorix *brought back his army againe into the country of the* Bituriges, *and thence marched to beſiege* Gergonia *a towne held by the* Boij, *whom* Cæſar *had left there after the* Heluetian *warre, and giuen the iuriſdiction of the towne to the* Hedui, *which brought* Cæſar *into great perplexitie, whether he ſhould keepe the Legions in one place for that time of winter which remained, and ſo ſuffer the ſtipenda-*

ſtipendaries of the Hedui to be taken and ſpoiled, whereby all Gallia might take occaſion to reuolt: foraſmuch as the Romaines ſhould ſeeme to affoord no protection or countenance to their friends, or otherwiſe draw his army out of their wintering camps ſooner then was vſuall, and thereby become ſubiect to the difficulties of prouiſion and cariage of corne. Notwithſtanding it ſeemed better, and ſo he reſolued rather to vndergo all difficulties, then by taking ſuch a ſcorne to looſe the good wils of all his followers. And therefore perſwading the Hedui diligently to make ſupply of neceſſarie prouiſions, he ſent to the Boij to aduertiſe them of his comming, to encourage them to continue loyall, and nobly to reſiſt the aſſaults of the enemie: and leauing two Legions with the cariages of the whole armie at Agendicum, he marched towards the Boij. The next day comming to a Towne of the Senones called Vellaunodunum, he determined to take it in, to the end he might leaue no enemie behind him, which might hinder a ſpeedie ſupply of victuals: and in two dayes he incloſed it about with a ditch and a rampier: the third day ſome being ſent out touching the giuing vp of the towne, he commanded all their armes and their cattell to be brought out, and ſix hundred pledges to be deliuered. Leauing C. Tribonius a Legate to ſee it performed, he himſelfe made all ſpeed towards Genabum in the territories of the men of Chartres, who as ſoone as they heard of the taking in of Vellaunodunum, perſwading themſelues the matter would not reſt ſo, they reſolued to put a ſtrong garriſon into Genabum. Thither came Cæſar within two dayes, and incamping himſelfe before the Towne, the euening drawing on, he put off the aſſault vnto the next day, commaunding the ſouldiers to prepare in a readineſſe ſuch things as ſhould be neceſſary for that ſeruice. And foraſmuch as the towne of Genabum had a bridge leading ouer the riuer Loier, he feared leſt they of the towne would ſteale away in the night: for preuention whereof, he commaunded two Legions to watch all night in armes. The townesmen a litle before midnight went out quietly and began to paſſe ouer the riuer, which being diſcouered by the skouts, Cæſar with the Legions which he had ready in armes burnt the gates, and entring the Towne tooke it. The greateſt number of the enemie being taken, and a very few eſcaping by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the bridge, and the way which ſhut in the multitude, the towne being ſacked and burned, and giuen for a bootie to the ſouldiers, he caried his armie ouer the riuer Loier into the territories of the Bituriges. *Ligeris.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is a knowne and an approued ſaying, *E malis minimum eſt eligendum*, but in a preſentment of euils to be able to diſcerne the difference and to chuſe the leaſt, *Hic labor, hoc opus*. *Vercingetorix* beſieging *Gergonia* (a ſtipendarie towne belonging to the *Hedui*, that of long time had ſerued the *Romaine* Empire) at ſuch a time of the yeare as would not affoord prouiſion of victuall for the maintenance of an armie, but with great difficultie and inconuenience of cariage and conuoy; *Cæſar* was much perplexed, whether he ſhould forbeare to ſuccour the towne and raiſe the ſiege, or vndergo the hazard of long and tedious conuoyes. *Clairmont en Auergne.*

A matter often falling into diſpute, although it be in other termes, whether honeſtie or honourable reſpect ought to be preferred before priuate eaſe and particular commoditie? *Cæſar* hath declared himſelfe touching this point, preferring the honour of the people of *Rome*, as the maieſtie of their Empire, and the reputation which they deſired to hold, touching aſſiſtance and protection of their friends, before any inconuenience which might happen to their armie. And not without good reaſons, which may be drawne aſwell from the worthineſſe of the cauſe, as from the daunger of the effect: for duties of vertue and reſpects of honeſtie, as the nobleſt parts of the mind, do not onely chalenge the ſeruice of the inferiour faculties of the ſoule, but do alſo commaund the bodie and the caſualties thereof, in ſuch ſort as is fitting the excellencie of their prerogatiue, for otherwiſe vertue would find but bare attendance, and might leaue her ſcepter for want of lawfull authoritie. And therefore *Cæſar* choſe rather to aduenture the armie vpon the caſualties of hard prouiſion, then to blemiſh the *Romaine* name with the infamie of diſloyaltie. Which was leſſe daungerous alſo in regard of the effect: for where the bond is of valew, there the forfeiture is great: and if that tie had bene broken, and their opinion deceiued touching the expectation of aſſiſtance and help, all *Gallia* might haue had iuſt cauſe of reuolt, and diſclaimed the *Romaine* gouernement for non protection. To conclude then, let no man deceiue himſelfe in the preſent benefit, which priuate reſpect may bring vpon the refuſall of honeſt regard, for the end will be a witneſſe of the errour, and proue honeſtie to be beſt policie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Cæſar went alwayes prouided of foure things.

IT is obſerued by ſome writers, that *Cæſar* neuer vndertooke any action, or at the leaſt brought it not to triall, but he firſt aſſured himſelfe of theſe foure things: the firſt was prouiſion of victuals, as the very foundation of warlike expeditions, whereof I haue alreadie treated in the firſt Commentarie: the difficultie whereof, made him ſo doubtfull to vndertake the releeſe of *Gergonia*. And doubtleſſe whoſoeuer goeth about any enterpriſe of warre, without certaine meanes of victuall and prouiſion, muſt either carie an armie of Camelions that may liue by the aire, or intend nothing but to build caſtels in the aire, or otherwiſe ſhall be ſure to find his enemie either in his boſome, or as the prouerb is in *Plutarke*, to leape on his belly with both his feete.

Plutarke in the life of Lucullus.

The ſecond thing was prouiſion of all neceſſaries, which might be of vſe in that ſeruice: wherewith he alwayes ſo abounded, that there might rather want occaſion to vſe them, then he be wanting to anſwer occaſion. And theſe were the inſtruments whereby he made ſuch admirable workes, ſuch bridges, ſuch mounts, ſuch trenches, ſuch huge armades, as appeareth by the ſea fight with the maritimate cities of *Gallia*: according to which his former cuſtome, foraſmuch as the day was farre ſpent before he came to *Genabum*, he commaunded

Comment. 3.

ſuch

ſuch things to be fitted and had in a readineſſe, as might ſerue for the ſiege the next day.

The third thing was an armie for the moſt part of old ſouldiers, whom the *Romaines* called *Veterani*, whereof he was likewiſe at this time prouided; for the two legions which were freſh and lately inroled, he left at *Agendicum* with the cariages, taking onely the old ſouldiers for this ſeruice, as knowing that in *Pugna vſum amplius prodeſſe quàm vires.*

The fourth thing was the triall and experience of the enemies forces, which the former victories aſſured him to be inferiour to the *Romaines*, being alwayes a rule in the *Romaine* diſcipline (as I haue already noted) by light and eaſie skirmiſhes, to acquaint the ſouldiers with the maner of the enemies fight: *Ne eos nouum bellum, nouus hoſtis terreret*, as *Liuy* ſaith. *Comment. 1.*

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar taketh in Nouiodunum, and beateth *the enemie comming to reſcue* the Towne.

VERCINGETORIX *vnderſtanding of* Cæſars *comming, left the ſiege and went to meete him.* Cæſar *reſolued to take a towne lying in his way in the territories of the* Bituriges, *called* Nouiodunum: *which they of the town perceiuing, ſent out vnto him to beſeech him to ſpare them, and to giue order for their ſafetie: and to the end he might ſpeed that buſineſſe with as much celeritie as he had accompliſhed former ſeruices, he commanded them to bring out their armes, their horſe, and to deliuer pledges. Part of the hoſtages being giuen, while the reſt were in deliuering ouer, diuers Centurions and a few ſouldiers being admitted into the towne to ſeeke out their weapons and their horſes, the horſemen of the enemie which marched before* Vercingetorix *armie were diſcouered a farre off; which the townesmen had no ſooner perceiued, and thereby conceiued ſome hope of releefe, but they preſently took vp a ſhout and betooke themſelues to their armes, ſhut the gates, and began to make good the wals. The Centurions that were in the towne perceiuing ſome new reſolution of the* Gaules *with their ſwords drawne, poſſeſt themſelues of the gates, and ſaued both themſelues and their men that were in the towne.* Cæſar *commanded the horſemen to be drawne out of the campe, and to begin the charge; and as they began to giue ground, he ſent foure hundred* Germaine *horſemen to ſecond them, whom he had reſolued to keepe with him from the firſt, who charged the enemie with ſuch furie, that the* Gaules *could no way endure the aſſault, but were preſently put to flight; many of them being ſlaine, the reſt retired backe to the armie. Vpon their ouerthrow, the townesmen were worſe affrighted then they were before; and hauing apprehended ſuch as were thought* *Cæſar.*

to haue ſtirred vp the people, they brought them to Cæſar *and yeelded themſelues vnto him: which being ended,* Cæſar *marched towards the towne of* Auaricum, *which was the greateſt and beſt fortified of all the townes in the territories of the* Bituriges; *for that being taken in, he doubted not to bring the whole State of the* Bituriges *eaſily into his ſubiection.*

OBSERVATIONS.

The meanes which the Romaines vſed to weaken an enemie.

FOraſmuch as nothing is more chaungeable then the minde of man, which (notwithſtanding the low degree of baſenes wherein it often ſitteth) will as occaſion giueth way to reuenge, readily amount to the height of tyrannie, and ſpare no labour to crie quittance with an enemie: it hath bin thought expedient in the wiſedome of foregoing ages, to plucke the wings of ſo mounting a bird, and to depriue an enemie of ſuch meanes, as may giue hope of libertie by mutinie and reuolt.

The practiſe of the *Romaines* in taking in any towne, was to leaue them forceleſſe, that howſoeuer they might ſtand affected, their nailes ſhould be ſurely pared for ſcratching, and their power confined to the circuit of their mind: for as it appeareth by this and many other places of *Cæſar*, no rendrie of any towne was accepted, vntill they had deliuered all their armes, both offenſiue and defenſiue, with ſuch engines and inſtruments of warre, as might any way make for the defence of the ſame. Neither that onely, but ſuch beaſts alſo, whether horſe or Elephant or any other whatſoeuer, as might any way aduantage the vſe of thoſe weapons: which as it was a great diſmay and weakning to the enemie, ſo was it ſhort of the third condition, commaunding the deliuery of ſo many hoſtages or pledges as were thought conuenient, being the prime of their youth, & the flower of their manhood, and were as the marrow to their bones, and the ſinewes to that bodie. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the remnant was much diſabled in ſtrength, concerning their number of fighting men; and ſuch as were left had neither armes nor meanes to make reſiſtance.

The Turke obſerueth the ſame courſe with the Chriſtians, but in a more cruell and barbarous maner; for he commeth duely at a certaine time, not regarding any former demeanour, and leadeth away the flower of their youth, to be inueſted in impietie and infidelitie, and to be made vaſſalles of heatheniſh impuritie.

Oftentimes we reade, that a conquered people were not onely interdicted armes, but the matter alſo and the art whereby ſuch armes were made and wrought; for where the people are great, and mettall and matter plentie, it is a chaunce if artificers be wanting to repaire their loſſe, and to refurniſh their armourie. At the ſiege of *Carthage* the *Romaines* hauing taken away their armes, they notwithſtanding finding ſtore of mettall within the towne, cauſed workemen to make euery day a hundred targets and three hundred ſwords, beſides

beſides arrowes and caſting ſlings, vſing womens haire for want of hempe, and pulling downe their houſes for timber to build ſhipping. Whereby we may perceiue, that a General cannot be too carefull to depriue an enemie of all ſuch helpes as may any way ſtrengthen his hand, or make way to reſiſtance.

CHAP. VII.

Vercingetorix perſwadeth the Gaules *to a new courſe of warre.*

VERCINGETORIX *hauing receiued ſo many loſſes one in the necke of another,* *Vellaunodunum, * Genabum & *Nouiodunum *being taken, he calleth his men to counſel and telleth them that the war muſt be caried in another courſe then it hath bin heretofore; for they muſt endeuor by all means to keepe the* Romaines *from forrage and conuoy of victuall: which would eaſily be brought to paſſe, for aſmuch as they themſelues did abound in horſmen: & for that the time of the yeare did not yet ſerue to get forrage in the field, the enemy muſt neceſſarily ſeek it in houſes and barnes, whereby the forragers would dayly be cut off by their horſemen. Moreouer, for their ſafety and defence they were to neglect their priuate commoditie: their houſes and their villages were to be burnt vp round about as far as* Boia, *that the* Romaines *might fetch their forrage thence. For themſelues they thought it reaſon that they ſhould make ſupply of victuall and prouiſion, in whoſe poſſeſsions they were, and for whom they fought. By this meanes the* Romaines *would neuer be able to endure that want as would befal them, or at the leaſt be conſtrained to fetch their prouiſions farre off, with great daunger and perill to themſelues, neither did it make any matter whether they killed them or put them beſides their cariages, for without neceſſary ſupplies they were neuer able to hold war. And to conclude, ſuch towns were likewiſe to be ſet on fire, as by the ſtrength of their ſituation were not ſafe from daunger, leſt they ſhould proue receptacles to linger and detract the war, and ſerue the* Romaines *for booty and ſupplies of prouiſion. And albeit theſe things might ſeem heauy and bitter, yet they ought to eſteem it more grieuous to haue their wiues and their children led away into ſeruitude, and themſelues to be ſlaine by the ſword of the enemie, which doth neceſſarily fal vpon a conquered people. This opinion was generally approued by the conſent of all men, and more then twenty cities of the* Bituriges *were burnt in one day; the like was done in other States, great fires were to be ſeene in all parts: and although all men tooke it very grieuouſly, yet they propounded this comfort vnto themſelues, that the enemie being by this meanes defeated, they ſhould quickly recouer their loſſes. Touching* Auaricum *they diſputed it in cõmon councel, whether it ſhould be burnt or defended: the* Bituriges *do proſtrate themſelues at the feete of all the* Gaules, *that they might not be forced to ſet on fire with their owne hands, the*

Cæſar.
* *Ville neufue en la franch conte.*
* *Orleans.*
* *Noyon.*

faireſt citie in all Gallia, *being both an ornament and a ſtrength to their ſtate; they would eaſily defend it by the ſite of the place, being incircled round about with a riuer and a bogge, and being acceſſable by one narrow paſſage. At length leaue being graunted them to keepe it,* Vercingetorix *at firſt diſſwading them from it; and afterwards yeelding vnto it, moued by the intreatie of the* Gaules, *and the commiſeration of the common multitude; and ſo a fit garriſon was choſen to defend the towne.*

OBSERVATIONS.

It is a hard matter in following a buſineſſe, to hit that courſe which may moſt aduantage it.

I HAVE ſeene an Impreſe with a circle, and a hand with a ſharpe ſtile pointing towards the center with this motto: *Hic labor, hoc opus*, ſignifying thereby, that albeit the Area thereof were plainely and diſtinctly bounded, and the Diameter of no great length, yet it was not an eaſie matter to find the Center, which is the heart and chiefeſt part of that figure. In like manner there is no buſineſſe or other courſe ſo eaſie or plaine, but the center may be miſtaken, and the difficultie commonly reſteth in hitting that point, which giueth the circumference an equall and regular motion.

The *Gaules* were reſolued to vndertake the defence of their countrey, and to redeeme their libertie with the hazard of their liues: but it ſeemeth they were miſtaken in the meanes, and ran a courſe farre ſhort of the center. For *Vercingetorix* perceiuing the *Romaines* daily to get vpon the *Gaules*, firſt by taking in one towne, ſecondly another, and laſtly of a third, he aduiſed them to ſet on fire all the countrey houſes, villages and townes for a great circuit round about, and ſo force the *Romaines* to fetch their forrage and prouiſions farre off, and vndergo the difficulties of long conuoyes, whereby the *Gauls* might make vſe of their multitude of horſe, and keepe the *Romaines* without ſupplies of neceſſarie prouiſions: and ſo they doubted not but to giue a ſpeedie end to that warre. And this he tooke to be the center of that buſineſſe, and the true vſe of their aduantage.

Lib. 4.

Polybius writeth, that *M. Regulus* hauing diuerſe times ouerthrowne the *Carthaginians* in battell, one *Santippus* a *Lacedæmonian* clearely perceiuing the cauſe of their often routs, began openly to ſay, that the *Carthaginians* were not ouerthrowne by the valour of the *Romaines*, but by their owne ignorance: for they exceeding the *Romaines* in horſe and Elephants, had neglected to fight in the champion, where their caualrie might ſhew it ſelfe, but in hils and woodie places where the foote troupes were of more force, and ſo the *Romains* had the aduantage. Whereby the manner of the warre being changed, and by the counſell of the pregnant *Greeke*, brought from the hils into the leuell of the plaine, the *Carthaginians* recouered all their former loſſes by one abſolute victorie. In like manner *Anniball* finding himſelfe to exceede the *Romains* in ſtrength of caualrie, did alwaies indeuour to affront them in open and champion countries, and as often as the *Romaines* durſt meete him, he put them to the worſe: but *Fabius* perceiuing the diſaduantage, kept himſelfe alwaies vpō the

Plutarke in the life of Fabius.

the hils, and in couert and vneuen places, and ſo made the aduantage of the place equall the multitude of the enemies horſemen.

There is no greater ſcorne can touch a man of reputation and place, then to be thought not to vnderſtand his owne buſineſſe. For as wiſedome is the excellencie of humane nature, ſo doth want of iudgement deiect men to the cõdition of ſuch as *Ariſtotle* calleth Seruants by nature: whoſe wit being too weake to ſupport any waight, do recompence that want with the ſeruice of their bodie, and are wholy employed in a Porters occupation. Which *Homer* layeth vpon *Diomedes* ſhoulders, with as fine conueyance as he doth the reſt of his inuentions: for *Vliſſes* and he going out on a partie to do ſome exploit vpon the *Troians*, they caried themſelues ſo gallantly, that they fell to ſhare king *Rheſus* charret and horſes: *Vliſſes* preſently ſeized vpon the horſes, being of a delicate *Thracian* breed, and *Diomedes* ſeemed well contented with the charret: but being to carie it away, *Pallas* aduiſed him to let it alone, leſt he might proue his ſtrength to be greater then his wit, and yet not find ſo much neither as would carie it away.

Seruus à natura. Polit. 1.

Illiad. 10.

But for theſe directions which *Vercingetorix* gaue vnto the *Gaules*, I referre the reader to the ſequele of the Hiſtorie, wherein he ſhall find how they preuailed.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar beſiegeth Auaricum, and is *diſtreſſed for want of corne.*

Cæſar.

VERCINGETORIX *followeth* Cæſar *by ſmall and eaſie iourneys, and choſe a place to incampe in, fortified about with bogges and woods, fifteene miles diſtant from* Auaricũ, *there he vnderſtood what was done at* Auaricum *euery houre of the day, and commanded likewiſe what he would haue done. He obſerued all our forraging and harueſting, and did ſet vpon ſuch as went farre off vpon any ſuch occaſion, and incumbred them with great inconueniences: albeit they tooke what courſe they could to meete with it, as to go out at vncertaine times, and by vnknowne and vnuſuall waies.* Cæſar *incamping himſelfe before that part of the towne which was not ſhut in with the riuer nor the bogge, and affoorded but a narrow and ſtreight paſſage, began to make a mount, to driue vines, and to raiſe two towers: for the nature of the place wold not ſuffer him to incloſe it round about with a ditch and a rampier: and neuer reſted to admoniſh the* Hedui *and the* Boij *to bring in ſupplies of corne: of whome the one by reaſon of the ſmall care and paines they tooke, did litle helpe him, the other being of no great abilitie, being a ſmall and a weake ſtate, did quickely conſume all that they had. The armie was diſtreſſed for want of corne, by reaſon of the pouertie of the* Boij, *and the indiligence of the* Hedui, *together with*

the burnings of the houſes in the countrey, in ſuch manner as they wanted corne for many dayes together, and ſuſtained their liues with beaſts and cattell which they had fetched a great way off: and yet no one voice at all was heard to come from them, vnworthie the maieſtie of the Romaine *Empire, and their former victories. And albeit* Cæſar *did ſpeake vnto the legions ſeuerally as they were in the works, that if their wants were heauie and bitter vnto them, he would leaue off the ſiege. But all of them with one voyce deſired him not to do ſo: for they had ſo ſerued many yeares vnder his commaund, as they neuer had receiued any diſhonour, neither had they at any time departed and left the buſineſſe vndone: it would be imputed vnto them as an ignominie and diſgrace to leaue the ſiege, they had rather vndergo all difficulties, then not to reuenge the death of the citizens of* Rome *that by trechery were ſlaine at* Genabum. *The ſame ſpeeches they deliuered to the Centurions and Tribunes, to be told* Cæſar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Patience in a ſouldier excelleth valor.

THE worth of a Souldier conſiſteth in a diſpoſition of mind and bodie, which maketh him apt to ſuffer and to vndergo the difficulties of warre: for let his reſolution otherwiſe be neuer ſo great, and his courage inuincible in the day of battell, yet if he faint vnder the burthen of ſuch tediouſneſſe as vſually attendeth vpon warlike deſignements, he is no way fit for any great enterpriſe. *Pindarus* ſaith, that he vnderſtandeth not the warre, that knoweth not that the atchieuing of one peece of ſeruice, is alwaies accompanied with the ſufferance of another difficultie as great as that which was firſt intended: *Et facere, & pati fortia, Romanum eſt.* It was the peculiar commendation of the *Romaine* people, patiently to indure the extremities of warfare: which made the *Volſci* to crie out, That either they muſt forſweare armes, and forget to make warre, and receiue the yoke of thraldome and bondage, *aut ijs quibuſcum de imperio certetur, nec virtute, nec patientia, nec diſciplina rei militaris cedendum.* *Appian* forgetteth not to ſay, that the *Romaine* Empire was raiſed to ſuch greatneſſe, not by fortune or good lucke, but by meere valour, and patient induring of hardneſſe and want. Which is the ſelfe ſame which *Craſſus* in his ſorrow vttered to his ſoldiers, who neither did nor ſpake many things well: for as *Plutarke* rightly cenſureth him out of the Comicall Poet, he was

Liu. lib. 6.

Plut. Craſſus.

A good man, any way elſe but in warres.

The Empire of *Rome* (ſaith he) came not to that greatneſſe which it now poſſeſſeth, by good fortune onely, but by patient and conſtant ſuffering of trouble and aduerſitie; neuer yeelding or giuing place to any daunger.

Botero in di Principe.

Some *Italian* writers are of an opinion, that the two chiefeſt parts of a ſoldier, Valour and Sufferance, are in theſe times deuided vnto two nations, the *French* and the *Spaniard*: the *Spaniard* making warre rather by ſufferance then by violence of aſſaults; and the *French* impatient of delay, and furious in aſſaults: ſo that according to his opinion, a *Spaniard* and a *French* man, will make one

one good ſouldier. Touching the *Spaniard*, I cannot deny, but that he hath the name of one of the beſt ſouldiers in Chriſtendome, and I do gladly allow all that vertue can challenge, for truth will preuaile againſt all affection: yet I may ſay thus much on the behalfe of our owne people, that we haue ſeldome loſt honour in confronting any nation. Concerning the ſufferance, and patient induring of hardneſſe, which is ſaid to be in the *Spaniard*, being able to liue long with a litle, it may peraduenture not vnfitly be attributed to the property of their countrey, and the nature of their climate, which will not beare nor digeſt ſuch plentie of foode, as is required in colder countries: and thereupon being borne to ſo weake a diſgeſtion, they are as well ſatisfied with a roote or a ſallet, as others with better plentie of foode: and therein they go beyond other nations. Of the *French* I ſay nothing, but leaue them to make good the opinion of the *Italian* Writer.

Suetonius witneſſeth of *Cæſar*, that he himſelfe was *laboris vltra fidem patiens*, whereby he might the better moue his armie to indure with patience the difficulties of the ſiege: and yet ſo artificially, as he ſeemed rather willing to leaue it vneffected, then to impoſe any burthen vpon them, which they themſelues ſhould be vnwilling to beare, the rather to draw the legions to ingage themſelues therein, by denying to forſake it, then to caſt that vpon them, which their vnwillingneſſe might eaſily haue put off.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

WE may further obſerue, the meanes the ſoldiers vſed to acquaint *Cæſar* with their deſires, which was by the Tribunes and Centurions: for as theſe were mediate officers betweene the Generall and them, and deliuered the mandates and directions of the Emperour to the ſouldier: ſo did the ſouldiers vſe their helpe to make knowne vnto him their requeſts: as beſides this place may appeare in the firſt Commentarie, where they deſired to giue him ſatisfaction touching the feare they had conceiued of *Arioviſtus* and the *Germaines*, which they likewiſe did by the Centurions and Tribunes.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsar leaueth the siege, and goeth to take the *enemie vpon aduantage, but returneth againe* without fighting.

Cæsar.

WHEN the towers began to approach neare vnto the walles, Cæsar *vnderstood by the captiues, that* Vercingetorix *hauing consumed all his prouision of forage, had remoued his campe nearer to* Auaricum, *and that he himselfe was gone with the caualrie, and such readie footemen as were accustomed to fight among the horsemen to lye in ambush in that place where he thought our men would come a forraging the next day: which being knowne, setting forward about midnight in silence, in the morning he came to the enemies campe. They hauing speedie aduertisement by their skoutes of* Cæsars *comming, did hide their cariages in the woods, and imbattelled all their forces in an eminent and open place. Which being told* Cæsar, *he commaunded the baggage to be speedily laid together, and their arms to be made readie. There was a hill of a gentle rising from the bottome to the toppe, incompassed round about with a difficult & troublesome bog of fiftie foot in breadth, vpon this hill the bridge being broken, the* Gaules *kept themselues trusting to the strength of the place, and were distributed into companies according to their seuerall states, with this resolution, that if the* Romaines *did passe ouer the bog, they might easily from the higher ground keepe them vnder, as they stucke in the mire, who litle reckoning of so small a distance, would deeme the fight to be vpon equall tearmes, whereas they themselues well knowing the inequalitie of the condition, did make but a vaine and idle ostentation. The souldiers disdaining that the enemie could indure their presence so neare at hand, and requiring the signe of battell,* Cæsar *acquainted them with what detriment and losse of many valiant men, the victorie must at that time be bought, who being so resolute that they refused no daunger to purchase him honour, he might well be condemned of great ingratitude and villanie, if their liues were not dearer vnto him, then his owne safetie: and so comforting the souldiers he brought them backe againe the same day into the campe, and gaue order for such things as were requisite for the siege of the towne.*

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS Chapter hath diuers special particulars worthy obseruatiō. The first is, the oportunitie which *Cæsar* tooke to visite the army of the *Gaules*, when *Vercingetorix* was absent and gone to lie in ambush for the *Romaine* forragers, which was a caueat to *Vercingetorix*, not to be too busie with the *Romain* conuoyes, lest his absence

abſence might draw on ſuch an inconuenience, as might make him repent for going a birding.

The ſecond is, the inequalitie which the aduantage of the place giueth to a partie: which I haue alreadie ſo often ſpoken of, as I am almoſt wearie to repeat it; and the rather, for that I haue produced this paſſage in the former booke, to ſignifie the benefite of ſuch an aduantage: yet foraſmuch as it is ſo pregnant to that effect, as may well deſerue a double conſideration, and was alſo produced by *Cæſar* himſelfe vpon occaſion at *Gergonia*, giue me leaue to note how much it ſwayeth to counterpoiſe the want of the aduerſe partie. Wherein as it cannot be denied, but that it may giue ſuch help as may make a ſmall number equall a farre greater proportion of men, ſo in *Cæſars* iudgement it counteruaileth the abſence of the Generall, and maketh the bodie perfect without the head. Neither were they weakened onely with the abſence of their Generall: but their caualrie wherein they ſo much truſted was abſent likewiſe: and yet more then that too, by how much the *Romaine* legions excelled the *Gaules* in valour and proweſſe of armes, which being all put together is no ſmall aduantage. For doubtleſſe if the matter had ſtood vpon equall tearmes touching the place, neither the preſence of *Vercingetorix*, nor the addition of their caualrie to aſſiſt them, had hindered the battell, or turned the *Romaines* backe to their campe.

The aduantage of the place doth counteruaile the abſence of the Generall.

The third thing is the moderation which he ſhewed, forbearing to fight, the *Gaules* inſolently vaunting, and the *Romaine* ſouldiers fretting and diſdaining the enemies pride: whereby he ſetled ſuch a confidence of his directions in the minds of his men, by ſhunning the perill of apparant daunger which might fall vpon them in particular, as afterwards they would make no queſtion of his commands, but take them as the onely meanes of their ſafetie, being neuer better aſſured then in performing what he commaunded. The practiſe of latter times, hath not ſo well deſerued of that vertue, but hath often ſhewed it ſelfe more prodigall of bloud, as though men were made onely to fill vp ditches, and to be the wofull executioners of other mens raſhneſſe.

The laſt thing is the making readie of their weapons, *arma expediri iuſsit.* Concerning which point, we muſt vnderſtand that the *Romaines* alwaies caried their targets in caſes, and did hang their helmets at their backes, and fitted their piles as might be moſt conuenient with the reſt of their cariages. And therefore whenſoeuer they were to giue battell, they were firſt to put on their helmets, to vncaſe their targets, to fit their piles, and to make them readie for the charge: and this was called *Arma expediri.*

CHAP. X.

Vercingetorix excuſeth himſelfe to the *Gaules for his abſence.*

Cæſar.

VERCINGETORIX *returning backe to the armie was accuſed of treaſon; firſt in that he had remoued his campe neare vnto the* Romaines, *and further that he had gone away from it, and tooke all the caualry with him: that he had left ſo great an armie without any one to commaund it: that vpon his departure the* Romaines *ſhould come ſo opportunely and ſo ſpeedily: for all theſe things could not fal out by chance without counſel and directions: it ſeemed he had rather haue the kingdome of* Gallia *by a graunt from* Cæſar, *then by their meanes and gift. Being thus charged, he anſwereth, that he remoued the campe for want of forrage, they themſelues deſiring it. He came neare vnto the* Romaines *being led thereunto by the oportunity of the place, which was ſuch as might defend it ſelfe by it owne ſtrength; the caualry was of no vſe in a boggie place, but might do good ſeruice there where it went. He left no man to commaund the army of purpoſe, leſt by the perſwaſion of the multitude he ſhould be forced to fight, which he knew they all deſired, as not able long to indure any labour: if the* Romaines *came by chance, they were to thanke fortune; if by any mans direction, they were beholding vnto him that had brought them where they might from the higher ground both ſee how ſmall a number they were, and contemne their valour, who not daring to fight did thankfully returne into their campe: he deſired to receiue no imperial dignitie by trechery from* Cæſar, *which he might otherwiſe haue by lawfull victory, which was now moſt certaine and ſure, both to himſelfe and the reſt of the* Gaules. *And for that authoritie which he had receiued from them, he was ready to giue it vp into their hands againe, if they thought the honour which they gaue him to be greater then help and ſafetie which they receiued from him. And to the end you may vnderſtand theſe things to be truly deliuered by me (ſaith he) heare the* Romaine *ſouldiers, and therewithal he brought forth ſeruants which were taken forraging a few daies before, miſerably tormented with famine and irons: they being taught before hand what to anſwer, ſaid they were legionary ſouldiers, and had ſtole out of the camp to ſee if they could meet with any corne or cattel in the fields; the whole army ſuffered the like penury, and mens ſtrength began to faile them, inſomuch that they were not able to vndergo any labour: and therefore their Generall had reſolued, that if he preuailed not againſt the Towne, he would withdraw his army within three daies. Theſe benefits (ſaith* Vercingetorix) *you haue of me, whom you accuſe of treaſon, for by my means without ſhedding of your bloud, you ſee ſo great a conquering army almoſt conſumed with hunger, and by me it is prouided, that when they flie from hence, no State ſhall receiue them into their territories. The whole multitude applauded his ſpeech, by ſhaking and ſtriking their hands together, as their maner is in ſuch caſes, commending* Vercingetorix *for a great ſouldier, whoſe loyalty as it was*

not

not to be diſtruſted, ſo the war could not haue bin caried with better directions. They agreed further to ſend 10000. *choiſe men out of all their forces into the towne, as not thinking it fit to commit the common ſafety of* Gallia *onely to the* Bituriges, *for they were perſwaded that the ſumme of all the victory conſiſted in making good that town againſt the* Romaines.

OBSERVATIONS.

A Multitude is *Bellua multorum capitum* (as one ſaith) an vnreaſonable beaſt of many heads, apt to receiue froward and peruerſe incitements, and hard to be drawne to better vnderſtanding, iealous, impatient, trecherous, vnconſtant, an inſtrument for a wicked ſpirit, and ſooner moued to miſchiefe by *Therſites*, then reclaimed to vertue by the authoritie of *Agamemnon*, or the eloquenee of *Vliſſes*, or the wiſedome of *Neſtor*, more turbulent then the raging either of the ſea or of a deuouring fire. And therefore they may well go together to make a triplicitie of euils, according to the ſaying, *Ignis, mare, populus, tria mala.* *Horace.*

Vercingetorix had both his hands full in this ſeruice, for his care was no leſſe to keepe the *Gaules* from being diſtaſted, then to make his partie good againſt *Ceſar*. It is diſputed touching the gouernement of a multitude, whether it be fitter to be ſeuere or obſequious? *Tacitus* ſaith peremptorily, that *In multitudine regenda, plus pœna quàm obſequium valet.* But he vnderſtandeth ſuch a multitude as are ſubiect to their commaunder, either by auncient ſeruice or the intereſt of regall authoritie, whereby they are tied to obedience by hereditarie dutie, and cannot refuſe that which cuſtome preſcribeth. For otherwiſe where the people ſtand free frō ſuch bonds, & haue ſubmitted themſelues to gouernment for ſome ſpeciall ſeruice, there, clemencie or obſequious ſmoothing preuaileth more then the ſeueritie of commaund: according to the ſaying, *Homines duci volunt, non cogi.* Vpon a diſſention which happened at *Rome* betweene the people and the Senate, the people were preſently ſent into the field vnder the leading of two Senators, *Quintius* and *Appius Claudius*: *Appius* by reaſon of his crueltie and ſeueritie, was not obeyed by his ſouldiers, but forſooke his prouince and returned *non proficient*: *Quintius* being curteous and benigne, had an obedient armie, and came home a conqueror. In the like termes did *Vercingetorix* ſtand with the *Gaules*, who not long before were all of equal authoritie, and for the defence of the common cauſe had ſubmitted themſelues to order and gouernement: and therefore he caried himſelfe accordingly, but with ſome cunning too, for he made no ſcruple to abuſe the beaſt, & to preſent them with a leſſon of deceit, taught to ſeruants and *Romaine* ſlaues, as the confeſſion of legionarie ſouldiers, which is a libertie that hath euer bin allowed to ſuch as had the managing of an vnruly multitude, who haue made as much vſe of the falſe raine, as the bit, or the ſpurre, or any other helpe belonging to that art. *Whether ſeueritie or clemēcy do more auail in gouerning a multitude.*

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar continueth the siege at Auaricum, and *describeth the walles of the Townes* in Gallia.

Cæsar.

BY the singular valor of our soldiers all the councels and deuises of the Gaules *were made void and of none effect: for they are a nation of great dexterity, apt to imitate and make any thing which they see other men do before them, for they turned aside the hookes with ropes, and drew them into the towne with engines: they withdrew the earth from the mount with mines with their great skill, by reason of their iron mines wherein they are much practised: they set vp towers vpon euery part of the wal, and couered them with raw hides: they sallied out of the towne night and day, and either set fire to the mount, or assaulted the soldiers as they were at worke: they did euery day make their towers equal to that height of our towers, which the daily increase of the mount had added to their height. They hindred the open trenches, and kept them from approching the wals with sharp burned stakes, cast into them with hot pitch and with great stones. All their walles are almost of this fashion, long straite beames are placed vpon the ground, with an equall distance of two foote one from another, and bound together on the inside of the wall, and fastened with great store of earth, the distances betweene the beames are filled and fitted with great stones in the front of the wal: these being thus placed and fastened with morter, another such a course is laid vpon that, keeping alwayes the same distance, so as one beame be not laid vpon another, but in the second ranke placing them vpon the distances filled vp with stones, and so forward vntill the wall be raised to the due height. This fashion as it is a worke not deformed either in shew or variety, obseruing alternate courses of beames & stones which keepe their order by euen lines, so is it profitable also and very much aduantaging the defence of the towne; for as the stone keepes it from burning, so doth the wood from the violence of the ramme, forasmuch as the beames are for the most part fortie foote long, and can neither be broken nor puld out.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The vse and practise of ancient time in besieging & defending townes.

THIS Chapter doth in some part expresse the maner of their siege in auncient time, and the meanes which the defendant had to frustrate the assaults and approches of the enemie. Besides the Ram which the *Romaines* vsed to shake and ouerthrow the wall (whereof I haue already spoken) they had commonly great hookes of iron to catch hold

hold of a turret, and to pull it ouer the wall, or to pull downe the parapet, or to diſturbe any worke which was to be made vpon the wall. Theſe hookes were vſed by the legionarie ſouldiers, being couered with vines in the ſame maner as they handled the Ram: and were auerted and put off by the ingenious practiſes of the *Gaules*, with ropes caſt and inſnared about them, and then by force of engines drawne into the towne. In like maner the open trenches, by which the *Romaines* made their approches to the wall, were anſwered from the towne with ſtakes or piles, hardened at the end with fire, and then caſt into them to hinder ſuch as were at worke, together with ſeething pitch and great ſtones. Furthermore as the *Romaines* raiſed their mount, and brought matter vnto it to enlarge it in breadth and height, ſo did the *Gaules* vndermine it, and drew the earth away, or ſet it on fire to burne it: for as I haue already noted in the deſcription of a mount, it was made aſwell with wood and timber, as with earth and ſtones. They ſtrengthened their walles with turrets and towers, and couered them with raw hides to keepe them from burning; and as the *Romaines* mounted in height with their turrets and engines, ſo the *Gaules* raiſed their towers anſwerable vnto them, that in the defence of the towne they might fight with equall aduantage. And thus they proceeded both in the offenſiue and defenſiue part, as farre as either valour or wit could improue thoſe meanes which were then in vſe in beſieging a towne.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT was the vſe of all nations, to fortifie their ſtrong townes with ſuch wals as might make beſt defence againſt the practiſe of thoſe times wherein they liued, touching the taking and beſieging of townes: ſo the *Gaules* as it appeareth by *Cæſar* raiſed their walles of wood and ſtone, laid in mutual courſes one with another, that the wood might make voide the violence of the Ram, and the ſtone keepe it from burning with fire, which in thoſe dayes were the meanes to aſſault and ouerthrow a wall. In theſe times the walles of ſtrong and fortified townes, are onely made and raiſed of earth, as the beſt defence againſt the furie of the artillerie. But foraſmuch as the old maner of fortification is here in part deliuered by *Cæſar*, giue me leaue to haue a word or two touching the fortifications of theſe times.

The maner of fortification in vſe in theſe dayes.

And firſt touching the art it ſelfe, in reſpect of the matter and the maner, it is a member of architecture, but the end is militarie: for to fortifie is nothing els but to make a building anſwerable to neceſſitie and the occurrences of war. Neither is it the end of fortification to make a place inexpugnable, or vnpoſſible to be taken, for ſo it were *Ars artium*, but to reduce it to a good and reaſonable defence.

Fortification defined.

Whereſoeuer then any ſuch defence is required, the myſterie of fortification is to raiſe ſuch a fort, and to apply ſuch a figure, anſwering the qualitie and

ſite of that place, as may giue greateſt ſtrength thereunto: for as al places are not capable in the diſpoſitiō of their beſt ſtrength of all ſorts of figures, ſo there is a difference of ſtrength betweene this and that figure. And as the place wanteth the aduantage of motion and agilitie for it owne defence, ſo is it requiſite it ſhould be furniſhed with the beſt meanes and commodities both to annoy the enemie, and to defend it owne people. And in that reſpect all circular formes as compounded of parts of one and the ſame nature, are vnfit for fortification: for where a fort ought ſo to be diſpoſed, that it may haue as many hands to ſtrike as *Briareus*, and as a *Hydra* neuer to want a head, it is neceſſary that the figure thereof be of different and vnlike parts, as apt to worke diuers effects. For vnleſſe it be able to diſcouer a far off, to commaund the countrey about as farre as the artillerie will play, to ſtop the paſſages, to hinder approches and aſſaults, to damnifie the enemie at hand and farre off, ſometimes with the artillerie, ſometimes with ſmall ſhot, ſometimes with fire-workes, and other times by ſallies, it hath not that perfection as is requiſite.

Circular forts

Triangular forts.

Admitting therefore compoſition of parts, next vnto the circle the triangular fortreſſe is moſt vnperfect, firſt in regard it is a figure of leſſe capacitie then any other of equall bounds, which is a great inconuenience in a hold, when the ſouldiers ſhal be pind vp for want of roome, and through the ſtraightnes of the place, not to be able to auoid confuſion. Secondly the bulworkes of all ſuch triangular fortreſſes, haue alwayes ſuch ſharpe cantons as are eaſily ſubiect to breaking, which giueth the enemie meanes to approach them without diſturbance from the fort.

Quadrangle forts.

The quadrangle fortreſſe hath almoſt the ſame imperfection of angles as the triangle hath, but is more ſpacious within, and of greater capacitie.

Fiue ſided and ſixe ſided fortreſſes.

And therfore Pentagons or Hexagons or any other that hath more angles, is fitteſt for fortification (vnderſtanding the place to be capable of them) as being of a greater content, and hauing their angles more obtuſe, and by conſequence more ſolide and ſtrong.

Forts in a plaine leuell.

Aduantages.

Diſaduantages.

A plaine champiō leuel doth admit all ſorts of figures, and may take the beſt; hauing theſe aduantages, it eaſily hindereth an enemy from approching neere vnto it, or incamping before it, and is not ſubiect to mines by reaſon of the water riſing in ſuch leuels. But on the other ſide, a ſmall troope will beſiege it, and batterie may be laid to diuers places of it: it is alwayes ſubiect to mounts of earth, and needeth many bulworkes, ditches, and much coſt to keepe it.

Forts vpon a hill.

Aduantages.

Diſaduantages.

A fortreſſe vpon a hill hath theſe aduantages, an enemy can hardly lodge neare vnto it, or lay batterie againſt it, it requireth more men to beſiege it, and is not ſubiect to mounts. The diſaduantages, are that it is not in our choice to make it in the beſt form of ſtrength, but muſt giue it ſuch a figure as may beſt fit the place, being ſometimes too large and ſpacious, and ſometime too ſtraite. The enemies artillerie hath greater force againſt it playing vpward, and the artillerie of the fort playeth not ſo ſure downeward.

The hands of all forts.

The hands of all forts are the bulworkes from whence the artillerie playeth, the ſupplements to the bulworkes are the rauelins, the platformes, the caſmates, and the caualeros. The walles are made in ſcarpe canting inwards, the better to beare

beare the weight of the earth, with this proportion, that to euery fiue foote ½ or ſixe foote in height, there be one foote allowed in ſcarpe. The counterſcarpe is another wall outward to the firſt, and ſlopeth inward in the ſame maner as the former.

And thus much touching the general view of fortification, which is as much as may wel be comprehended in theſe ſhort obſeruations, reſeruing the further conſideration thereof to a particular treatiſe by it ſelfe.

CHAP. XII.

The ſiege of Auaricum continued.

Cæſar.

THE ſiege being hindred by ſo many diſturbances, and the ſoldiers afflicted all the time with cold and continuall raine, yet they ouercame all theſe lets with continuall labour, and in fiue and twentie dayes they raiſed a mount of three hundred and thirtie foot in breadth, and foureſcore in height. When it came almoſt to touch the wall, Cæſar *himſelfe attending the worke as his cuſtome was, and encouraging the ſouldiers to omit no time from the ſame: a litle before the third watch of the night, the mount was ſeene to ſmoke, the enemie hauing ſet it on fire with a mine. And at the ſame inſtant of time, a ſhout being taken vp by them that ſtoode vpon the wall, they made a ſally out at two gates on both ſides the towers: ſome caſt firebrands and drie matter from the wall vnto the mount, powring pitch and other things to nouriſh the fire; that no man knew whither to run firſt, or where to giue helpe. Notwithſtanding foraſmuch as* Cæſar *had appointed two legions by turne to watch before the campe, and two other to follow the workes, it happened, and that quickly, that ſome were readie to confront the ſallies, and others to draw backe the towers from the front of the mount, and to cut the mount aſunder, the whole multitude comming out of the campe to quench the fire. The reſt of the night being now ſpent, the fight continued euery where, and euer the enemie tooke new ſpirits, and had hope of victorie, the rather becauſe they ſaw the ſheddes or houels belonging to the towers burnt; and that the ſouldiers could not come neare the ſaid towers to manage them, as was fitting without ſhelter and couert, and that they euer ſent freſh men to take the roomes of ſuch as were wearie and ouer laboured: ſuppoſing the ſafetie of all* Gallia *to conſiſt in that inſtant of time. There happened my ſelfe beholding it, an accident worthie memorie, which I thinke not fit to omit. A certaine* Gaule *before the gate of the towne, caſting with his hands balles of tallow and pitch to increaſe the fire, right ouer againſt the tower was ſhot through the right ſide with a croſ-bow, and fell downe dead: one that ſtood next him ſtept ouer him and began to do the like ſeruice: he likewiſe was ſlaine with a ſhot out of a croſ-bow: him a third man ſucceeded, and the third, a fourth: neither was the place forſaken vntill the mount was quenched, the enemie remoued, and the fight ceaſſed.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Whether there need not as many men to defend a towne, as to beſiege it.

IT were a matter worthie obſeruation to conſider, whether there neede not as many men to defend a towne, as to beſiege it? Which at the firſt ſight may peraduenture ſeeme friuolous: forasmuch as the defendants are but to make good the place which they hold, and to ſtand onely vpon their defenſiue guard, hauing the aduantage of the place, the ſhelter of the wals, the ſtrength of the ditch, and many other like helpes for their defence and ſafetie: whereas the aſſailant is to ſtriue againſt all theſe aduantages, and to oppoſe himſelfe to the daunger of ſo many difficulties. But if we looke a litle nearer into the matter, and conſider the ſeruice to be performed on either part, we ſhall find, that to ſay, as many men are neceſſarie to defend a towne as to beſiege it, is no Paradoxe.

The defence of a towne cõſiſteth in foure points.

For the better vnderſtanding thereof, we are to know, that the defence of a towne touching matter of fight, conſiſteth chiefly in theſe foure points. Firſt, in manning and making good all parts of the wall: for if the defendant be not able to ſtrengthen all parts with a competent force, then he hath not men enough to defend the town, foraſmuch as all parts are ſubiect to aſſault, & what part ſoeuer is not made good, that lyeth open to an enemie: or otherwiſe if the aſſault be onely to be made at a breach, the reſt of the wall being ſtrong enough to defend it ſelfe, there is required a competent ſtrength within the towne to defend that breach. In this point there is litle difference touching a competent number of men betweene the aſſailant and the defendant: for if he that layeth ſiege to a towne hath men enough to aſſault all parts at one inſtant, the enemy muſt haue an anſwerable proportion to defend all, or if he haue no vſe of more men then may ſerue to giue an aſſault at a breach, the defendant muſt haue the like proportion for the defence of the breach.

The ſecond point is, in releeuing wearied men, either fighting or working, with freſh ſupplies to continue that buſineſſe, as oftentimes it falleth out in the ſiege of a towne. Wherein likewiſe there is ſmall or no difference touching an equalitie betweene both parties: for if the defendant be not aſwell able to releeue his wearied ſouldiers with freſh ſupplies, as the enemie is to continue the aſſault, the towne may quickly haue a new maiſter.

The third point, is in defeating and making voide ſuch workes as the enemie ſhall make againſt the towne, as mounts, mines, approches, and ſuch like inconueniences, which being ſuffered to go on without oppoſition and preuẽtion, the towne cannot hold out long. In this point the defendant hath the diſaduantage, hauing need of more men to ouerthrow and preuent the workes, then the aſſailant hath to make them good: for there he that beſiegeth the place fighteth with the aduantage, and hath the ſame helpes as the defendant hath in the faſtneſſe of his hold: which cauſed this extraordinarie accident which *Cæſar* noteth touching the ſucceſſiue ſlaughter of ſo many *Gaules*, who labouring

to

to burne the *Romaine* workes with balles of tallow and pitch, were all ſlaine with the blow of one mans bow.

The laſt point is in ſallies, which is as neceſſarie for the defence of a towne as any thing elſe whatſoeuer: for if the defendant be not able to ſallie out, the enemie will quickly coope him vp, and tread vpon his belly. And herein the defendant needeth more men then the aſſailant: for he that is in the field, lyeth in the ſtrength of his trenches, wheras the other cometh out naked vpon him.

And thus much touching this queſtion in particular. Concerning the generall, if it be demaunded whether there haue bene more men loſt in the defence of *Oaſtend*, then in beſieging it? I anſwer, that neither ſide can much vaunt of a ſmall loſſe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the ſecond place there are two obſeruable points: the one, *Cæſars* continuall attendance vpon the workes, being preſent night and day without any long intermiſſion, which did much aduantage their proceeding at that time, and was as important to a fortunate iſſue, as any other thing whatſoeuer: for where an enemie is extraordinarie, either in valour or diligence, there muſt needs be extraordinarie meanes to counteruaile the height of ſo great a reſolution, which *Cæſar* ouertopt with monſtrous and huge workes, and ſpeeded thoſe works with his continuall attendance. *The eye of the maiſter feedeth the horſe*

The ſecond point is the ſucceſſiue taske of the *Romaine* armie, being eight legions preſent at that ſiege (for the other two were left at *Agendicum* with the cariages of the armie) in ſuch ſort, as halfe the armie was alwaies at reſt, and the other halfe imployed: two legions at worke, and two legions in the watch: and thus they eaſed each other, and ſtill continued the worke: for otherwiſe they had not bene able to haue vndergone the burthen, as the ſaying is: *Quod caret alterna requie durabile non eſt.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſar by an aſſault taketh Auaricum.

Cæſar.

THE Gaules *hauing tried all meanes, and none taking effect, the next day they conſulted touching their leauing of the towne,* Vercingetorix *both commaunding and perſwading them vnto it, which they hoped they might do in the night time without any great loſſe vnto themſelues, foraſmuch as* Vercingetorix *was not farre off with his campe, and all the way thither was a continuall bogge, which would hinder the*

Romaines *from following after them. And for that purpose they prepared themselues against the next night: which the women perceiuing, did run suddenly out into the streetes and other publike places, and cast themselues at the feete of their husbands; and by all meanes intreated them, not to leaue them and their children to the cruelty of the enemie, whom nature and infirmitie of body would not suffer to flie away, but finding them to continue resolute in their purpose, forasmuch as in extreame perill, feare for the most part hath no commiseration, they cried out and signified their flight vnto the* Romaines, *wherewith the* Gaules *being feared, they desisted from the course lest the wayes should be forestalled and laid by the* Romaine *horsemen. The next day* Cæsar *hauing aduanced forward the tower, and perfited those workes which he had determined to make, there hapned to fal a great rain, which he thought to be a fit occasion for his purpose: and forasmuch as he saw the guard vpon the wall to be somewhat negligently disposed, he commanded his men to work faire and softly, and shewed them what he would haue done, and incouraging the Legions which were hid in a readines vnder the vines, at length to inioy the sweetnesse of victory for their manifold labours: he prouided a reward for such as were seene first vpon the walles, and gaue them the signe to begin; the souldiers flying suddenly out of all parts, did quickly possesse themselues of the walles. The enemie being frighted with so sudden an accident, and put from the towers and the walles, imbattelled themselues angle wise in the market place, and in other spacious streets of the citie, with this resolution, that if they were assaulted in any part, they would resist in forme of battell: but when they saw no man to descend on euen ground, but to inclose them round about vpon the wall, fearing least there would be no way to escape, they cast their armes away and fled all to the furthest part of the towne: part of them sticking in a throng at the gate, were there slaine by the souldiers, and part being got out of the gate were slaine by the horsemen: neither was there any mã that looked after pillage, but being moued to anger with the slaughter of our men at* Genabum, *and with the trauell and labour of those great workes, they neither spared old men, women nor children. In the end, of all that number which was about fortie thousand, scarse eight hundred (that vpon the first noise forsooke the Towne) came safe to* Vercingetorix. *These he receiued with great silence, being now farre in the night, least any sedition should haue growne in the camp, through the pitie and commiseration of the vulgar people, and sent out his familiar friends and chiefest men of each State to meet such as had escaped away, and to bring them to their owne people as they lay quartered in the campe.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Gauls in the beginning are more thẽ mẽ, & in the end lesse thẽ women.

WE may see here the saying verified touching the disposition of the *Gaules* for matter of valour, which in the begining seemed so great, that it needed no further straine to counteruaile the worth of *Cæsars* armie, and was expressed with such industrie and resolution, both in spoyling and disappointing the *Romaine* workes, as also by ingenious fortifying and making good their owne labors, that a man would

would haue deemed them *virtute pares*. But being a litle ſpent in the action, like a pot that hath a mouth as bigge as the belly, and powreth out all the liquor at an inſtant, they fell at length to that baſeneſſe, as ſhewed leſſe ſpirit then the women did, who choſe rather to betray their husbands purpoſes to the enemie, then to hazard their liues by eſcaping to *Vercingetorix*. And this is that which is ſo often noted by Hiſtoriographers: *Quòd multa bella impetu valida per tædia & moras euanuere*. The firſt thing that I obſerue, is that which *Cæſar* himſelfe noteth: *Quód plerumque in ſummo periculo, timor miſericordiam non recipit*. Which was true on either ſide: for the *Gaules* were ſo ſet vpon flying to *Vercingetorix*, that they regarded not the wofull laments of the women and children, whom they were well content to hazard, whileſt they themſelues might eſcape in ſafetie. And on the other ſide, the women did forget to be pitifull to their husbands, whom they would not ſuffer to eſcape, and leaue them in their weakeneſſe behind as a prey to appeaſe the wrath of the bloudie ſouldier, which would conſequently follow in that eſcape. Which ſheweth, that there is no tye comparable to the bond of nature, ſpecially when it concerneth the preſeruation of life. For as in other things, reſpect and affection may eaſily worke a communication of good things vnto others, as alſo a participation of their euils for their reliefe: ſo herein we are altogether ſenceleſſe, and the loue we owe to our liues is ſo great, that it admitteth no reſpect. *Ageſilaus* to his friend was without reſpect a friend, and yet notwithſtanding being driuen one day to remoue vpon the ſudden, and to leaue one ſicke behind him whom he loued dearely: the ſicke man calling him by his name as he was going away, beſought him that he would not forſake him: *Ageſilaus* turning backe againe, anſwered: O how hard it is both to loue and to be wiſe: according to the ſaying; *Sapere & amare vix Deo conceditur*.

Feare hath no pitty.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT is a principle amongſt men of warre, not to put neceſſitie vpon an enemie, nor make him valiant whether he will or no, (as I haue alreadie noted in the former Commentaries) which the *Romains* well obſerued in this particular ſeruice at *Auaricum*: for being poſſeſt of the walles, they did not ſuddenly aſſault them in the market place, where they had made head for their defence, but gaue them a breathing time, the better to vnderſtand what they did; and reſpite, to bethinke themſelues of a ſtarting hole for the ſafetie of their liues. Which as it was quickly apprehended by the *Gaules*, ſo it made an eaſie execution to the *Romaine* ſoldier.

A Generall muſt not put neceſſitie vpõ an enemy.

And as it ſeemeth it was the more carefully handled in reſpect of the condition of the enemie being reuolters: for ſuch Prouinces as haue rebelled, are harder to be recouered after their reuolt, then they were at firſt to be ſubdued. For at the firſt, they haue no occaſion to feare any hard condition, but yeelding

to ſubiection do looke for fauor: wheras rebels and reuolters, beſides the condition of an enemie, are in the nature of offendors, and ſtand in feare of the extremities of warre, which maketh them more obſtinate then otherwiſe they would be. And therefore it behoueth a Generall not to impoſe any further neceſſitie vpon an enemie, then the qualitie of the warre doth lay vpon them: which oftentimes is more then can be well auoided.

Reuolters are in the conditiõ both of an enemie and of an offendor.

CHAP. XIIII.

Vercingetorix doth comfort the Gaules *for the loſſe of Auaricum.*

Cæſar.

THE next day calling a Councell, he comforted the Gaules, and exhorted them not to be vtterly diſmaid with that loſſe: for the Romaines had not ouerthrowne them with valour, nor in a ſet battell, but with a kind of art, and skill in beſieging a towne, whereof they themſelues were ignorant; he erred much that looked for all the euents of warre to fall out proſperouſly: it was neuer his opinion, that Auaricum ſhould be kept, whereof they themſelues were witneſſes. But it fell out by the imprudencie of the Bituriges & ouer great indulgence of the reſt that this loſſe happened vnto them, which notwithſtanding he would ſpeedily heale with greater helpes: for by his diligence he would vnite ſuch States vnto them as were not yet of the confederacie, and make one purpoſe of all Gallia, which the whole world was not able to reſiſt: and that he had almoſt effected it alreadie. In the meane time he thought it fit that they ſhould yeeld vnto one thing for their ſafeties ſake, which was to fortifie their campe; to the end they might better ſuſtaine the ſudden aſſaults of the enemie. This ſpeech was not vnpleaſing to the Gaules: and the rather that he himſelfe was not deiected in ſpirit vpon ſo great a loſſe, nor did hide himſelfe, or flie the preſence of the multitude: being the more eſteemed, foraſmuch as when the matter was in queſtiõ, he firſt thought it fit that Auaricum ſhould be burned, and afterwards he perſwaded them to forſake it; wherein as misfortune and aduerſitie do impaire the authoritie of other commaunders: ſo contrariwiſe his honour daily increaſed by the loſſe which he receiued. And withall they were in great hope vpon his affirmation, to winne the reſt of the States vnto them. And that was the firſt time that the Gaules began to fortifie their campe, being ſo appalled in ſpirit, that where they euer were vnaccuſtomed to labour, yet they thought it their part to ſuffer and vndergoe all that was commanded them.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

NEXT to the knowledge and experience of warre, there is nothing more requiſite in a great Commander, then greatneſſe of ſpirit: for where his employment conſiſteth in managing the great buſineſſes of the world, ſuch as are the ſlaughter of many thouſands in an houre, the ſacking of cities, the fighting of battels, the alteration of Commonweales, victories, triumphes, and the conqueſt of kingdomes, which like the conſtellations in the eighth ſphere, are left to ſucceeding ages in ſuch characters as cannot be defaced, and make an impreſſion of the greateſt meaſure of ioy, or the greateſt heape of ſorrow; it is neceſſarie that his courage be anſwerable to ſuch a fortune, neither to be cruſhed with the waight of aduerſitie, nor puffed vp with the pride of victorie; but in all times to ſhew the ſame conſtancie of mind, and to temper extremities with a ſetled reſolution. *A great Commander, muſt haue a great courage.*

Of this mettall and temper, is the Philoſophers *homo quadratus* made of, ſuch as *Camillus* was in *Rome*: for neuer ſpeech did better beſeeme a great perſonage then that of his, hauing knowne both the fauour and the diſgrace of fortune: *nec mihi dictatura animos fecit, nec exilium ademit*, ſaith he. Whereas weake ſpirits do either vaniſh away in the ſmoke of folly, being drunke with the ioyes of pleaſing fortune, or otherwiſe vpon a chaunge of good times, do become more baſe and abiect, then the theefe that is taken in the fact: ſuch as *Perſeus* the laſt *Macedonian* king was, who beſides his ill fortune for looſing his kingdome in the ſpace of one houre, hath euer ſince ſtood attainted of a baſe and abiect mind, vnworthie the throne of *Alexander* the Great. *Homo quadratus.* *Plutark. Paulus Æmilius.*

The wiſe *Romaines* vſed al meanes to giue courage and ſpirit to their leaders, and to free their minds from ſuch externall reſpects, which loſſe or diſhonour might caſt vpon them. And therefore when *Varro* had fought ſo raſhly at *Cannes*, that he had like to haue loſt the *Romaine* Empire to *Anniball*, vpon his returne to *Rome* the whole Senate went out to meete him, and although they could not thanke him for the battell, yet they gaue him thankes that he was re-returned home againe, whereby he ſeemed not to deſpaire of the ſtate of *Rome*. *Plutarke.*

In like maner did the *Gaules* congratulate *Vercingetorix*, that notwithſtanding ſo great a loſſe, he was neither deiected in ſpirit, nor did hide himſelf from the multitude, but as a commander of high reſolution, had found out means to heale thoſe harmes, and to recompence the loſſe of *Auaricum*, with the vniting of all the States of *Gallia* into one confederacie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

It is dãgerous to be the authoꝛ of a coũſel in a ſtate.

SEcondly we may obſerue, how daungerous it is to be the authoꝛ of a counſel touching any important or graue deliberation, or to lay downe any proiect for the ſeruice of a State; for all men are blind in this point, that they iudge of good or ill counſell by the ſucceſſe, and looke no further then the end which it taketh, which prouing diſaſterous or vnfortunate, doth either bring the authoꝛ to deſtruction, or into danger both of life and ſtate.

Holinſhead.

In the occurrences of this kingdome, it appeareth that *Henry* the fift being ſollicited by the commons touching the Abbies in *England*, and moued by petition exhibited in Parliament, to that which was afterwards accompliſhed by *Henry* the eight, was diuerted from thoſe thoughts by an eloquent oratiõ made in Parliament by *Henry Chechley* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* a graue and learned Prelate, perſwading the King by many concluding reaſons, to carie a great power into *France*, and there to make his claime for that kingdome, according to the right deriued vnto him from his noble progenitors. Whereupon the King was perſwaded to vndertake that war, which albeit fel out moſt happily, yet the Biſhop to ſatisfie both the king and the people for his former counſel, whereby many men were loſt, built a colledge in *Oxford* dedicated to Alſoules, wherein he placed fortie ſcholers, to make ſupplications for all ſoules, and ſpecially for ſuch as had miſchieued in *France* in the time of that warre.

Vt felicitas rerũ geſtarũ exercitus beneuolentiã imperatoribus ita res aduerſæ odia conciliant. Lib. 3. bel. ciu.

Vercingetorix was happie in this point, for he perſwaded the *Gaules* not to keepe *Auaricum*, but to ſuffer it to be burned as an enemie to their ſafetie: and thereupon he did not let to put them in mind of his opinion, as free from the daunger which hapned to a great man neare vnto *Perſeus* whom I laſt ſpake of, who after his ouerthrow by *Paulus Emilius*, being told by that partie of many errours which he had committed in the cariage of that warre, turned himſelf ſuddenly, ſaying, Traitor haſt thou reſerued thy counſell vntill now, when there is no remedie? and therewithall (as ſome report) ſlue him with his owne hand. And this was it that gaue *Vercingetorix* that happineſſe: *Vt reliquorum imperatorum res aduerſæ, authoritatem minuunt: ſic huius ex contrario, dignitas incommodo accepto indies augebatur.*

CHAP. XV.

Vercingetorix laboureth to vnite all Gallia *into one league for the vpholding of* their warre.

NEITHER *did* Vercingetorix *omit any indeuour for the accompliſhment of his promiſe, to draw the reſt of the States vnto him: and to that purpoſe he dealt with their chiefeſt men both by rewards and promiſes, and choſe out fit men, that either by ſubtile ſpeeches, or friendſhip, or ſome other meanes, might win the vnto him. He took order that ſuch as had eſcaped from* Auaricum *ſhould be both clothed and armed: and withall, that he might reenforce his troopes which were weakned, he commaunded euery State to furniſh out certaine ſupplies, and to be brought by a day to the campe: he commaunded likewiſe all the archers, of whom there is great ſtore in* Gallia, *to be ſought out and ſent vnto him, and by this meanes he ſpeedily repaired his loſſes at* Auaricum. *In the meane time* Teutomatus *the ſonne of* Ollouicio *King of the* Nitiobriges, *whoſe father had the title of a friend from our Senate, came to him with a great number of horſemen, which he had brought out of* Aquitaine. *Cæſar.*

OBSERVATIONS.

IT ſeemeth by this place, that *Fraunce* in thoſe dayes did fauour archerie: for (as the ſtorie ſaith) they had great ſtore of archers amongſt them, but of what value they were is not here deliuered: the vſe they made of them followeth after in this Commentarie, which was to intermingle them amongſt the horſe, and ſo they fought as light armed men. *Archery.*

In the times that our *Engliſh* nation caried a ſcourging hand in *France*, the matter betweene vs and them touching archerie, ſtood in ſuch tearmes as gaue *England* great aduantage: for I haue not heard of any bowmen at all amongſt them: whereas our nation hath heretofore excelled all other, as well in number of bowmen, as in excellent good ſhooting, and hath made ſo good proofe thereof againſt the *French*, as it needeth not any long diſpute.

*Concerning Archerie I find theſe things conſiderable: firſt that euery man be ſo fitted with bow and arrowes, as he may be apt for ſtrong and quick ſhooting; wherein I cannot ſo much commend theſe liuerie bowes, being for the moſt part heauy ſlugs, and of greater weight then ſtrength, and of more ſhew then ſeruice.

*Things conſiderable touching archery. In the time of Henry the fift the Engliſh bow-men did cõmonly ſhoot an arrow of a yard long beſides the head

Secondly, that in a day of ſeruice the bow-men endeuour ſo to deliuer their

quiuers, that the whole band or ſleeue of ſhot may let go all at one inſtant of time: for ſo the ſhower of arrowes will be more fierce and terrible, and more auaileable againſt an enemie.

It is not ſo profitable to intermingle bowmē with other ſorts of weapons, as to put them al into one body.

Thirdly, the fitteſt forme of imbattelling for bow-men, which muſt not at any hand be deepe in flanke, for ſo ſuch as are in the hindmoſt rankes, will either ſhoote ſhort or to no purpoſe. And therefore the fitteſt forme of imbattelling for archerie, hath euer bin accounted a long ſided ſquare, reſembling a hearſe, broade in front and narrow in flanke.

At the battell of Creſſie the blacke Prince leading the vauward, had the archers ſtāding in the maner of a hearſe. Holinſhead.

Fourthly, their defence in a day of battell, which muſt either be a couert wooddie place, where the horſe of the enemie cannot come at them, or a trench caſt before them, or the place muſt be fortified with galthrops & ſtakes, ſuch as were deuiſed by *Henrie* the fift at *Agincourt* field, or ſome other meanes to auoid the caualrie. The laſt thing is the effect which the bow-men worke, which are two; firſt the galling of the enemy, and ſecondly diſorder. Touching the galling of the enemie, there cannot be a better deſcription then that which *Plutarke* maketh of the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthian* arrowes. The *Romaine* ſouldiers hands (ſaith he) were nailed to their targets, and their feete to the ground, or otherwiſe were ſore wounded in their bodies, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguiſh and paine they felt, and turning and tormenting themſelues vpon the ground, they brake the arrowes ſticking in them. Againe, ſtriuing by force to plucke out the barbed heads, that had pierced farre into their bodies through their veines and ſinewes, they opened the wounds wider, and ſo caſt themſelues away.

The archerie worketh two effects. 1. Galling the enemie. Plut. Craſſus. 2. Diſorder.

The diſorder or rowting of an enemie which is cauſed by the bow-men, cōmeth from the fearefull ſpectacle of a drift of arrowes: for a ſhower of arrowes well deliuered and well ſeconded, for a while is ſo terrible to the eye, and ſo dreadfull in the ſucceſſe, that it is almoſt vnpoſſible to keepe the enemie from rowting.

The battell of Creſſie.

The two great victories which our nation had in *France* at *Creſsie* and *Agincourt*, next to the valour of the Engliſh, are attributed to our archery: and the effect of our archerie at thoſe times, was firſt diſorder, and conſequently ſlaughter. In the battell of *Creſsie* the King of *Bohemia* fighting for the *French*, cauſed his horſmen to tie the bridles of their horſes together in ranke, that they might keepe order notwithſtanding the galling which he feared from our *Engliſh* archerie: but it fell out as ill as if he had tied their heads and their tailes together in file, for the drift of arrowes fell ſo terribly amongſt them, that they ranne together on heapes with ſuch confuſion, as made the ſlaughter great, and their particular deſtinies moſt miſerably fortuned. At *Agincourt* the number of priſoners which euery ſouldier had, was admirable to ſpeake of; for ſome report that many of our Engliſh had ten priſoners apeece, which happened chiefly from the diſorder which fel amongſt the *French*, and that diſorder came by our archery. And doubtleſſe if euer we ſhould haue occaſion to go againſt an enemie that ſo aboundeth in horſe as the *French* do, there could be no better meanes againſt ſuch horſe, then our *Engliſh* bowmen. I know it hath bene ſaid, that now the times are altered, and the argebuſe and muſket are ſo generally receiued,

The battell of Agincourt.

Argebuſe and muſket.

receiued, and of ſuch reputation in the courſe of our moderne warres, that in compariſon of them, bow-men are not worth the naming. Wherein I will not goabout to extenuate the vſe of either of theſe weapons, as knowing them to be both very ſeruiceable vpon fit and conuenient occaſions, nor take vpon me to determine which of them is moſt effectuall in a day of ſeruice, but onely deliuer my conceit touching their effects, and leaue it to the conſideration of wiſe and diſcreete Commaunders.

And firſt touching ſhot. A wing of nauskaters is auailable againſt an enemie, onely in ſuch bullets as do hit; for ſuch as do not hit, paſſe away inſenſibly without any further feare, and the cracke is but as the loſe of the bow. Of ſuch bullets as do hit, the greateſt part do not ſtrike to death, but are oftentimes caried vntill the skirmiſh be ended before the party do feele himſelfe hurt: ſo that an enemie receiueth no further hurt by a charge of ſhot, then happeneth to ſuch particular men as ſhall chaunce to be ſlaine out-right or ſore hurt. *How farre a wing of ſhot preuaileth.*

A ſleeue of archers is auailable againſt an enemie, aſwell in ſuch arrowes as do not hit, as in ſuch as do hit: for whereas the cloud of arrowes is ſubiect to our ſight, and euery arrow is both ſuſpected and able to bring death ſitting on the head, an enemie is as much troubled at ſuch arrows as come faire vpon him and do not hit, as at thoſe that do hit, for no man is willing to expoſe his fleſh to an open and eminent daunger when it lieth in his power to auoide it. And therefore whileſt euery man ſeeketh to auoide hurt, they fall into ſuch confuſion, as beſides the loſſe of particular men, the enemie doth hardly eſcape diſorder, which is the greateſt diſaduantage that can befall him. Moreouer, the arrowes hauing barbed heads, although they make but a light hurt, yet they are not eaſily pulled out, which maketh the ſouldiers not to intend the fight vntill they be deliuered of them: and the horſe ſo to fling and chafe, that it is impoſſible they ſhould either keepe their rancke, or be otherwiſe managed for any ſeruice. *How farre a ſleeue of archers is auailable againſt an enemie.*

And this much touching bow-men and archerie, which is a weapon as auncient as the firſt and trueſt hiſtorie, and is of the number of ſuch weapons as men vſe to fight with afarre off. The vſe whereof is too much neglected by the Engliſh at theſe times, conſidering the honour they haue atchieued by it in former ages. *Geneſis. 27. 3.*

CHAP. XVI.

A controuerſie fell out in the ſtate of the Hedui *touching the choiſe of their chiefe* Magiſtrate.

Cæſar.

CÆSAR *ſtaied many dayes at* Auaricum: *for finding there great ſtore of corne and of other prouiſions, he refreſhed his armie of their former labour and wants. The winter now being almoſt ended, and the time of the yeare being fit for warre, he determined to follow the enemie, to ſee whether he could draw him out of the woods and bogs, or beſiege him in ſome place. Being thus reſolued, diuers of the principall men of the* Hedui *came vnto him, beſeeching him that he would ſtand to them, and aſsiſt their ſtate in a time of great neede, the matter being in extreame daunger, foraſmuch as their auncient vſage was for one to be created their annuall Magiſtrate, hauing regall authoritie for that yeare: whereas now two had taken vpon them the ſaid office, both of them affirming themſelues to be lawfully created; the one was* Conuictolitanis, *a famous and flouriſhing young man, the other* Cotus *borne of an auncient family, and he himſelfe of great power and kinred, whoſe brother* Vedeliacus *had borne the ſaid office the yeare before. All their State was in armes, their Senate and their people diuided, together with their clients and followers: if the controuerſie continued for any time, it would come to a battell; the preuention whereof conſiſted in his diligence and authoritie.* Cæſar, *though he knew it would be diſaduantagious vnto him to leaue the warre and to forſake the enemie; yet knowing what inconueniences do vſually ariſe of ſuch diſcords and diſſentions, leaſt ſo great a State, and ſo neare to the people of* Rome, *which he himſelfe had alwayes fauoured, and by all meanes honoured, ſhould fal to warre amongſt themſelues: and that faction which diſtruſted their owne ſtrength, ſhould ſeeke helpe of* Vercingetorix, *he thought it moſt neceſſary to be preuented. And foraſmuch as ſuch as were created chiefe Magiſtrates amongſt the* Hedui, *were by their lawes forbidden to go out of their confines: to the end he might not ſeeme to derogate any thing from their lawes, he himſelf determined to go vnto them. At his comming he called before him all the Senate, and thoſe alſo that were in controuerſie for the office: and finding in an aſſembly almoſt of the whole State, that one of them was choſen by a few priuily called together, in another place, and at another time then was accuſtomed, the brother pronouncing the brother: whereas their lawes did not onely forbid two of one family both being aliue to be created Magiſtrate, but alſo to be of the Senate together: he compelled* Cotus *to giue ouer his intereſt in the magiſtracie, and confirmed* Conuictolitanis *being created by their Prieſts, and according to the cuſtome of their State. This decree being ratified, he adhorted the* Hedui *to forget their priuate controuerſies and diſſentions, and to giue their beſt helpe to the warre in hand, wherein they might challenge and expect (the* Gaules *being ſubdued) ſuch rewardes as they deſerued, commaun-*

commaunding all their horſe and ten thouſand foote to be ſpeedily ſent vnto him, whichhe meant to diſpoſe into garriſons for the better prouiſion of corne. And then diuiding his armie into two parts, he ſent foure Legions towards the Senones *and the* Pariſians *vnder the leading of* Labienus; *the other foure he led himſelfe againſt the* Aruerni, *to the Towne of* Gergonia, *along the riuer* Eleuar *ſending part of the horſe with him, and keeping part with himſelfe.*

OBSERVATIONS.

TO looſe the leaſt jot of that which a man hath in poſſeſſion, is more diſhonourable, then to faile of getting what he hath not. And therefore *Cæſar* choſe rather to forgo the aduantages which a ſpeedie purſuite of the enemie might haue affoorded him to the ending of that warre, then to hazard the loſſe of ſo great a State, and ſo well affected to the people of *Rome* as were the *Hedui*, wherein he caried ſo equall and indifferent a hand, that he would do nothing but what the lawes of that State directed him vnto, as moſt aſſured that ſuch directions were without exception.

Nō minor eſt virtus, quàm quærere parta tueri.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæſar paſſeth his armie ouer the riuer Eleuar, *and incampeth himſelfe* before Gergonia.

Cæſar.

WHICH thing being knowne, Vercingetorix *hauing broken downe all the bridges of that riuer, tooke his iourney on the other ſide of* Eleuar; *either armie being in view each of other, and incamping almoſt ouer againſt one another: diſcouerers being ſent out to watch, leſt the* Romains *ſhold make a bridge in any place, and carie ouer their forces.* Cæſar *was much troubled, leſt he ſhould be hindred by the riuer the greateſt part of that Sommer, foraſmuch as* Eleuar *is not paſſable at any foord vntill towards the Autumne. And therefore to preuent that, he encamped himſelf in a wooddie place right ouer againſt one of thoſe bridges which* Vercingetorix *had cōmanded to be broken. The next day he kept himſelfe there ſecretly with two legions, and ſent forward the reſt of the forces, with all the cariages as were accuſtomed, taking away the fourth part of each cohort, that the number of legions might appeare to be the ſame, commaunding them to go on as farre as they could, and making coniecture by the time of the day, that they were come to their camping place, vpon the ſame piles, (the lower part whereof remained there whole) he began to reedifie the bridge, and hauing ſpeedily ended the worke, and caried ouer the Legions, and*

Demptis quartis quibuſque cohortibus.

choſen a fit place to encampe in, he called backe the reſt of his forces. Vercingetorix *hauing notice thereof, leſt he ſhould be forced to fight againſt his will, went before by great iourneys;* Cæſar *with fiue incampings went from that place to* Gergonia, *and after a light skirmiſh betweene the horſe the ſame day he came, hauing taken a view of the ſituation of the towne which was built vpon a very high hill, & had very hard and difficult approaches on all ſides, he diſpaired of taking it by aſſault, neither would he determine to beſiege it vntill he had made prouiſion of corne.* But Vercingetorix *hauing ſet his campe on a hill before the towne, had placed the ſeuerall forces of the States by themſelues, in ſmall diſtances round about him, and hauing poſſeſt himſelfe of all the toppes of that hill, made a very terrible ſhew into all parts where he might be ſeene: he commaunded likewiſe the chiefe men of the States, whom he had choſen out to be of the Councell of warre, to meete alwaies together with him at the dawning of the day, to know if any thing were to be communicated vnto them, or what elſe was to be done. Neither did he omit any day to skirmiſh with his horſemen, with archers intermingled amongſt them: to the end he might trie what courage and valor was in his people. Right ouer againſt the towne at the foote of the hill, there was a knowle exceedingly fortified, and hard to be come vnto on all ſides, which if our men could get, they were in hope to hinder the enemie, both of a great part of their water, and alſo from free forraging: but the place was kept with a ſtrong garriſon. Notwithſtanding Cæſar went out of his campe in the ſilence of the night, and before any helpe could come out of the towne, he put by the garriſon, and poſſeſſed himſelfe of the place, and left two legions there to defend it, and drew a double trench of twelue foote in breadth from the greater campe to the leſſe, that ſingle men might go ſafe too and fro from any ſudden incurſion of the enemie.*

OBSERVATIONS.

The meanes which Cæſar vſed to paſſe ouer the riuer Elauar.

FIRST we may obſerue his manner of paſſing ouer the riuer *Elauar*, without any impediment from the enemie, notwithſtanding the care which *Vercingetorix* had to hinder his paſſage, which was plotted with as great dexteritie as could be deuiſed in ſuch a matter: and to ſhadow his purpoſe the better, that the number of legions marching vp the riuer might appeare to be the ſame, he tooke the fourth part of euery cohort, which in the whole amounted to two legions. For as I haue alreadie deliuered in my former Obſeruations, a legion conſiſted of ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained three maniples, and euery maniple had two companies which they called Orders: ſo that euery cohort hauing ſixe companies, the fourth part of a cohort was a companie and a halfe, and in a legion came to fifteene companies, and in eight legions to one hundred and twentie companies; which being reduced make threeſcore maniples, which were equall to two legions: and proueth that which I haue already noted, the fit and conuenient diſpoſition of their troupes, to take out at al times competent forces for any ſeruice without ſeeming to leſſen any part. Secondly, I obſerue the phraſe which he vſeth in this place, *Quinctis caſtris Gergoniam per-*

Demptis quartis quibuſque cohortibus.

peruenit, which implyeth their infallible cuſtome of encamping euery night within a ditch and a rampier: for as we vſually ſay, that to ſuch a place is ſo many dayes iourney, becauſe an ordinarie traueller maketh ſo many iourneys before he come thither: ſo the *Romaines* reckened their iourneys with their army by their incampings, which were as duly kept as their iourneys, and were the moſt ſignall part of their dayes iourney.

CHAP. XVIII.

Conuictolitanis moueth the Hedui *to a reuoult.*

WHILEST theſe things were a doing at Gergonia, Conuictolitanis *the* Heduan *to whom the magiſtracie was adiudged by* Cæſar, *being wrought by the* Aruerni *with money, brake the matter to certaine young men, amongſt whom* Litauicus *was chiefe, and his brethren being youths of a great houſe: with them he treated at firſt, and wiſhed them to remẽber that they were not onely borne free men, but alſo to empire and gouernement. The* Hedui *were the onely State which kept* Gallia *from a moſt aſſured victorie: for by their authoritie and example, the reſt would be concluded, which being ſet ouer, there would be no place in* Gallia *for the* Romaines *to abide in. Touching himſelfe, he had receiued a good turne from* Cæſar, *but in ſuch ſort, as he had but his right: but he owed more to the common libertie: for why ſhould the* Hedui *rather diſpute of their cuſtomes and lawes before* Cæſar, *then the* Romaines *come before the* Hedui? *Theſe young men were quickly perſwaded as well by the ſpeech of the Magiſtrate, as by rewards; inſomuch as they offered themſelues to be the authours of that Councell: but now the meanes was to be thought on, foraſmuch as they were perſwaded that the State would not eaſily be drawne to vndertake that warre. They determined at laſt, that* Litauicus *ſhould haue the leading of thoſe tenne thouſand men that were to be ſent to* Cæſar, *and that his brethren ſhould be ſent before to* Cæſar, *and concluded likewiſe in what ſort they would haue other things caried.* Cæſar.

Litauicus *hauing receiued the armie when he was about thirtie miles from* Gergonia, *calling the ſouldiers ſuddenly together, and weeping: Whither do we go (ſaith he) fellow ſouldiers? all our horſemen and our Nobilitie are ſlaine, the Princes of our State,* Eporedorix *and* Viridomarus, *being falſly accuſed of treaſon, are put to death by the* Romaines *without calling them to their anſwer: vnderſtand theſe things frõ them that are eſcaped from the ſlaughter: for I my ſelfe (my brethren and kinſmen being ſlaine) am hindred with griefe from telling you what hath happened. Preſently thoſe were brought foorth, whom he had taught beforehand what he would haue ſaid: who verified to the multitude thoſe things which* Litauicus *had ſpoken: that all the horſemen of the* Hedui *were ſlain, foraſmuch as they were ſaid to haue had ſpeech with*

the Aruerni: *for themſelues they were hid amongſt the multitude of ſouldiers, and were eſcaped out of the midſt of the ſlaughter. The* Hedui *cry out all together, and do beſeech* Litauicus *to looke to himſelfe, and to them alſo: As though (ſaith he) the matter needeth any aduice or counſell, and that it were not neceſſarie for vs to go directly to* Gergonia, *and to ioyne our ſelues with the* Aruerni. *For do we doubt, but that the* Romains, *hauing begun ſo wickedly, will run preſently vpō vs to take away our liues? And therefore if there be any courage at all in vs, let vs perſecute their death that haue periſhed ſo vndeſeruedly, and let vs kill theſe theeues. He ſhewed them diuerſe* Romaine *citizens that were in the troupes for ſafetie of conuoy: and foorthwith he ſeized vpon a great quantitie of corne and other prouiſions, and tortured thē cruelly to death: he ſent out meſſengers throughout all the State of the* Hedui, *continuing the ſame falſe ſuggeſtion touching the ſlaughter of the horſemen, and the Princes perſwading them to reuenge their iniuries in like manner as he had done*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Gratia oneri vltio in quæſtu habetur.

THIS trecherous practiſe of *Conuictolitanis*, who a litle before (as we may remember) had receiued ſo great a benefit from *Cæſar*, proueth true the ſaying of *C. Tacitus*, That men are readier to reuenge an iniurie then to requite a good turne, foraſmuch as *Gratia oneri vltio in quæſtu habetur*: a good turne is as a burthen and a debt to a man, whereas reuenge is reckoned a gaine. The debt of loyalty and good affection, wherein *Conuictolitanis* ſtood engaged to *Cæſar*, for confirming that right vnto him which ciuill diſſention had made doubtfull, together with the reſpect of the generall cauſe, made him ſo willing to reuolt from the *Romaines*, and in lieu of thankfull acknowledgement to requite him with hoſtilitie. A part ſo odious and deteſtable, that vertue grieueth to thinke that a man ſhould be capable of any ſuch wickednеſſe, or be ſtained with the infamy of ſo horrible a crime. Other vices are faults in ſpeciall, and are branded with the ſeuerall markes of ignominie: but ingratitude is equall to the bodie of euill, and doth counteruaile the whole nature of hatefull affections: according to that of the Philoſopher: *Ingratum ſi dixeris omnia dixeris*. Ingratitude is culpable of all ſorts of wickednеſſe, and deſerueth the greateſt meaſure of reuenge. And the rather for that it taketh away the vſe of vertue, and maketh men forget to do good: for whereas the nature of goodneſſe is ſpecially ſeene in communicating it ſelfe to the reliefe of other mens wants, we ought to giue all diligence not to hinder this inlargement, nor by a froward and crooked example to preiudice others that ſtand in neede of the like fauour.

Seneca.

I haue often heard it ſpoken, but I know not how true it is, and am loath to beleeue it, that in the exchange of a good turn, the partie that receiueth it, hath more aſſurance of his benefactor, touching a faithfull and friendly diſpoſition for the future time, then he that ſhewed the kindneſſe can haue of the receiuer: for men are loath to looſe both the fruite and the ſeede, and will rather beſtow

more

more coſt and more labour, then forgo the hope of their firſt indeauours, expecting both in reaſon and nature, fruite anſwerable to their ſeed: whereas the badneſſe of our nature is ſuch of it ſelfe:

Vt gratia oneri vltio in quæſtu habetur.

THE SEECOND OBSERVATION.

THERE is no meanes ſo readie to abuſe a multitude as falſe ſuggeſtions, which like a lying ſpirit ſeduceth the minds of men from the truth conceiued, and faſhioneth their hearts to ſuch purpoſes, as ſeemeth beſt to the abuſer: and the rather when it is deliuered by a man of place and authoritie, & ſuch a one as pretendeth carefulneſſe for the ſafetie of a people: for then it flieth as faſt as the lightning in the ayre, and deludeth the wiſeſt and beſt experienced of the multitude. A miſchiefe that can hardly be preuented, as long as there is a toung to ſpeake or an eare to heare. But as *Socrates* ſaid of paine and eaſe, that they are alwaies tyed together: ſo men muſt endeuour to redeeme the hurts of ſuch an euill, by the benefite which thereby is conſequently implyed: for it were hard if wiſe men could not make the like vſe of a multitude to good purpoſes, as theſe deceiuers do for their owne aduantage.

A multitude is eaſily abuſed by falſe ſuggeſtions.

Phædo Platonis.

Numa Pompilius (to whom the *Romaine* Empire did owe as much for lawes and ciuill gouernment, as to *Romulus* for their martiall diſcipline) the better to eſtabliſh ſuch ordinances and decrees, as he made in his kingdome, fained familiar acquaintance with a goddeſſe of that time called *Egeria*, and by her he ſaid he was aſſured, that the ſtatutes which he made, were both equall and iuſt, and good for the *Romaines* to obſerue, and the people found no hurt in beleeuing it.

In like manner *Lycurgus* hauing giuen many lawes to the *Spartans*, repaired to the citie of *Delphos*, and there he got a pleaſing oracle, which he ſent to *Sparta*, aſſuring them that his lawes were very good, and that citie keeping them, ſhould be the moſt renowned of the world.

And *Sertorius* for want of other meanes vſed the ſeruice of a white hind, as a gift ſent him from *Diana*, to make the *Luſitanians* beleeue whatſoeuer might beſt aduantage his buſineſſe. And thus a multitude lyeth open to good and ill purpoſes, and is either happie or vnfortunate in the counſell of their Leader.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæſar hindereth the reuolt of *the Hedui.*

Cæſar.

EPOREDORIX *the* Heduan, *a youug man of great parentage, and of great power in his countrey, together with* Viridomarus *of like age and authoritie, but not ſo nobly borne, who being preferred to* Cæſar *by* Diuitiacus, *was by him aduanced from meane eſtate to great dignitie, came both to* Cæſar *with the* Heduan *horſemen, being called out by name to that warre by him: betweene theſe two there was alwayes contention who ſhould be the chiefeſt, and in that controuerſie for magiſtracie, the one ſtood for* Conuictolitanis, *and the other for* Cotus: *of theſe two* Eporedorix *vnderſtanding the reſolution of* Litauicus, *opened the matter to* Cæſar *almoſt about midnight: he prayed him not to ſuffer their State to fal away from the friendſhip of the people of* Rome *by the wicked counſell of yong men, which would neceſſarily fall out if he ſuffered ſo many thouſand men to ioyne themſelues to the enemie, whoſe ſafetie as neither their kinſfolks would neglect, ſo the State could not lightly eſteeme of.* Cæſar *being much perplexed at this meſſage, foraſmuch as he had alwayes cheriſhed the State of the* Hedui, *without any further doubt or diſpute, he tooke foure expedite and vnburthened Legions and all the horſe out of the campe, neither was there ſpace at ſuch a time to make the campe leſſer, foraſmuch as the matter ſeemed to conſiſt in expedition, he left behind him* C. Fabius *a Legate with two legions for a garriſon to the campe. And hauing giuen order for the apprehending of* Litauicus *brethren, he found that a litle before they were fled to the enemie: thereupon adhorting the ſouldiers not to thinke much of their labour in ſo neceſſarie a time, euery man being moſt willing, he went fiue and twentie miles, and then met with the forces of the* Hedui. *The horſemen being ſent to ſtay their march, he commaunded not to kill any one of them, and gaue order that* Eporedorix *and* Viridomarus *(whom they thought to be ſlaine) to ride vp and downe amongſt the horſemen, and to call to their countrimen. They being once knowne, and the fraude of* Litauicus *diſcouered, the* Hedui *ſtretched out their hands, making ſignes of ſubmiſsion, and caſting away their weapons deſired to be ſpared from death.* Litauicus *with his clients and followers, who by the cuſtome of* Gallia *muſt not forſake their patrons in the extreameſt danger, fled to* Gergonia. Cæſar *hauing diſpatched meſſengers to the State of the* Hedui *to acquaint them that he had ſaued their people, which by the lawe of armes he might haue ſlaine, gaue the armie three houres reſt that night, and then returned towards* Gergonia. *In the midde way certaine horſemen ſent by* Fabius *made knowne vnto* Cæſar *in what danger the matter ſtood: the campe was aſſaulted with all the enemies forces, and foraſmuch as ſuch as were wearied, were ſtill releeued with freſh men, it came to paſſe that our men fainted with continuall labours: for the campe was ſo great that*

that they were alwaies to ſtand vpon the rampier to make it good, and that many were wounded with the multitude of arrowes and other ſorts of weapons; wherein their engines had ſerued them to good purpoſe for their defence. Fabius *when theſe meſſengers came away, had ſhut vp two gates, and left other two open, and had made ſheddes and houels for the better defence of the wall, and prepared himſelfe for the like fortune the next day. Theſe things being knowne by the exceeding trauell of the ſouldiers,* Cæſar *came into the campe before Sun riſing.*

OBSERVATIONS.

AS often as the people of *Rome* had occaſion to make warre, beſides the bodie of the armie inrolled for that ſeruice, in ſuch ſort and with ſuch ceremonies as I haue formerly deliuered; the Conſull or Generall had authoritie to call out ſuch others either of the communalty or the Equites, as for their long ſeruice were freed by the lawes from giuing in their names at a muſter: and theſe they called *Euocati*, as a man would ſay, called out, being all men of ſpeciall note and ſeruice, and ſuch as were able to giue ſound aduice for matter of warre. Theſe *Euocati* went all for the moſt part vnder an enſigne, and were lodged together in the campe behind the pauilion of the Generall, neare vnto the gate which they called *Porta Prætoria*, and were alwayes free from ordinarie duties, as watching, incamping and fighting, vnleſſe it came to ſuch a paſſe, that euery man would put too his helping hand: but in all ſeruices they had their place appointed them according to their former experience and worth. And thus the *Romaines* ſtrengthened their armie with the wiſedome and experience of ſuch as for many yeares together, had bene acquainted with the difficulties and caſualties of warre, and oftentimes were able to affoord ſuch helpes both by example & otherwiſe by good directions, as the wiſedome of the Generall did gladly embrace. Concerning theſe two young nobles *Eporedorix* and *Viridomarus*, whom he nameth in this place *Euocati*, we are to vnderſtand that they were called out to that warre vnder the ſame title, but to another end: for being men of great place and authoritie, he feared leaſt in his abſence they might be ſo wrought to fauour *Vercingetorix*, as neither himſelfe nor the *Hedui* ſhould haue any cauſe to commend them, according as it happened to *Litauicus*.

Euocati, who they were.

CHAP. XX.

The Hedui robbe and kill diuers Romaine Citizens.

Cæsar:

WHILE *these things were a doing at* Gergonia, *the* Hedui *hauing receiued the first messages from* Litauicus, *gaue themselues no time to vnderstand the truth, some being led on by couetousnesse, others by anger and rashnesse, as it is naturally ingrafted in that nation to take a light heare-say for a certaine truth, spoiled the* Romaine *citizens of their goods, and slue them besides, or drew them into bondage;* Conuictolitanis *stirring vp the common people to madnesse, that when they had done some wicked fact they might be ashamed to be good againe. They drew* Marcus Aristius *a Tribune of the souldiers as he went to the Legion, out of the town* Cauillonium, *notwithstanding their faith and promise before giuen, causing the rest to do the like, which were there for matter of trade: these they set vpon continually as they trauelled, robbed them of their cariages, and besieged such as made resistance day and night, many were slaine on both sides, & a greater number were stirred vp to take armes. In the meane time newes being come that all their souldiers were vnder* Cæsars *power, they runne speedily to* Aristius, *they tell him that nothing was done by publique authority, they called such as robbed the* Romaines *of their goods to answer the matter, they confiscate the goods of* Litauicus *and his brethren, they sent Ambassadors vnto* Cæsar *to cleare themselues of these disorders: and this they do for the better recouery of their people that were now with* Cæsar. *But being contaminated with a wicked fact, and taken with the shame of robbing the* Romaine *citizens, many of them being touched in the fact, and much perplexed for feare of punishment; they priuily entred into consultations of warre, and sollicited other States to that purpose by their Ambassadors: which although* Cæsar *vnderstood, yet he entertained them as curteously as he could, telling them that for the ignorance and leuitie of the common people he would not thinke hardly of the State, nor abate any thing of his good will and fauour to the* Hedui.

OBSERVATIONS.

One ill act begetteth another.

A Wicked act is not onely hurtful in it selfe and of it owne condition, but is like that boxe of euill, which the Poets faine to haue bene giuen to *Pandora* to be kept alwaies shut: for when the way is once made, and the gappe opened, one mischiefe draweth on another, and the tayle that followeth is more viperous then the head. There was neuer any one that stained himselfe with any detestable crime, but was moued to commit a second euill that had relatiō to the first:

for

for wicked deedes are iuſtified by themſelues, and one crime is vpheld by another. When the hand is dipt in bloud, it ſeemeth no great matter to imbrue the arme: and the loyaltie of a people being once ſhaken by the indirect practiſes of a few, it is no ſtraunge matter if the whole bodie of that ſtate do immediatly enter into treaſonable conſultations: as it happened in this place with the *Hedui*, who from that time which diſcloſed the trecherie of their heart, caried no faithfull regard to the *Romaine* gouernment, vntill the bitterneſſe of that warre which happened ſhortly after, had made them know their error.

It ſhall be neceſſarie therefore, as much as lyeth in the poſſibilitie of our meanes, to keepe the bodie of vertue ſafe from wounding: for albeit the wound be neuer ſo litle, yet it is alwaies wide enough to let out both the bloud and the ſpirits, euen to the euacuation of the vitall breath of morall honeſtie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Conuictolitanis plebem ad furorem impellit (ſaith the ſtorie) as the fitteſt inſtruments to trouble the ſtate, and to leauen the reſt of the people with the furie of madneſſe. For the poorer and meaner people, that haue no intereſt in the Commonweale but the vſe of breath, nor any other ſubſtance but a Flie in the commons, are alwaies daungerous to the peace of that kingdome: for hauing nothing to looſe, they willingly imbrace all meanes of innouation, in hope of gaining ſomething by other mens ruine, beleeuing altogether in the Prouerbe, which auerreth the fiſhing to be good which is in troubled waters.

The poorer ſort of people do imbrace al meanes of innouation.

Catiline conſpiring againſt the *Romaine* Empire, made choice of ſuch to accompanie him whoſe fortune was deſperate. And thereupon *Saluſt* ſaith: *Homini potentiam quærenti, egentiſsimus quiſque opportuniſsimus, cui neque ſua chara, quippe quæ nulla ſunt, & omnia cum prætio honeſta videntur.*

Saluſt in the conſpiracie of Catiline.

Liuie writeth, that vpon the rumor in *Greece* of warre betweene *Perſeus* and the *Romaines*, the poorer ſort did put themſelues in pay vnder *Perſeus*, with this reſolution, that if there hapned no alteration vpon this occaſiõ, they wold then cleaue to the *Romains*, and aſſiſt them to put the ſtate of *Greece* into a garboile: *Semper in ciuitate* (ſaith *Saluſt*) *quibus opes nullæ ſunt, bonis inuident, malos extollunt; vetera odere noua exoptant, odio ſuarum rerum mutari omnia ſtudent.*

There are theſe two meanes left for a ſtate to eaſe it ſelfe of this ſort of people, either to employ them abroad in warres, or to inrerreſſe them in the quiet of the Commonweale, by learning them ſuch trades and occupations as may giue them a taſt of the ſweetneſſe of peace, and the benefite of a ciuill life.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæſar ſpieth an occaſion to aduance the ſeruice at Gergonia.

Cæſar.

CÆSAR ſuſpecting a greater reuolt of the Gaules, leſt he might be hemmed in with the ſtrength of al the States of Gallia, he entred into deliberation how he might leaue Gergonia and get all his armie together againe, that his departure might not ſeeme to riſe from the feare of their reuolt, and thereby be thought to flie away: and as he thought vpon theſe things, he ſeemed to ſpie an occaſion of doing ſomewhat to purpoſe: for comming into the leſſer campe to view the workes, he obſerued a knoll which was kept by the enemie to be bare of men, which the day before could ſcarce be diſcerned by reaſon of the multitude of people: and wondering at it, he enquired the cauſe of the runawaies which came daily in great numbers vnto him: they all agreed of that which Cæſar had before vnderſtood by the diſcouerers, that the backe of that hill was almoſt leuell, but narrow and woody where it gaue paſſage to the other part of the towne. The Gaules did much feare that place, for the Romaines hauing tooke one knoll if they ſhould poſſeſſe themſelues of another, the Gaules were almoſt blockt in round about and cut off from forraging, or any other iſſuing out of the towne: and therefore Vercingetorix had called them all to fortifie that place. This being knowne, Cæſar ſent many troupes of horſe to that place about midnight, commmaunding them to ride vp and downe all thereabout ſomewhat tumultuouſly: and early in the morning he cauſed many horſes and mules for cariage to be taken out of the campe with horſekeepers vpon them, hauing caskes vpon their heads the better to reſemble horſemen, and to be caried round about the hilles, and to them he added a few horſemen, to the end they might ſpurre out the more freely, and ſo make a better ſhew, commaunding them all to go to the ſame place by a long circuit about. Theſe things were done in view of the towne: for Gergonia ſo ſtood, that they might from thence ſee into the campe, but yet in ſo great a diſtance they could not certainly perceiue what was done. He ſent likewiſe one Legion to the ſame hill, and appointed them to go a litle way, and then to make a ſtand in a dale, and to hide themſelues in the woods. The Gaules began more to ſuſpect that place, and all their forces were drawne thither, for the ſtrengthening of it. Cæſar perceiuing the enemies campes to be void of men, hiding his enſignes and colours, he drew the ſouldiers by litle and litle out of the greater into the leſſer campe, and acquainted the legates to whom he had giuen the ſeuerall legions in charge what he would haue done, warning them eſpecially to keepe in the ſouldiers, leſt they ſhould be caried out either with a deſire of fighting, or in hope of bootie: he propounded vnto them the incommodities of the diſaduantage of place, which muſt onely be auoyded by expedition, the matter conſiſting rather in occaſion and oportunitie then in fighting.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is an easy matter to begin a busines, & to make work for many hands; but to put it off againe, and to quit it without preiudice of other important respects, is no small labour. *Cæsar* being ingaged in the siege of *Gergonia*, & fearing a generall reuolt throughout all *Gallia*, was not a litle troubled how he might cleare himselfe of that busines, without suspition of feare or flight, and gather all his forces into one bodie againe, which he had before deuided into two armies: for as *Marcellus* said to *Fabius* touching the siege of *Casselium*, *Multa magnis ducibus sicut non aggredienda, ita semel aggressis non dimittenda esse, quia magna famæ momenta in vtramque partem fiunt.* An enemie wil conceiue greater hopes from such a retreit, then from a greater aduantage. And therefore a Generall ought to haue as speciall a regard to the opinion which he desireth to be held of his proceedings, as of any part belonging to his charge; for fame is the spirit of great actions, and maketh them memorable or vnworthy by report, *cæteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia quid sibi conducere putent, Principum* (saith *Tacitus*) *diuersam esse sortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famã dirigenda*: wherin there cannot be a better rule for the auoiding of that inconuenience, then that which *Lucretius* obserued; of whom *Liuie* saith, *Id prudenter vt in temerè susceptâ re Romanus fecit, quod circumspectis difficultatibus, ne frustra tempus terreret celeriter absistit incepto*: for the speedie leauing of any such enterprise, doth excuse the rashnesse which might be imputed to the beginning, and men are not so much blamed for making triall of an ill disgested proiect, as they are for obstinate continuing in the same.

It is an easier matter to begin a worke, then to quit it againe with credit.

Liuie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SOME seruices (saith *Cæsar*) are *Res occasionis non prælij*, whereof I haue alreadie disputed. Notwithstanding giue me leaue to adde the mistake, which often falleth out in matter of oportunitie: for in viewing the occurrences of the warres of these latter times, we may find that some hot-spurre commaunders, hauing tasted of the good successe which occasion affoordeth, haue thought of nothing but of seruices assisted with oportunitie, in such maner as at length they forgot that occasion came but seldome, and caried their men vpon such desperate attempts, as prooued the businesse to be a matter scarse affoording meanes to fight for their liues, but were often swallowed vp with deuouring daunger: wherein they did mistake the condition of the seruice, and fell short of *Cæsars* example: for albeit he sent out his men to struggle with the height of the hill, and the disaduantage of well fortified campes, yet he knew they should find litle resistance by the enemie, being drawne away vpon other occasions, if they made that expedition as was requisite in this seruice, whereby he left them not

Some seruices are Res occasionis non prælij.

without meanes to ouerſway thoſe difficulties, and ſo made it *Rem occaſionis non prælij*

CHAP. XXII.

The Romaines make an aſſault vpon Gergonia.

Cæſar. THESE *things being deliuered, he gaue the ſoldiers the ſigne to begin, and at the ſame time he ſent out the* Hedui *by another aſſcent on the right ſide. The wal of the towne was diſtant by a right line from the plaine and the foote of the hill (if it lay euen without any dale or valley) a thouſand and two hundred paces: whatſoeuer more was added in fetching circuits about to clime the ſteepe of the hil, was ouer and beſides that diſtance: from the middeſt of the hill in length as the nature of the place would beare it, the* Gaules *had with great ſtones raiſed a wall of ſixe foote in height, to hinder the aſſault of our men, and all the lower part being left void and empty, they filled the vpper part of the hill euen to the wall of the towne with thicke and frequent campes. The ſouldiers vpon the ſigne giuen were quickly come to the workes, and paſſing ouer them they poſſeſt themſelues of three campes with ſuch ſpeed and expedition, that* Teutomatus *the King of the* Nitiobriges *being ſurpriſed in his tent as he reſted about noone time, the vpper part of his bodie being naked and his horſe wounded, did hardly eſcape the hands of ſouldiers occupied in bootie.* Cæſar *hauing got that which he propounded to himſelfe, commaunded a retreit to be ſounded, and the Enſignes of the tenth Legion ſtayd, but the ſouldiers of the other Legions not hearing the ſound of the trumpet, foraſmuch as a great valley was betweene them, and it was ſtaid notwithſtanding by the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and the Legates according as* Cæſar *had giuen in charge; but being caried away aſwell with a hope of a ſpeedy victory, as by the flight of the enemie and the fortunate battels of former times, they thought nothing ſo difficult but they could ouercome it by their valour, inſomuch as they deſiſted not from following vntill they came to the wal and the gates of the towne. Then a great outcry being took vp in all parts of the towne, ſuch as were further off being terrified with the ſuddennes of the tumult, thinking the enemie had bene within the gates, did caſt themſelues out of the towne, and the women caſt down their apparel & their ſiluer frō the wals; & holding out their naked breaſts & their hands ſpread abroad, adiured the* Romains *to ſaue them, & that they wold not (as they had done at* Auaricū) *deſtroy both women and children: and ſome women ſlipt downe by their hands frō the wal, and gaue themſelues freely to the ſouldiers.* L. Fabius *a centurion of the eight legion, who was heard to ſay that day, that the bootie which he had got at* Auaricum *ſo ſtirred him vp, that he would ſuffer no man to get vp vpon the wal before himſelfe: hauing got three of his manipular ſouldiers, with their helpe he climed vp to the top of the wall, and then he himſelfe did helpe vp his fellowes. In the meane time ſuch as were on the other ſide of*

the

the towne, busied in fortifying that place (as we haue already deliuered) first the noise being heard, and then stirred vp by often messengers, that the Romaines *had tooke the towne, sending their horsemen before they hasted thither in great numbers, and still as they came they stood vnder the wall, and increased the number of such as they found fighting: a great multitude being at length come together, the womẽ that a litle before had reached out their hands from the wall to the* Romaines, *began now to adiure their owne people, and as the maner of the* Gaules *is, to shew their haire lose about their eares, and to bring out their children.*

OBSERVATIONS.

It is honorable for soldiers to keepe their directions.

IT is both safe and honourable for Souldiers and inferiour Commaunders to keepe their directions: for whensoeuer they go about to inlarge their businesse according to their owne fantasie, howsoeuer occasiõ may seeme to further their desires, they inuert the whole course of discipline, and do arrogate more to themselues, then they do attribute to their Generall.

The *Romaines* were strict in this point, as may appeare by that of *Manlius*, who put his owne sonne to death for making a happie fight against the enemie contrary to his directions: for although it fortuned to fall out well at that time, yet the example was so dangerous in a wel ordered war, that he chose rather to bring a mischiefe vpon his own son, then an incõuenience to their military gouernement. *Iniussu tuo* (saith one in *Liuie* to the Consull) *nunquam pugnabo, non si certam victoriam videam*, making profession of true obedience, and ranging himselfe in the order of such parts as haue no other office but obseruance: for an armie is as a bodie, and the souldies are as particular parts, euery man according to his place: the Generall is as the life and soule, and giueth motion to euery part according to reason: and as in a naturall bodie no part can moue without directions from the life; so in the bodie of an armie, when any part moueth without the consent of the head, the motion is either monstrous or exorbitant, and sureth with such an effect as condemneth the instruments of vnaduised rashnesse.

Polybius saith, that men haue two wayes to come by wisdome, either by their owne harmes, or by other mens miscasualties: such wisedome as is got through correction happening by their own errors, is dearely bought; but sitting neare them, is not easily forgotten: that which is obtained by other mens misfortunes, is well come by, and at an easie rate, but for the most part it is soone forgotten: but such as can retaine it to a good vse, are most happie men. This precept to souldiers touching obedience, and the precise keeping of their directions, hath by other mens harmes so often bin vrged, as a man would thinke that latter ages should beware of this disorder. And yet it falleth out almost in euery smal seruice, for the greatest losse which the English receiued at any one time at *Oastend*, was in a sally, wherein captaine *Woodward* hauing possest himselfe of some of the enemies workes, when by his directions he should haue stayed,

thinking to improue his reputation by ſome further ſeruice: deeming it eaſie peraduenture to go forward, he went on beyond the compaſſe of his commaund, whereby it hapned, that both the enemie had greater ſcope to reuenge their former diſhonour, and the reſt of our Engliſh troopes that had their part in that proiect by way of ſecond helpes, could not proceede according to their directions, and ſo they all returned with loſſe.

Inſtitution of Cyrus. That which *Zenophon* reporteth touching one *Chryſantas*, is notable to this purpoſe, who being in the heat of a conflict, & hauing his ſword lift vp to ſtrike one of the aduerſe partie, he chanced to heare a retreit ſounded, whereupon he preſently withdrew his hand, and did forbeare to ſmite him: which howſoeuer to ſome may ſeeme ridiculous, and vnfitting the temper of a ſouldier in time of battell, yet let them know that *Zenophon* a great Commaunder, and an excellent hiſtorian, did alledge that example to the eternall memorie of the forenamed partie, for the knowledge and inſtruction of *Cyrus*, whom he propoundeth to the world as an abſolute paterne both of militarie and ciuill vertue.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Romaines continue the aſſault, and *were beaten off with loſſe.*

Cæſar. *THE contention was not indifferent to the* Romaines, *neither in place nor in number of combattants, being wearied with hall, both with the long race which they had run, and with the continuance of their fight, whereby they did not ſo eaſily beare the enemy being whole & freſh.* Cæſar *ſeeing the fight to be in an vnequal place, & the enemy ſtil to increaſe their forces fearing his people he ſent to* T. Sextius *the legat, whō he had left to cōmand the leſſer camp, to bring out the cohorts ſpeedily, & to place thē at the foot of the hil on the right ſide of the enemy, to the end that if our mē were forced to forſake their place, yet the enemy might be terrified frō following them ouer freely, he himſelf remouing a litle out of that place where he ſtood with the legiō, attēded the euent of the battel: and as they fought at hand very fiercely, the enemy truſting in the place and in the multitude, and our men in their valour, the* Hedui *ſodainly appeared on the open ſide of our men, whom* Cæſar *had ſent vp by another aſſent on the right hand, and although they ſaw their right armes ſhewed or put forth, which was a ſigne of peace, yet they doubted leſt the enemy had vſed that pollicy to deceiue them. At the ſame inſtant* L. Fabius *the Centurion, and thoſe that climed vp vpon the wall with him being ſlaine, were caſt downe from the wal againe, and* M. Petreius *a Centurion of the ſame legion, as he was about to cut downe the gates, being oppreſſed with the multitude and deſpairing of his owne life, hauing receiued many wounds: Foraſmuch (ſaith he to his ſouldiers that followed him) as I cannot ſaue my ſelfe and you too, I will certainly prouide for your ſafetie, whom I haue brought into danger whileſt I thirſted after honor:*

you

You while you may, ſhift for your ſelues, and withall he brake through the thickeſt of the enemy, and with the ſlaughter of a couple he remoued he reſt from the gate. And as his ſouldiers went about to helpe him, In vaine (ſaith he) do you indeuor to ſaue my life, which bloud and ſtrength haue already forſaken: and therefore get you hence while you haue meanes, and betake your ſelues to the legion, and ſo fighting fell downe dead, but ſaued his men. Our men being ouercharged on all ſides with the loſſe of ſixe and fortie Centurions, were beaten downe from the place, but the tenth legion which ſtood for a reſcue in a more equall place, hindered the Gaules *from following ouer eagerly. And againe, the cohorts which* Fabius *had brought out of the campe ſeconded that legion, hauing got the aduantage of the vpper ground. The legions aſſoone as they came into the plaine ſtood ſtill and turned head to the enemy:* Vercingetorix *drew backe his men from the foote of the hill, and brought them into their camps. That day few leſſe then ſeuen hundred ſouldiers were wanting.*

OBSERVATIONS.

AND this is the end of preſumptuous raſhneſſe, when men are become ſo pregnant, as to take vpon them more then is required. But as they ſay of faire weather, that it is pitie it ſhould do hurt: ſo is it great pitie that valour and reſolution ſhould proue diſaduantageous. For this ouerdoing of a ſeruice, is but the ſpirit of valiant cariage, and the very motion of proweſſe and courage, memorable in the offenders themſelues: as we may ſee by this particular report of *Fabius* and *Petreius*; and much to be pitied, that vertue ſhould at any time be ouerquelled with a greater ſtrength.

At this ſeruice the *Romaines* ſtood in theſe tearmes, they were ouermatched in number, they had ſpent their ſtrength in ſpeedie running to the place which in it ſelfe was not fauourable vnto them, but almoſt as great an enemie as the *Gaules*, onely they truſted in their valour, and thought by vertue to cleare all difficulties. The *Gaules* had the fauour of the place, a farre greater number of fighting men, they came freſh to the battell, and were alwaies ſeconded with freſh ſupplies. *Ceſar* ſeeing the two armies ingaged one with another, could neither part them nor recall his ſouldiers, but ſet ſuch forces as were free in ſuch conuenient places, as might reſcue his people in the retreit, and keepe the *Gauls* from following the chaſe, or making any great ſlaughter of the *Romaine* ſouldier. Whereby it happened, that in ſo great an inequalitie, where there were ſo many ſwords drawne to make way to death, there were not ſeuen hundred men loſt of the *Romaine* armie. And yet it happened to be the greateſt loſſe that euer he receiued in thoſe warres in his owne preſence, when the iſſue of the cõflict gaue the enemie the better of the day.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Cæsar rebuketh the rashnesse of his souldiers, *and maketh light but successefull skirmishes* vpon the enemie.

Cæsar:

CÆSAR the next day calling the armie before him, rebuked the temeritie and cupiditie of the souldiers, forasmuch as they had tooke vpon them to iudge how farre they were to go, or what they were to do: neither would they stay vpon the sounding of a retreit, nor hearken to the Tribunes nor the Legats that would haue kept them backe: he laid open vnto them how auaileable the inequalitie of the place was, and what he himselfe thought of it, when at Auaricum *he tooke the enemie without a Generall and without caualrie, and did forgo a most assured victorie, lest in the buckling he might haue receiued a small losse through the inequitie of the place. How admirable was the greatnesse of their spirit? whom neither the fortifications of the campes, the height of the hill, nor the wall of the towne, could stop or hinder? Wherein he blamed their licentious arrogancie the more, forasmuch as they had tooke vpon them to iudge better of the victorie and the successe of that seruice, then the Generall himselfe: neither did he so much desire to find courage and vertue in his souldiers, as modestie and sobrietie. This speech being deliuered, and in the end confirming their minds that they might not be discouraged at the matter, nor attribute that to the woorth of the enemie, which indeed was in the nature of the place, keeping his former purpose of departure, he brought the legions out of the campe, imbutteled them in a conuenient place, and finding that* Vercingetorix *would not be drawne into an indifferent place, after a light skirmish of horse wherein the* Romaines *had the better, he caried his armie backe againe into the campe, and doing the like the next day, thinking it sufficient to abate the pride of the* Gaules, *and to strengthen the courage of his soldiers, he remoued his campe into the State of the* Hedui, *the enemy refusing to make after him.*

OBSERVATIONS.

Reparation of honour, what it is.

REparation of honour is a chiefe point in the cariage of an army: for he that leaueth an enemie vpon a losse receiued, when his souldiers are either awed or well beaten, must looke to find the same spirit and courage in them, when they shall come againe to confront the enemie, as they had when they last left him with a disaduantage: which is nothing else but an vnskilfull continuance of his own losse, and a preparation to a second ouerthrow. In the warre the *Romaines* had with

with *Annibal*, in all the fights they made, they continued their firſt loſſe vnto the battell at *Nola*, at what time by *Marcellus* good directions, they gaue him an ouerthrow, which was the firſt time that euer *Annibals* ſouldiers began to giue place to the *Romaines*, and repaired the *Romaines* valour againe, after ſo many battels as they loſt: for then they were perſwaded that they fought not with an enemie altogether inuincible, but that he was ſubiect to loſſe and ouerthrow. And in reſpect of this ſo happie a fortune, reſtoring the *Romaine* ſouldiers to their auncient valour and good fortune, it is that *Liuie* ſaith: *Ingens eo die res, ac neſcio an maxima illo bello geſta ſit.* *Cæſar* did well vnderſtand this Philoſophie: and therefore he laboured to repaire the breach which the enemy had made in the valour of his ſouldiers, by light and ſmall skirmiſhes, before he would aduenture to hazard the maine drift of the buſineſſe in any ſet conflict. And the rather for that he had a purpoſe to leaue the enemie for a time, whereby he ſeemed to end the former ſeruices; wherein he had a ſpeciall care not to depart with the laſt blow, hauing alwaies before that time had the better: for the condition of the end doth challenge much of the former proceedings, and doth draw the opinion of men to deeme of al as the concluſion importeth. According as *Claudius Nero* told his ſouldiers: *Semper quòd poſtremò adiectum ſit, id rem totam videri traxiſſe.*

Plutarke in the life of Marcellus.

Lib. 3. bel. ciuil. poſt pugnam Dyrrachianam. Cæſar neque ſatis militibus perterritis cõfidebat, ſpatiumq́, interponendum ad recreandos animos putabat.

CHAP. XXV.

The Hedui reuolt: Cæſar paſſeth his *armie ouer the riuer Loier.*

Cæſar.

THE third day he reedified the bridge at the riuer of Eleuar, and caried ouer his armie: there he vnderſtood by Viridomarus and Eporedorix, that Litauicus was gone with all the enemies horſe to ſollicite the State of the Hedui, and therfore it was requiſite that Cæſar ſhould ſend them before to confirme the State, and keepe them in loyalty. And although Cæſar did miſtruſt the State of the Hedui for many cauſes, and did thinke that the departure of theſe two Nobles would haſten their reuolt, yet he did not thinke it fit to detaine them, leſt he ſhould either ſeeme to do them wrong, or to giue any ſuſpition of diſtruſt. At their departure he propounded vnto them briefly, how well he had deſerued of their State, how low and weake they were when he receiued them, confined within their townes, their lands extended, all their forces taken from them, a tribute laid vpon them, pledges extorted from them with great contumelie: and into what fortune and greatneſſe he had brought them againe, that not onely they had recouered their former ſtate, but did exceed the dignitie and fauour of all former times: and with theſe mandates he let them go. Noiodunum was a towne of the Hedui ſituate in a conuenient place, vpon the banke of the riuer Loier, thither had Cæſar ſent all the hoſtages of Gallia, the corne, the publike treaſure, and the greateſt part of the baggage of the armie, and thither he had

likewise sent great store of horse, which he had bought in Spaine *and* Italy *for the seruice of this warre.* Eporedorix *and* Viridomarus *comming thither, and vnderstanding touching the affaires of their State, that* Litauicus *was receiued into* Bibract *by the* Hedui, *which is the Metropolitane citie of their State, and that* Conuictolitanis *their chiefe Magistrate, and a great part of the Senate were come vnto him, and that publike messengers were sent to* Vercingetorix *touching a league of peace and amitie, they did not thinke it fit to omit so great an oportunitie. And thereupon hauing slaine the Guard at* Nouiodunum, *with such others as were there either by way of trade or trauell, they deuided the money and the horses betweene them, and tooke order that the hostages of the other States should safely be conueyed to* Bibract. *For the towne, forasmuch as they thought they were not able to keepe it, lest the* Romaines *might make any vse of it, they burned it: such corne as they could carie on the sudden, they cõueyed away in boats, the rest they either burned or cast it into the riuer. They began to raise forces in the countrie next adioyning: to dispose of watches and garisons, on the banke of the riuer* Loier: *to shew their Caualrie in all places, to the end they might exclude the* Romaines *from prouision of corne, or driue them through necessitie of want to forsake the Prouince. Whereof they were the rather assured, forasmuch as the* Loier *was much swelled by a fall of snow, whereby it was vnpassable at any foord. These things being knowne,* Cæsar *thought it necessarie for him to make hast, to the end he might giue them battell before they had gathered a greater head: for touching his purpose for returning into the Prouince, he did not thinke it fit by any meanes, both in respect of the shame and infamie thereof, as also forasmuch as the opposition of the hill* Gebenna, *and the difficultie of the passage did hinder him, but especially for that he did exceedingly desire to ioyne himselfe with* Labienus *and the Legions that were with him. And therefore making great iourneys both by day and night beyond all mens expectation, he came to the riuer* Loier, *where the horsmen hauing found a conuenient foord for the necessitie of the time, that the souldiers might passe ouer with their armes and shoulders aboue the water, to hold vp their weapons, disposing the horse in the riuer to breake the force of the streame, and the enemy being affrighted vpon their first shew, he caried ouer his armie in safetie. And hauing satisfied his souldiers with corne which he found in the fields, and good store of cattel, he determined to march towards the* Senones.

OBSERVATIONS.

The change which the reuolt of the Hedui made in Gallia.

THE greatest difficultie that euer *Cæsar* found in the course of these warres, was at this instant vpon the reuolt of the *Hedui*: for whereas that state after *Cæsars* coming into *Gallia*, was euer reputed the fauorite of the *Romaine* Empire, hauing receiued such speciall priuiledges and prerogatiues aboue the rest, as might tye them with an inuiolable bond of amitie to the people of *Rome*: it was not to be expected that they should forsake so great a stay, or fauour any thing that might tend to the weakening of that authoritie, which preferred them in dignitie before all other states of that continent: and was as a *Remora* to diuers other nations

ons of *Gallia*, from ſhewing that defection by plaine and open reuolt, which they had ſo long before conceiued in their minds.

But when it appeared (notwithſtanding any precedent benefite, or the merit of imperiall fauours) that the *Hedui* did affect the common cauſe of their countries libertie, and were content to ingage themſelues therein, as farre as their liues or fortunes could any way be valued: it was not to be doubted, but that ſuch other Commonweales, as before that time had remained newtrall, and had leſſe cauſe then the *Hedui* to keepe backe their hands from a worke of that pietie, would apprehend the matter, as a buſineſſe importing the ſafetie of their countrie, whereunto *Cæſar* and the Legions were common enemies. The conſideration whereof, made *Cæſar* to thinke of returning backe into the Prouince, had not the diſhonour of ſuch a retreit, and the deſire he had to ioyne with *Labienus*, hindred that purpoſe.

CHAP. XXVI.

Labienus commeth to Lutetia with *foure Legions.*

WHILE theſe things were done by Cæſar, Labienus *hauing left thoſe ſupplies which came laſt out of* Italie, *at* Agendicũ *for the ſafetie of the cariages, went himſelfe with foure legions to* Lutetia *a towne of the* Pariſians, *built in an Iſland in the riuer* Sequana. *The enemie vnderſtanding of his comming, great forces were ſpeedily brought together out of the countries neare about: the chiefeſt commaund was giuen to* Camulogenus *of the nation of the* Aulerci, *who notwithſtanding his great age was called to that honour for his ſingular knowledge in matter of warre. He finding it to be a continued bog that ran into* Sequana, *and much hindered all that place, did ſtay there with his armie, and purpoſed to hinder the paſſage of the* Romaines. Labienus *did firſt indeuour to driue the vines, to fill vp the bog with hurdles and earth, and ſo to make the paſſage firme: but after that he perceiued it to be very hard to effect, in the third watch of the night he went out of the campe with ſilence, and the ſame way that he came, he went to* Melodunum *a towne of the* Senones, *ſituate in an Iſland of* Sequana, *as* Lutetia *is: and hauing ſurpriſed ſome fiftie ſhippes and boates, and manned them with ſouldiers, the townſmen being affrighted with the noueltie of the matter, of whom a great part were called out to that warre, he poſſeſt himſelfe of the town without any reſiſtance: the bridge being reedified which the enemie had cut downe a few dayes before, he tranſported ouer the armie, and went downe along the riuer towards* Lutetia. *The enemie hauing notice thereof by ſuch as eſcaped from* Melodunum, *commaunded* Lutetia *to be burned, and the bridges of the towne to be broken: they themſelues forſaking the bog, ſate downe vpon the bankes of* Sequana *right ouer againſt the campe of* Labienus. *By this time* Cæſars *departure from* Gergonia *was knowne abroad, with the reuolt of the* Hedui: *and rumors were brought of a ſecond* Cæſar.

rising and motion in Gallia: *it was certainely confirmed, that the* Gaules *were in cõsultation, that* Cæsar *was kept backe both by the difficulties of the passage, and the riuer* Loier, *and for want of corne was constrained to returne into the Prouince. The* Bellouaci *also vnderstanding of the reuolt of the* Hedui, *whereas they were before trecherous and disloyall of themselues, did now begin to raise forces and prepare for open warre.* Labienus *vpon so great a chaunge of things, vnderstood that it was necessarie for him to take another manner of course then was before intended. For now he thought not of making any conquest, or vrging the enemie to battell, but to bring the armie backe in safetie to* Agendicum. *For on the one side, the* Bellouaci *stood ready to charge him, being a people that had the name for deedes of armes of all the nations in* Gallia; *the other side was kept by* Canulogenus *with an armie readie in the field: and last of al, the legions were kept from their garrison and their cariages with a great riuer that ranne betweene them and it.*

OBSERVATIONS.

He that will do things wel, must vary with the time.

THE great alteration which the reuolt of the *Hedui* made in *Gallia*, caused *Labienus* to let fall his former resolutions, and to shape such a course as might best answer the extremity of the tempest; forhe that will attaine the end of his desires, or make peace with the affections of his mind, must not thinke at all times to carie away contentment with the strength of his meanes, or subdue resistance with force of armes, but must be well pleased to be driuen with the streame, vntill he meet with a tide of better opportunitie: for oftentimes it falleth out, that the opposition of resisting power is more auailable then ten legions commaunded by *Cæsar*, or what the *Romaine* Empire could adde besides to so great an armie: for there is no quantity so great, but there may be found a greater; nor none so litle but there may be a lesse; which may teach a man neither to conceit himselfe in a matchlesse singularitie, nor to despaire of a weake condition. And this is that which is so often recommended to the consideration of discreete Gouernours, whether they be Magistrates in peace, or Commaunders in warre, to put them in mind of the condition of times, and to cary themselues answerable thereunto: forasmuch as fortunate and happie successe, riseth for the most part from such meanes as haue respect to the occurrences of the time, not running alwayes vpon one bias, nor sailing at all times with a fore-wind, but sometimes to presse forward, and sometimes to giue backe, according as the circumstances of the time shall make way to good fortune.

Plutarke in the life of Fabius.

Fabius the great *Romaine*, thought it no scorne to be called coward, or to vndergo the displeasure of the people of *Rome*, while he gaue place to the furie of the *Carthaginian*, and refused to receiue a third ouerthrow. And thus he altered the course of the *Romaine* warfare according to the time, and ouerthrew that enemie by shunning to encounter him, which in a battel would haue hazarded the conquest of *Rome*. In like maner *Cn. Sulpitius* the Dictator did imitate this wisedome of *Fabius* against the *Gaules*, by lingring out the warre: *Nolens se fortunæ*

tunæ committere aduersus hostem (as *Liuy* saith) *quem tempus deteriorem indies & locus alienus faceret.* And to conclude this point, *Cæsar* vpon the losse which he receiued at *Dyrrhachium*, *Omnem sibi commutandam belli rationem existimauit*, as the storie saith: which was nothing else but varying with the time, and helping a bad fortune with new directions. *Liui.3.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Labienus passeth the riuer of Sequana, *and fighteth with the Gaules.*

FOR the auoiding of these great difficulties which came so suddenly vpon him, he knew there was no help to be had, but that which the vertue of his mind would affoord him: and therfore calling a councell a litle before the euening, he adhorted them to execute such things as he commaunded both with diligence and industry; and so taking the ships which he had brought from Melodunum, *he diuided them amongst the* Romaine *horsemen, and after the first watch he commaunded them to go foure miles downe the riuer in silence, and there to attend him: he left fiue cohorts which he thought to be too weake for any fight as a garrison to the campe, and sent the other fiue cohorts of the same legion about midnight with al the cariages vp the riuer, commaunding them to make a great noise and tumult as they went: he sought out all barges and boates, and sent them vp the riuer with much noise and beating of oares: and a litle while after he himselfe went quietly with three legions to the place where he had commanded the ships to abide him. At his comming thither, the enemies discouerers which were disposed on al parts of the riuer, were sodainly and at vnawares surprised by our men, by reason of a sodain tempest that did rise in the meane time: & the army and the horse were by the diligence of the* Romaine *Knights* (*to whom he had committed that businesse*) *caried ouer. At the same time a litle before day-light, the enemy had intelligence that there was an extraordinary noise and tumult in the* Romaine *campe, and a great troope went vp the riuer, and the beating of oares was heard that way, and a litle below the souldiers were caried ouer. Which being knowne, forasmuch as they iudged that the legions were caried ouer in three places, and that they were so perplexed at the reuolt of the* Hedui, *that they fled away: they diuided their forces also into three parts, for a garrison being left right ouer against the* Romaine *campe, and a small band sent towards* Glossendium, *which was to go so farre as the boates went, they caried the rest of their army to meet* Labienus. *By the dawning of the day all our men were caried ouer, and the enemy was discouered ranged in battell.* Labienus *adhorting the souldiers to bethinke themselues of their auncient vertue, and to recall the memory of their fortunate battels, and to suppose that* Cæsar *himselfe was present, vnder whose leading they had oftentimes ouerthrowne the enemy, he gaue the signe of battell. Vpon the first affront on the right wing where the se-* *Cæsar.*

uenth legion ſtood, the enemy was beaten backe and put to flight; in the left cornet where the twelfth legion was, the former rankes of the enemie being pierced through and beaten dead downe with the piles, the reſt notwithſtanding did ſecretly reſiſt; neither did any man giue ſuſpition of flying. Camulogenus *the Generall was preſent with his men, and encouraged them to fight, the victory being vncertaine. When the Tribunes of the ſeuenth legion vnderſtood what was done in the left wing, they ſhewed the legion behind on the backe of the enemy, and there began to charge them, and yet none of them forſooke his place, but were all incloſed and ſlaine,* Camulogenus *ending his dayes by the ſame fortune. Such of the enemy as were left ouer againſt the* Romaine *campes, vnderſtanding that the battel was begun, came to ſecond their fellowes, and tooke a hil, but were not able to abide our conquering ſouldiers, but ioyning themſelues to the reſt that fled, were neither protected by the woods nor the mountaines, but were all ſlaine by the horſemen. This buſineſſe being ended,* Labienus *returned to* Agendicum, *where the cariages of the whole army were left, and from thence came to* Cæſar *with all the forces.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Necessary for a Generall to vnderſtād the purpoſes of the enemie.

Labienus being to paſſe the riuer of *Seine*, which was ſtrongly guarded by the *Gaules*, was forced to ſeeke a meanes out of the vertue of his mind (as *Cæſar* ſaith) and to lay ſuch a proiect as might amuſe the enemie, and keep him in ſuſpence what way to take to preuent his paſſage, vntill he had effected that which he deſired: which bringeth to our conſideration the ſaying of *Epaminondas* the *Theban*, that there is nothing more neceſſarie or behouefull for a Generall, then to vnderſtand the purpoſes of the enemie. A point ſo much the more commendable, by how much it is in it ſelfe difficult, and hard to be diſcouered; for it were hard to vnderſtand their ſecret deliberations, which for the moſt part are onely knowne to the Generall, or to ſuch chiefe Commaunders as are neare about him, when their very actions which euery man knoweth, and ſuch things as are done in the open view of the world, are oftentimes doubtfull to an enemie.

Liuy hath a notable ſtorie to this purpoſe. *Sempronius* the *Romaine* Conſull giuing battell to the *Equi*, the fight continued vntill the night parted them, not without alteration of fortune, ſometimes the *Romaines* preuailing, and ſometimes the *Equi*: the night coming on, both ſides being wearie and halfe routed, they forſooke their campes, and for their better ſafetie tooke each of them a hil. The *Romaine* armie diuided it ſelfe into two parts, the one part followed the Conſull, and the other a Centurion, named *Tempanius*, a fellow of great ſpirit, and had ſhewed much worth in the battell. The next morning the Conſull without further inquirie, made towards *Rome*; and ſo did the *Equi* withdraw their armie backe into their countrey, either of them deeming themſelues ouerthrowne, and caſting victorie vpon ech others ſhoulders. It happened that *Tempanius* with that part of the armie that kept with him, inquiring after the enemy,

enemie, found him to be ouerthrowne and fled: whereupon he first went to the *Romaine* campe and made that good, and then marched to the campe of the *Equi*, which he tooke and rifled, and so returned victor to Rome.

The morning following the battell of *Agincourt*, *Montjoy* the *French* Herald comming to inquire for prisoners, King *Henry* asked him who had wonne the field? to which he answered, that the *French* had lost it: which was vnknowne to that worthy Conquerour. *Plutarke* writeth, that *Cassius* killed himselfe vpon the like errour, not knowing the fortune of the right wing of his armie. And therefore it must needes be a commendable matter, to vnderstand the deliberations of an enemie, when the issue of a battell is oftentimes so vncertaine. *Holinshead. Henry the 5.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Amulogenus hath the report in this place of singular knowledge and experience in matter of warre, and being of a great age he fought as resolutely as the youngest gallant of them all: which may bring to our consideration the fittest age of life to be wished in a Generall, for the atchieuing of noble and worthy exploits: wherein we are to consider, that the youth and former yeares of a mans age, are plentifully stored with hot bloud and nimble spirits, which quickly apprehend the conceptions of the mind, and carie them with such violence to execution, that they bereaue the iudgement of her prerogatine, and giue it no respite to censure them; whereby it commeth to passe, that young men are for the most part heedlesse, inconsiderate, rash and resolute, putting more vpon hazard then vpon good aduice. *The fittest age of life for a Generall.*

On the other side, old age is cold in bloud, and not so quicke of spirit, but being beaten with the rod of long experience, it learneth to be slow and lingring, full of doubts and consideration, inclining rather to a feminine feare, then to a forward resolution.

Neither of these attributes are simply in themselues the best attendants of noble enterprises: for a hot-spurre gallant may runne apace, but not go sure; and what young man soeuer be aduanced to commaund, had neede of an old mans wit to discharge it. And if authoritie did at any time fall into the hands of youth in the *Romaine* gouernement, which was very seldome, it was *Præmium virtutis, non ætatis*. *Pompey* was extraordinarie happie in that behalfe, for he attained the surname of Great, because he had deserued the honour of triumph before his beard was growne. And yet *Sertorius* tooke such aduantage at *Pompeys* youth, comming against him in *Spaine*, that he said he would haue whipped the yong boy to *Rome* againe with rods, had not that old woman (meaning *Metellus*) come to helpe him. *Plutarke in the life of Sertorius.*

Againe, where old age heapeth doubt vpon doubt, and falleth into the danger of vnprofitable lingring, *Nec ausus est satis nec prouidit*, it wanteth boldnesse *Hist. 3.*

to ſteele the enterpriſe, and falleth alſo ſhort of good prouidence, as *Tacitus* ſpeaketh of *F. Valens*. *Auguſtus Cæſar* purpoſing to commend *Tiberius* his ſucceſſor with an extraordinarie praiſe, ſaid he was a man that neuer put one thing to be twiſe conſulted of. And it is ſaid of *Marius*, that being come to the age of threeſcore and fiue yeares or thereabouts, he ſhewed himſelfe very cold and ſlow in all his enterpriſes, foraſmuch as age had mortified his actiue heate, and killed that readie diſpoſition of bodie that was wont to be in him. The *Romaines* finding *Fabius Maximus* to be full of doubts and delay, good to defend, but not to offend, and *Marcellus* of a ſtirring ſpirit, neither quiet with good nor ill fortune, (as *Anniball* truly ſaid of him) they thought to ioyne *Marcellus* youthfull courage with *Fabius* feare and wiſedome, and ſo make a temperature fit for a Generall; whereupon they called *Marcellus* the ſword, and *Fabius* the buckler: wherein *Cæſar* of himſelfe was excellent, of whom *Suetonius* reporteth, *Dubium cautior, an audentior.*

Plutarke in the life of Marius.

The beſt ſtate of yeares then for this buſineſſe, is that which tempereth the heate of youth with the coldneſſe of age, and quickneth the ſlow and dull proceedings of double aduice, with the raſhneſſe of youthfull reſolution: and falleth out betweene the yeares of fiue and thirtie, and fiue and fiftie. *Scipio African* commaunded the Romaine armie in *Spaine* at foure and twentie yeares of age, and died at foure and fiftie. *Anniball* was choſen Generall to *Aſdruball* at ſixe and twentie yeares, and poyſoned himſelfe at threeſcore and ten. *Pompey* was ſlaine at nine and fiftie, and *Cæſar* at ſixe and fiftie: *Marcellus* kept his youthfull reſolution to his old dayes, for being threeſcore yeares of age, he neuer longed for any thing more then to fight with *Anniball* hand to hand.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Gaules conſult of the cariage *of that warre.*

Cæſar.

THE reuolt of the Hedui *being knowne, the warre waxed greater, Ambaſſadors were ſent out into all parts, and they laboured to draw the reſt of the States to their party, as farre as either fauour, authoritie, or money could preuaile: hauing got the pledges into their hands which* Cæſar *had left with them, they terrified ſuch as ſtood doubtfull, by threatning to kill them. The* Hedui *do deſire* Vercingetorix *to come vnto them, and to acquaint them with the courſe of that warre: which being yeelded vnto, they labour to haue the chiefe commaund transferred vpon them: the matter growing vnto a controuerſie, a generall Councell of all* Gallia *was ſummoned at* Bibract: *thither they repaired in great multitudes: and the matter being put to voices, they all*

all with one consent made allowance of Vercingetorix for their Generall. The men of Rhemes with the Lingones and Treuiri were absent from this Councell, the two first continuing their affection to the Romaine partie: the Treuiri were farre off, and were annoyed by the Germaines; in which respect they were absent from that warre, and remained neutrall. The Hedui were much grieued that they were put by the principalitie, they complaine of the chaunge of their fortune, and wished for Cæsars former indulgence, neither durst they disioyne themselues againe from the rest, the warre being already vndertaken: but Eporedorix and Viridomarus, two young men of great hope, were constrained, though vnwilling, to obey Vercingetorix; he commaunded pledges to be deliuered by the rest of the States, and appointed a day for that businesse: he commaunded fifteene thousand horse to be speedily brought together: touching foote forces, he would content himselfe with those which he had; for his purpose was not to wage battell but where as he was very strong in horse. He made no doubt to keepe the Romaines from corne and forrage, onely they must patiently endure to haue their corne spoiled and their houses burnt; which particular losse would quickly be recompenced with libertie and perpetuall soueraigntie. These things being ordered, he commaunded ten thousand foote to be raised by the Hedui and Segutiani bordering vpon the Prouince, and to them he added eight hundred horse, and sent them vnder the commannd of Eporedorix his brother, to make warre against the Allobroges. And on the other side, he caused the Gaballi and the neerest villages of the Aruerni to set vpon the Heluij, the Rutheni, and the Cardurci, and to depopulate their countrey. Notwithstanding by secret messages he dealt with the Allobroges, whose minds he thought to be scarce setled from the former warre: he promised money to their chiefest men, and to giue the gouernement of all the Romaines Prouince to their State. To answer all these chaunces, there were prouided but two and twenty cohorts, which being raised out of the Prouince, were disposed by L. Cæsar a Legate to preuent these mischieues. The Hedui of their owne accord giuing battell to their borderers, were beaten out of the field, and were driuen into their townes with the slaughter of C. Valerius Denotaurus, the sonne of Caburus the chiefe man of their State, and of many other. The Allobroges hauing set many watches and garrisons vpon the riuer Rheine, did with great care and diligence defend their borders. Cæsar vnderstanding the enemy to be stronger in horse then he himselfe was, and the passages being shut that he could not send either into the Prouince or into Italie for any supplies, he sent ouer the Rheine into Germanie, and got horse from such States as he had quieted the yeare before, with such light armed footemen as were accustomed to fight amongst the horse: at their arriuall, forasmuch as they were not well fitted with horse, he tooke the horses from the Tribunes and the Romaine Knights, and distributed them amongst the Germaines.

OBSERVATIONS.

Three chiefe meanes to win men to fauor a matter.
1. *Fauour or friendſhip.*
2. *Authoritie.*
3. *Money.*

THERE are three principall meanes to draw a ſtate into a partie which of it ſelfe ſtandeth newtrall, or to win the minds of men, when they carie equall or indifferent affections. The firſt is, by fauour or friendſhip. The ſecond, by authoritie: and the third by money.

Friendſhip relyeth vpon former reſpects, and the exchaunge of precedent courteſies. Authoritie concludeth from future daungers, and the inconueniences which may follow the refuſall. Money doth gouerne the preſent occaſiõ, and is more generall then either fauour or authoritie. The *Gaules* were not wanting to make their partie good in any of theſe three perſwading motiues: but as *Cæſar* ſaith: *Quantum gratia, authoritate, pecunia valent, ad ſollicitandas ciuitates nituntur.*

Wherin as they went about to lay the ſtocke vpon it, ſo they left themſelues but one triall for the right of their cauſe, and ioyned iſſue for all vpon the fortune of that action: for when they ſhould ſee their beſt poſſibilities too weake, and their vttermoſt indeauours profite nothing againſt a mightie preuailing enemie, the greater their hopes were which they had in the meanes, the greater would be their deſpaire when ſuch meanes were ſpent: for it is a ſhrewd thing for men to be out of meanes, and not to driue a hope before them.

It is vſuall vpon ſuch maine occaſions to imploy the chiefeſt man in a State, in whome the ſouldiers may haue moſt aſſurance, and to accompanie him with ſuch meanes as the ſtrength of the Commonweale may affoord him: but if their greateſt hopes die in his ill ſucceſſe, or waxe faint through cold fortune, the kingdome receiueth loſſe, and the enemie getteth aduantage, as may appeare by the ſequele of this great preparation.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Caualrie of the Gaules do ſet vpon *the Romaine army, and are beaten.*

Cæſar.

WHILE *theſe things were a doing, the enemies forces and the horſemen that were commaunded to be leauied in all* Gallia, *met together, and came out of the territories of the* Aruerni. *A great number of theſe being gathered together, as* Cæſar *marched againſt the* Sequani *by the borders of the* Lingones, *to the end he might the eaſier releeue the Prouince,* Vercingetorix *ſate downe about ten miles from the* Romaines *in three ſeuerall campes, and calling the Captaines and Coronels of horſe to counſell, he told them that the time of victorie was now come: for the* Romains

Romaines *left* Gallia, *and fled into the Prouince: which was ſufficient for the obtaining of their preſent libertie, but auailed litle for the peace and quiet of future time, foraſmuch as the* Romaines *did not purpoſe to make an end of the warre, but to returne againe with greater forces. And therefore it was neceſſarie to ſet vpon them in their march laden with cariages. If the foote did aſſiſt their horſe, then they were not able to make any way or proceede in their iourney. But if (which he hoped would rather happen) forſaking their cariages euery man ſhifted for himſelfe, they would depart both robbed of their neceſſaries and of their honour: for they need not doubt of the enemies horſe, of whom he was moſt aſſured that they durſt not go out frō amongſt the foote forces. And to the end they might be the better incouraged, he would draw al the forces in a readines out of the campe, and place them ſo as they might be a terror to the enemy. The horſemen cryed out all together, that this reſolution might be ſtrengthened with an holy oath: Let him neuer be receiued vnder any roofe, or haue acceſſe to his wife and children, that did not twice runne through the armie of the enemie. The thing being well liked of, and euery man forced to take that oath, the next day he deuided his caualrie into three parts: two armies ſhewed themſelues on each ſide, and the third began to make ſtay of the vawward: which being knowne,* Cæſar *deuided his horſes likewiſe into three parts, and ſent them to make head againſt the enemie. At the ſame time they fought in all parts, the army ſtood ſtill, the cariages were receiued within the Legions: if our men were ouercharged any where,* Cæſar *bent the Legions that way, which did both hinder the enemie from following them, and aſſure our men of hope of reſcue. At length the* Germaines *hauing poſſeſt themſelues of a hill on the right ſide, did put the enemie from their place, and followed thē as they fled euen to the riuer, where* Vercingetorix *ſtayed with the foote companies, and ſlue many of them: whereupon the reſt fearing leſt they ſhould be encompaſſed about, betooke themſelues to flight: execution was done in all places. Three of the Nobilitie of the* Hedui *were taken and brought to* Cæſar, Cotus *the Generall of the horſe, who at the laſt election of Magiſtrates ſtood in controuerſie with* Conuictolitanis, *and* Cauarillus *who after the reuolt of* Litauicus, *commaunded the foote troopes, and* Eporedorix *vnder whoſe commaund, before* Cæſars *comming into* Gallia, *the* Hedui *made warre with the* Sequani: *all the caualrie being put to flight* Vercingetorix *drew in his forces which he had imbattelled before his campe, and immediatly after began to march towards* Aleſia *a towne of the* Mandubij, *commaunding the baggage to be ſpeedily brought out of the campe and to follow him.* Cęſar *hauing conueyed his cariages to the next hill vnder the cuſtodie of two Legions, he followed the enemie as long as the day would giue him leaue: and hauing ſlaine ſome two thouſand of the reareward, the day following he encamped at* Aleſia.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE *Gaules* were much ſtronger then the *Romaines* in Caualry, both according to quantitie and qualitie, but the *Romaine* Infanterie was greater in vertue and worth then any foote forces of the *Gaules*, notwithſtanding their inequalitie in number: which ſheweth that the *Romaines* did more relye vpon their legionarie

Whether the caualrie or infanterie be of greater importance and vſe in a warre.

ſouldiers, then vpon their *Equites*: and may ſerue for an argument in the handling of that queſtion, which is ſo much debated amongſt men of warre, whether the horſe or the foote companies be of greater importance in the cariage of a warre? Which indeed is a queſtion *a malè diuiſis*: being both ſo neceſſarie for the perfect execution of martiall purpoſes, as they cannot well be diſ-ioyned. And if we looke particularly in the nature of their ſeuerall ſeruices, we ſhall eaſily diſcerne the differences, and be able to iudge of the validitie of their parts.

Footmen fitter for more ſeruices then horſemen.

Wherein firſt it cannot be denyed, but that foote companies are ſeruiceable to more purpoſes then troupes of horſe: for the horſemen are of no vſe, but in open and champion places: whereas footemen are not onely of importance in fielden countries, but are neceſſarie alſo in mountenous or woodie places, in valleys, in ditches, in ſeiges, and in all other parts of what ſite or nature ſoeuer, where the horſemen cannot ſhew themſelues. Whereby it appeareth, that the infanterie extendeth it ſeruice to more purpoſes then the caualrie, and maketh the warre compleat, which otherwiſe would proue lame and vneffectuall.

The maine ſtroke in a day of battell is giuen by the footmen.

Touching the waight of the buſineſſe when it commeth to a day of battell, it reſteth for the moſt part vpon the foote troopes: for the horſemen are profitable to the armie wherein they ſerue, by making diſcoueries, by harrying the enemies countrey, by giuing ſuccour or reſcue vpon a ſuddaine, by doing execution vpon an ouerthrow, and by confronting the enemies horſe: but theſe are but as ſecõd ſeruices, & fal ſhort of the maine ſtroke, which for the moſt part is giuen by the footmen. Neither doth a rowt giuen to the caualrie ſeruing an armie royall, concerne the bodie of that armie further then the ſeruices before mentioned: but the armie doth oftentimes go on notwithſtanding, and may well atchieue a happie victorie: whereas vpon the ouerthrow of the infanterie, the horſemen haue nothing to do, but to ſhift for themſelues, and get away to their owne home. So that it appeareth that the foote companies are the bulke and bodie of the armie, and the horſe as the armes and outward parts hauing expedient and neceſſarie offices, but alwaies ſubordinate to the maine ſtroke giuen by the foote.

The vſe of horſemen.

The Dictator forbidden the vſe of a horſe in the warres: and why.

If any man looke for proofe hereof by example, he ſhall not need to ſeeke further then the *Romaines*, being maiſters of the art militarie, who by an auncient law interdicting the Dictator to haue the vſe of a horſe in the warres for his priuate eaſe: intimated as *Plutarke* ſaith, The ſtrength of their armie to conſiſt in their footmen, which the Generall in a day of battell ſhould aſſiſt with his preſence, and in no wiſe forſake them if he would. But touching the vſe of war amongſt them, their *Equites* were ſo farre ſhort of the ſeruice performed by their foote troopes, that when they would ſtand to it indeed, they forſooke their horſes and fought on foote: as in the battell with the *Latines* at the lake *Regillus*, which I haue alreadie mentioned in my former obſeruations. Neither were the *Romaines* good horſemen, as it ſeemeth by *Cæſar*: for he tooke the horſes from the Tribunes and the *Romaine Equites*, and gaue them to the *Germaines*, as better Rutters then any *Romaines*. But howſoeuer a State that aboundeth in horſe, and truſteth more in them then in foote companies, may harrie a cham-

a champion country, but ſhall neuer be able to follow a war with that ſtrength, as is requiſite to make it fortunate.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæſar beſiegeth Aleſia, and fighteth *with the enemies caualrie.*

Cæſar:

CÆSAR *hauing viewed the ſite of the towne, and knowing the enemie to be much troubled for the ouerthrow of their horſe in whom they put all their hopes, adhorting the ſouldiers to take a litle paines, he determined to incloſe the towne round about with a ditch and a rampier.* Aleſia *was ſited on the top of a hill, in a very eminent place, and not to be taken but by a continuall ſiege: at the foote of the hill ran two riuers on each ſide of the towne: before the towne there lay a plaine of three miles in length, the other ſides were incloſed round about in a reaſonable diſtance with hils of equall height with the towne. Vnder the wall on the Eaſt ſide lay all the forces of the* Gaules, *hauing drawne a ditch and a drie wall on that part of eight foote in height: the whole circuit of the workes which the* Romaines *made to incloſe the town about, contained eleuen miles. Their campe was ſited in a conuenient place, where there were made three and twentie caſtles, which in the day time were kept by garriſons, and in the night by ſtrong watches. The worke being begun, there happened a skirmiſh betweene the caualrie of both ſides in that plaine which lay before the towne of three miles in length: they fought eagerly on both ſides: our men being ouercharged,* Cæſar *ſent the* Germaines *to ſecond them, and ſet the Legions before the campe, leſt there might happen any ſudden ſalley by the foote troupes of the enemie. Vpon the ſafegard of the Legions our men tooke courage, the enemie was put to flight, and being many in number one hindred another, and ſtucke in heapes in the ſtraight paſſage of their gates. The* Germaines *followed them cloſe to their fortifications, and made a great execution amongſt them: many of them forſaking their horſes attempted to leape the ditch, and to clime ouer the drie wall.* Cæſar *commaunded the legions imbattelled before the campe to aduance a litle forward. The* Gaules *that were within the fortification were no litle troubled: for thinking the enemie would preſently haue come vnto them, they made an alarme: ſome were ſo frighted that they brake into the towne.* Vercingetorix *commaunded the gates to be ſhut leſt the campe ſhould be left naked of defendants: many of the enemie being ſlaine, and very many horſes taken the* Germaines *fell off and returned to* Cæſar.

OBSERVATIONS.

One euent is not so certaine for the approuing of a cause, as when it is seconded with another of like condition.

FOrasmuch as casualtie and chaunce haue oftentimes the prerogatiue of a seruice, and in misdeeming opinions do carie away the honour from vertue and valour: the first triall of a fortune is not of that assurance, nor so much to be trusted, as when it is seconded againe with the like effect: for when a matter by often triall falleth out to be of one and the same qualitie, it sheweth a certaintie of a cause, producing ends of like condition. The *Gauls* (as it seemeth) were much discouraged vpon the first ouerthrow of their horse, in whom they so much beleeued, and altered the course of their high resolutions so farre, as where before they sware the ouerthrow of the *Romains*, they were now content to take the protection of a strong towne: but this second foile which they receiued, did so assure them of a harder confrontment and stronger opposition then they were able to beare, that they neuer thought of any further triall, but were content to go away losers, rather then to hazard their liues in a third combat. And thus, when a second euent backeth a former fortune, it taketh away the suspition of casualtie, and maketh the winner bold, and the loser desperate. *Pompey* was so trãsported with ioy for the blow which he gaue *Cæsar* at *Dyrrachiũ*, that he sent letters of that daies victorie into all parts of the world, and made his souldiers so secure touching the issue of that warre, *vt non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed vicisse iam sibi viderentur*: not remembring as *Cæsar* saith, the ordinary chaunges of warre; wherein oftentimes a small matter, either of a false suspition, or of a sudden fright, or some other accident, doth indanger an armie, which the enemie taketh to himselfe, *perinde ac si virtute vicissent.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Vercingetorix sendeth away the horse: Cæsar *incloseth Alesia with a strong wall.*

Cæsar.

VERCINGETORIX *thought it best to dismisse all the horse, and send them away in the night before the fortifications were perfited by the* Romaines. *At their departure he cõmanded them, that euery man should repaire vnto his owne State, and send all to that warre that were able to beare armes: he layeth open his deserts towards them, and doth adiure them to haue regard to his safetie, and not to suffer him to be deliuered ouer to the torture of the enemy, that had so wel deserued of the common libertie; wherein if they should proue negligent, foure score thousand chosen*

men

men would perish with him in that place: and looking into their prouisions, he found that they had corne scarce for thirty dayes, but by sparing and good husbandry it might be made to serue longer. With these mandates he sent out the horsmen in silence about the second watch of the night, at that part of the towne where the workes were not perfited: he commanded all the corne to be brought vnto him vpon paine of death. The cattel he distributed to the souldiers by pole, whereof there was great store brought out from the Mandubij: the corne he began to measure out very sparingly. All the forces which he had placed before the towne, he receiued within the walles; and so he purposed to attend the supplies of Gallia: which being knowne by the runne-awayes and captiues, Cæsar appointed to make these fortifications: he drew a ditch of twenty foot in breadth and depth, with straite sides, as broade at the bottome as at the top. The rest of the worke he made forty foote short of that ditch, which he did for these reasons; that the whole body of the Romaines might not easily be inclosed about with an army of souldiers, which he thought to preuent by taking in so great a circuit of ground; and secondly, lest the enemy sallying out vpon a sodaine, should in the night come to destroy the workes, or in the day time trouble the souldiers with darts and casting weapons as they were busied about the workes. This space of fortie foote being left, he made two ditches of fifteene foote in breadth and depth, the inermost whereof being caried through the fields, and the lower ground he filled with water drawne out of the riuer: behind them he made a ditch and a rampier of twelue foote, and strengthened it with a parapet and pinacles, and with great boughes of trees cut in cags like vnto a Harts horne, which he set where the houels were ioyned to the rampier, to hinder the enemie from climing vp, and made towers round about the whole worke, in the distance of fourescore foote one from another. At the same time the Romaine souldiers were both to get stuffe for the fortification, to go a haruesting for prouision of corne, and to make such great workes: our forces being much weakened, and were to seeke corne and stuffe far off from the campe, the Gaules oftentimes attemptiug to destroy the workes, and to sally out of the towne at diuers ports: and therefore Cæsar thought it fit to adde this much more to the the foresaid workes, that the fortifications might be made good with the lesse number of men. He made ditches round about the workes of fiue foote deepe, and in them he planted either the bodies of trees or great firme boughs sharpened into many pikes and snags, being bound together at the bottome, that they might not be easily plucked vp, and spreading themselues at the top into very sharpe cags. There were of these fiue rankes, so combined and infolded one in another, that which way soeuer the enemie should enter vpon them, he would necessarily runne himselfe vpon a sharpe stake, these they called Cippos. Before these in oblique courses, after the manner of a quincunce were digged holes of three foote deepe, narrow at the bottome like a suger loafe; these they set with round stakes of the bignesse of a mans thigh, with a sharpe hardned point, in such sort that they stucke not aboue foure fingers out of the earth, and for the better fastening of them they stucke all a foote within the ground, the rest of the hole for the better ordering of the matter, was hid with osiers and spreads: of these were eight courses three foote distant one from another, and these they called Lillies, from the resemblance they had to the figure of that flower. Before these were galthrops of a foote long fastened in the earth, and headed at the top with barbed hookes of iron, sowed vp and downe in all places in a reasonable distance one from

another, and theſe they called Stimulos. The inner fortifications being thus perfited, he followed the euen and leuel ground as much as the nature of the place would giue him leaue, and tooke in foureteene miles in circuit, and made the like fortifications in all points againſt the enemie without, as he had done againſt the towne, to the end that if he were driuen vpon occaſion to depart and leaue the workes, it might be no daunger for him to leaue the campe: foraſmuch as a few men would defend it, he commaunded euery man to haue forrage and prouiſion of corne for thirty dayes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Romaine workes.

I Promiſed in my former obſeruation to ſpeake ſomewhat touching the *Romaine* workes, and to ſhew the vſe they made of them in their greateſt occaſions: but this deſcription of the workes at *Aleſia*, doth ſo farre exceede the inlargement of commenting words, that it hath drowned the eloquence of great Hſtorians, and in ſtead of expoſitions and inforcements, hath drawne from them ſpeeches expreſſing greater admiration then beleefe: *circa Aleſiam* (ſaith *Paterculus*) *tantæ res geſtæ, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere nullius niſi Dei fuerit.* To incloſe a towne with a ditch and a rampier of eleuen miles in circuit, was a matter worthie the *Romaine* armie: but to adde ſuch varietie of workes, and to make ſuch ſtrange trapes and oppoſitions againſt an enemie, was admirable to the hearer; and not that onely, but to make the like workes without, to keepe the *Gaules* from raiſing the ſiege, did double the wonder: by which works he did beſiege and was beſieged, tooke the towne and ouerthrew the enemie in the field.

Such as ſince that time haue imitated this induſtrie onely by a ſmall ditch and a rampier (for I thinke no man euer made ſuch works) haue wrought wonders in matter of warre. *Caſtruccio* got the name of renewing the auncient militarie diſcipline in *Italy*, chiefly for that he beſieged *Piſtoia*, and with the helpe of a double trench according to the exãple of *Cæſar*, he kept in the *Piſtoyans* on the one ſide, and kept out an armie on the other ſide of thirtie thouſand foote and three thouſand horſe, in ſuch maner as in the end he tooke the citie and made their ſuccours of no effect. The States armie of the vnited Prouinces vnder the leading of *Graue Maurice*, did the like at the towne of *Graue* in the yeare 1602. But of this at *Aleſia* may well be ſaid that which *Liuy* ſpeaketh of the battell at *Nola*: *Ingens eo die res ac neſcio an maxima illo bello geſta ſit.*

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT is here deliuered, that the outward circuit of the workes contained foureteene miles, and the circuit of the inward workes eleuen miles: vpon which ground *Iuſtus Lipſius* maketh an vniuſt coniecture of the ſpace betweene the outward and the inward workes where the *Romaines* lay incamped. For according to the proportion betweene the circumference and the diameter, he maketh the diameter of the greater circle foure, and of the leſſer three miles: and then he taketh the leſſer diameter out of the greater, and concludeth the ſpace to be almoſt a mile betweene the inner and the outward rampier where the *Romaines* lay incamped betweene the workes: and leaſt the matter might be miſtaken in ciphers, he doth expreſſe it at large in ſignificant words, whereby he maketh the ſpace twiſe as much as indeede it was: for the two circles hauing one and the ſame center, the ſemidiameter of the one was to be taken out of the ſemidiameter of the other, and the remainder would amount almoſt to halfe a mile; which according to the ground here deliuered, was the true diſtance between the workes, if the nature of the place (whereunto they had a reſpect) would ſuffer them to keepe the ſame diſtance in all parts; but *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*, and no diſgrace neither to the excellencie of his learning, deſeruing all honour for the great light which he hath brought to the knowledge of Hiſtories, and for redeeming the truth from blots and Barbariſme.

Iuſtus Lipſius miſtaken. Poliorceticon. Lib. 2. Dial. 2.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Gaules raiſe an armie of 248000. to *raiſe the ſiege at Aleſia.*

Caeſar.

WHILE *theſe things were a doing at* Aleſia, *the* Gaules *hauing ſummoned a Councell of the Princes and chiefeſt men of each State, they thought it not conuenient to take all that were able to beare armes according to* Vercingetorix *direction: but to proportion out a certaine number for euery State, leſt that of ſuch a confuſed multitude there would be no gouernment, being not able to know their ſouldiers, or to martiall thē in any good order, or to make prouiſion of victuall for ſo great a bodie. The* Hedui *and their clients were commaunded to ſend out fiue and thirtie thouſand, the* Aruerni *with their clients as many: the* Senones, Sequani, Bituriges, Santones, Rutheni, Carnutes, *twelue thouſand: the* Bellouaci, *ten thouſand, the* Lemouices *as many, the* Pariſij *&* Heluetij *eight thouſand, the* Senones, Am-

biani, Medionatrices *fiue thousand, the* Attrebates *foure thousand, the* Vellocassi Lexonij, Aulerci, Eburones *three thousand, the* Raucaci *and* Boij *thirtie thousand, the States bordering vpon the Ocean, whom by the custome of* Gallia *they call* Aremoricæ, *such as are the* Curiosolites, Rhedones, Ambibarri, Caletes, Osissimi, Lemouices, Vnelli *sixe thousand: of these the* Bellouaci *refused to giue their number, saying, that they would make warre with the* Romaines *in their owne name, and according to their owne directions, neither would they serue vnder any mans commaund. Notwithstanding being intreated by* Comius *for his sake they sent two thousand.* Cæsar *as we haue heretofore deliuered, had vsed the helpe of this* Comius *the yeares before in* Brittaine, *being both faithfull and seruiceable: for the recompence of which seruice he had freed his state of all duties to the* Romaine *Empire, and restored vnto them their auncient lawes and customes, and to himselfe he had giuen the* Morini. *Notwithstanding such was the vniuersall consent of all* Gallia, *to redeeme their auncient honour in matter of warre, as neither friendship, nor the memorie of former benefites could any way moue them, euery man intending that war as farre as either the power of his mind or the possibilitie of his meanes would reach vnto: and hauing drawn together eight thousand horse, 2. hundred & forty thousand foote, they mustered their forces in the confines of the* Hedui, *there they appointed captaines, and the chiefe commaund was giuen to* Comius *of* Arras, *and to* Viridomarus, *and* Eporedorix Hedui: *and to* Vergasilanus *of the* Aruerni, *and cousin germaine to* Vercingetorix. *To these there were certaine chosen out of euery State to giue assistance in councell of warre, and all of them went iocondly and full of hope to* Alesia. *Neither was there any man that did thinke, that the very sight of such a multitude were able to be endured, especially when the fight would grow doubtfull by sallies made out of the towne, and so great forces of horse and foote should be seene without.*

OBSERVATIONS.

What number of men are a competent proportiõ for any seruice.

Vercingetorix desire was to haue had as many of the *Gauls* sent to his rescue as were able to beare armes, grounding himselfe vpon that maxime; where the whole state is in question, there the whole forces of that State are to be employed. But the other Princes of *Gallia*, thought it not expedient to raise so great a number: for they would haue accrewed to such a multitude of people, as could not haue bene contained within the rules of gouernement: which may bring to our consideration that which the course of these times doth not often bring into dispute: What number of men well martialled and with good discipline, are a competent proportion for any seruice? *Xerxes* armie which he caried into *Greece*, was famous for two respects: first, in regard of the multitude which was so great, that when he himselfe returned backe into *Asia*, he left behind him three hundred thousand of the best souldiers chosen out of the whole armie, vnder the conduct of one *Mardonius*. Secondly, that of so many fighting men, there were two hundred and threescore thousand slaine in one

one battel, with the losse of one thousand & three hundred *Grecians*. Whereby it appeareth, that the conquest of a kingdome doth not necessarily follow the multitude of souldiers in an armie; for either *Xerxes* armie was too few in number to conquer *Greece*, or too many to be well martialled.

Marius with fiftie thousand men defeated the *Cimbri* that were so many in number, as they made a battel of thirtie furlong square, and of them he slue a hundred and twentie thousand, and tooke threescore thousand prisoners. And for that I do remember of that which I haue read, the greatest conquests that euer were made, were atchieued with armies vnder fifty thousand fighting mē. The great *Alexander* subdued all *Asia*, and set the Monarchy from the *Persian* into *Greece* with thirtie thousand men. *Plutarke in the life of Marius.*

The *Romaines* had very seldome ten legions in an armie which was about that rate, but commonly their conquering armies were farre vnder that proportion. *Paulus Emilius* onely had a hundred thousand in his armie against *Perseus*, and wonne the battell in an houre. The condition of our times requireth no dispute touching this point, for we seldome see an army of fiftie thousand men in the field, vnlesse it be the *Turke* or some such Monarke. *Plutark in the life of Paulus Emilius.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Critognatus speech at Alesia, touching *the keeping of the towne.*

THEY that were besieged in Alesia, *the day being past by which they looked for succour, their corne being spent, and not knowing what was done abroad, entred into consultations touching the end of their fortune; and diuers opinions being deliuered, some of them tending to the yeelding vp of the towne, and others perswading that as long as strength lasted there might be sallies continually made vpon the enemie: I will not omit the speech of* Critognatus *for the singular and wicked crueltie which it imported, a man of great birth and authoritie amongst the* Aruerni. *I will say nothing (saith he) of their opinion that call base seruitude by the name of rendry: neither do I thinke them fit to be accompted citizens, or to be admitted to councell of State: with them will I deale withall that like well of sallies, in whose aduice and councell euen by all your consents the memory of auncient vertue seemeth to consist. It is no vertue but a weakenesse of the mind, not to be able to endure want a litle while. It is an easier matter to find men that will offer themselues willingly to death, then such as will endure labour with patience. For mine owne part, I could like well of that opinion (for honour much preuaileth with me) if I did not see a further losse then of our liues, but in these our consultations let vs looke vpon all* Gallia, *whom we haue called together to succour vs. What spirits do you thinke would our friends and kinse-* *Cæsar:*

men conceiue, foureſcore thouſand men being ſlaine, in a place if they were conſtrained to wage battel vpon their dead carcaſes? I would not haue you to defraud them of your helpe, that do neglect all perill for your ſake, nor by your fooliſhneſſe and your raſhneſſe, or the weakneſſe of your mind, throw downe all Gallia, *and caſt it into perpetuall bondage. Do you doubt of their faith and conſtancie, becauſe they came not by a day? What do the* Romaines *then meane in theſe outward workes? Do you thinke they make them for exerciſe, or to paſſe away the time? If you cannot then receiue aſſurance by their meſſengers all paſſage being ſtopt, vſe them for witneſſes that their comming is at hand, for feare whereof they labour night and day. What then? my aduice is that we do as our forefathers did in a war againſt the* Cimbri *and* Teutons *not equal to this, who being ſhut vp within their townes, and brought to the like neceſſitie, did ſatisfie their hunger with the bodies of ſuch as were found vnfit for warre, neither did they yeeld themſelues vnto the enemy, whereof if we had not an example, yet I would iudge it an excellent thing to be begun now for liberties ſake, and to be left to poſterity: for what warre was like this?* Gallia *being waſted and diſpeopled, and the kingdome brought into great miſery, the* Cimbri *at length forſooke our country, and ſought out other territories, and left vnto vs our lawes, cuſtomes, lands and libertie: for the* Romaines, *what is it they deſire, or what would they haue? But being drawne on with malice and enuie, whom they vnderſtood to be a noble and a warlike nation, their fields and cities they did deſire to take from them, and to yoke them with eternall bondage, as neuer making warre with other condition: for if you be ignorant what they do farre off in other countries, looke at home in that part of* Gallia *which is reduced into a Prouince. Their lawes and cuſtomes being changed, it is ſubiected to the axe and to perpetuall ſeruitude. Their opinions being deliuered, they decree that ſuch as through age or ſickneſſe were vnfit for war ſhould depart the towne, and that they ſhould proue all meanes before they yeelded to* Critognatus *opinion, and yet if the matter ſo required, to conſent vnto it, and to attend their ſuccours rather then to yeeld to any rendry and condition of peace.*

OBSERVATIONS.

How long a Commaunder may hold out in a ſiege.

IT is oftentimes made queſtionable in the extremitie of a ſiege, how farre the Commaunders may go in continuing their reſiſtance to the danger and hazard of the people beſieged? whether they may not in honour proceede as farre as *Critognatus* opinion would draw them? or how they may know when to leaue it, in the very point of diſcreete and valiant cariage? which is to be anſwered according to the qualitie of the enemie that giueth ſiege to the place; for againſt a trecherous and diſloyall enemie, that maketh profeſſion of infidelitie, and would not ſticke after a compoſition to inſnare them in a greater danger then the perill of death, there would be much endured rather then to vndergo ſo hard a fortune: and yet I do no way approoue the cruell reſolution of this

this *Gaule*, but do rather commend the example of the *Hungarians* at the ſiege of *Agria*; for in the yeare 1562. *Mahomet Baſſa* lay before that towne with an armie of threeſcore thouſand *Turkes*, and layd batterie to it with fiftie canons. There were within the Towne two thouſand *Hungarians*, who endured and put off thirteene moſt terrible aſſaults of the enemie: and for the better ſtrengthening of their high reſolution, they tooke a mutuall oath that no man vpon paine of death ſhould once ſpeake of a treatie, or of giuing vp the Towne, or to make any anſwer to the enemie but by the hargebuſe or the canon. And if the ſiege ſhould happen to continue long, rather to die for hunger then to put themſelues in the hands of ſo cruell and barbarous an enemie. They determined further, that ſuch amongſt them that were not ſeruiceable with a weapon, ſhould attend continually to reenforce the rampier and repaire the ruines. And to auoide trecherie, they tooke order that there might be no aſſemblies in the citie aboue the number of three together. They commaunded likewiſe that all the victuall as was either publique or priuate, ſhould be diuided into equall portions amongſt the ſouldiers, and the beſt of it ſhould be reſerued for ſuch as were hurt in fight. It is further reported, that the *Baſſa* hauing oftentimes offered a treatie, they onely ſhewed for an anſwer to his ſommons a funerall beare couered with blacke, lifted vp aboue the wall betweene two pikes, to ſignifie thereby that they would not come out but by death. *Agria.*

As this is a degree ſhort of *Critognatus* reſolution, ſo I do not denie but that a Generall may giue vp a Towne before he come to theſe tearmes with true honour and wiſedome. But the matter (as I haue ſaid) conſiſteth altogether vpon the circumſtances interlaced. But that which is further to be obſerued in this place, is the extreame contrarietie of opinions, which are vſually deliuered vpon diſpute of ſuch difficult caſes, wherein *Quantum alteri ſententiæ deeſt animi, tantum alteri ſupereſſe ſolet*; as *Curio* ſaid vpon the like occaſion: *Medio tutiſsimus ibis*, was *Phœbus* direction to his ſonne *Phaëton* in a matter of difficultie and great hazard, and obſerued in this place by the *Gaules*. *Lib. 2. bel. ciu*



CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

The Gaules do set vpon Cæsars campe, *both from the towne and the field side.*

Cæsar.

THE Mandubij *who had receiued the armie into the towne, were themselues thrust out with their wiues and children: they comming to the* Romaine *workes, did with weeping teares beseech them to receiue them into bondage, and releeue them with food.* Cæsar *gaue order they should not be receiued, and set a guard on the rampier to keep them out. In the meane time* Comius, *and the rest of the Captaines, that had the chiefe commaund giuen them, came to* Alesia *with all their forces, and hauing taken a hill on the outside, they sate downe not aboue halfe a mile from our workes. The next day bringing their caualrie out of their campe, they filled all that plaine, which as I haue alreadie said, extended three miles in length before the towne, setting their foot-forces a litle distant from that place, and hiding them vpon higher ground, the prospect lay open out of the towne into the field: and vpon the sight of these succours they ran together and congratulated each other, and all their minds were filled with gladnesse. And thereupon the next day they brought their forces and placed them before the towne, and began to couer the next ditch vnto them with hurdles, and to fill it vp with earth, and to prouide themselues to sally out, and to endure all chaunces.* Cæsar *hauing disposed of all his armie on each side of the workes, that if there were occasion, euery man might both know and keepe his place. He commaunded the caualrie to be caried out of the campe and to charge the enemie. There was a faire view out of all the campes, which were seated round about vpon the ridge of the hill, and all mens minds were bent vpon the expectation of the euent of the fight. The* Gaules *had mingled amongst their horse some few archers and light armed souldiers, which might releeue their fellowes, being ouercharged, and to sustaine the force and assaults of our horse: by these were many hurt vpon a sudden and forsooke the fight. The* Gaules *being perswaded that their men had the better of the fight, perceiuing our men to be ouercharged with multitude on all sides, as well those that were besieged, as the other that came to relieue them, they tooke vp a shout and a howling to encourage their people: and forasmuch as the matter was caried in the sight of all men, so that nothing could be hid whether it were well or ill done: the desire of honour and the feare of ignominie did stirre vp both sides to prowesse and valour. And hauing fought with a doubtfull fortune from noone tide vntill almost Sun setting, the* Germaines *on the one side with thicke thronged troupes gaue a fierce charge vpon the enemie, and put them to flight: whereby it happened that the archers were circumuented and slaine. In like manner on the other side, our men finding them to giue ground, did follow thē euen to their campes, and gaue them no time to recouer themselues: such as were come out of* Alesia, *returned backe sad into the towne dispairing of victorie: one day being inter-*

intermitted, in which time they made prouision of great store of hurdles, ladders and hookes, about midnight they marched silently out of their campe, and came to the workes on the field side, and taking vp a sudden shout to giue notice of their comming to them of the towne, they cast their hurdles vpon the ditches, and with slings, arrows, and stones they began to put our men from the rampier, and to put in practise such things as belong to a siege. At the same time the shout being heard, Vercingetorix *sounded the trumpet, and brought his men out of the towne: our men betooke themselues to the fortifications according as euery mans place was allotted him the day before, and with slings and bullets which they had laid readie vpon the workes, they did beate downe the* Gaules, *their sight being taken away through the darkenesse of the night. Many wounds were receiued on both sides, and many weapons were cast out of engines.* M. Antonius, *and* C. Trebonius *Legates, who had the charge of those parts where our men were most laid to, caused men to be taken out of the further Castles, and to be brought to second them. The* Gaules *being a good way distant from the workes, did much hurt with multitude of weapons: but approching nearer, either they strucke themselues vnwittingly vpon the galthrops, or falling into the holes, were struck through the bodies with the sharpe stakes, or dyed with murall piles, being cast from the rampier and the towers. Many wounds being receiued on all sides, as the day appeared, the* Gaules *fearing lest they should be charged on the open side by a sallie from the vpper campe, retired backe againe to their fellowes. On the inner side, whilest they brought out such things as were prepared beforehand by* Vercingetorix, *and were filling vp the first ditches, being somewhat long in the execution of these things, did vnderstand that the other* Gaules *were departed before they themselues could come neare the workes: and thereupon they returned into the towne without doing any thing.*

OBSERVATIONS.

THE *Gaules* committed the commaund of this great armie to foure Generals, contrarie to practise of warlike nations, and the order which nature obserueth throughout all the seuerall kinds of creatures: amongst whom there was neuer bodie found of many heades, but one *Hidra*, being made as it seemeth, or rather fained to be made, to the end that *Hercules* might haue a taske answerable to himselfe, and make it one of his twelue labours to kill the beast. The serpent *Amphisibæna* is said to haue two heads, whereby she either looseth the vse of locall motion, or at the least moueth so imperfectly, one head taking one way and the other another way, as there is no certaine or direct passage in her creeping.

One armie would haue one Generall.

Et grauis in geminũ caput Amphisibæna

These many-headed armies do resemble these serpents, being caried according to the sence of their seuerall heads, and distracted by the diuersitie of their many Leaders. The gouernment of *Rome* consisting of seuerall magistrates, hauing soueraigne authoritie, gaue occasion oftentimes to make two heads to one bodie, but with such successe, as they were forced in the end to create one head for the repairing of that losse, which the multiplicitie of leaders had

brought vpon their ſtate, as it happened in the warre againſt the *Fidenates* reuolted, which nothing but their recourſe to a Dictator, could make happie to their Empire: whereupon *Liuie* ſaith: *Tres Tribuni, potestate consulari, documento fuere quàm plurimum imperium bello inutile esset, tentando ad sua quisque consilia, cum alij aliud videretur, apparuerunt ad occasionem locum hosti.* In the time of their Conſuls, *Quintius* and *Agrippa* being ſent againſt the *Equi*, *Agrippa* referred the buſineſſe wholly to his colleague, concluding as *Liuie* ſaith: *Saluberum in administratione magnarum rerum est summum imperij ad vnum esse.* And therefore as one bodie requireth but one head, ſo one buſineſſe would haue but one director, foraſmuch as *Æmulatio inter pares & ex eo impedimentum.*

Tacitus.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Gaules do chuſe out ſixtie thouſand of *their beſt men, and do aſſault the weakeſt* part of Cæſars campe.

Cæſar.

THE Gaules *being repelled twice with great loſſe, do fall into conſideration what they were next to do: they call vnto them ſuch as were well acquainted with the nature and ſite of the place, by whom they vnderſtand of the ſituation of the vpper campe. On the north ſide there lay a hill, which by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the circuit, our men could not take in within the compaſſe of their workes: and thereupon were neceſſarily conſtrained to lay their campe in an vnequall place ſomwhat ſhelluing. This part was kept by* Caius Antiſtius Rheginus, *and* Caius Caninius Regulus *with two Legions. This being knowne by the diſcouerers, the Captaines of the enemie choſe out ſixtie thouſand of thoſe States which caried the greateſt opinion of manhood, and did ſecretly determine amongſt themſelues, how and in what ſort they would haue the ſeruice caried, and do determine to put it in execution when the Sunne ſhould be neare about the noone meridian, appointing* Vergaſilaunus *to cõmaund thoſe forces, being one of the foure Captaines, and kinſman to* Vercingetorix. *He going out of the campe in the firſt watch of the night, came to the end of his iourny a litle before day, and hiding himſelfe behind a hill, commaunded his ſouldiers to refreſh themſelues from the former nights trauell. And when it beganne to be towards noone: he made towards that part of the campe which I haue before mentioned: and at the ſame time the horſemen began to approach towards the workes, and the reſt of the forces ſhewed themſelues before the campe.* Vercingetorix *perceiuing this out of the watch-tower of* Aleſia, *went out of the towne, and caried with him long poles, hookes and ſuch other prouiſions which he had made readie beforehand for a ſalley: they ſought at one inſtant in all places, all waies were tryed: where they thought it to be weakeſt, thither they ran, the* Romaine *forces were diſmembred by reaſon of the large extenſion*

extenſion of their workes, and the ſhout which was made behind their backes, did much affright our men, foraſmuch as they perceiued that their daunger did conſiſt in other mens valour: for ſuch things as are abſent do for the moſt part greatly perplexe and trouble mens minds. Cæſar hauing got a conuenient place, doth ſee what is done in euery part: if any were ouercharged he ſent them ſuccour, and was readie to anſwer all occaſions on both ſides the campe: he told them that that was the time, wherin it was behouefull for thē to fight: the Gauls wold deſpaire of all good ſucceſſe, vnleſſe they brake downe the workes. The Romaines if they obtained their purpoſe, might expect an end of their labours: the greateſt contention was about that place to which Vergaſilaunus was ſent; a ſmall riſing in a place doth giue much aduantage in a ſheluing deſcent: ſome caſt weapons, others put themſelues into a Teſtudo, and came vnder the workes, the wearied and ouerlaboured were ſeconded by freſh ſupplies: euery man caſt earth into the workes, which raiſed it ſo high, that the Gaules had aduantage of aſſent: and the pikes and ſharpe ſtakes which the Romaines had cunningly hid vnder the earth to annoy the enemy, were thereby couered: it came at laſt to that paſſe that our men wanted both ſtrength and weapons: which being knowne, Cæſar ſent Labienus with ſixe cohorts to releeue thoſe that were ouercharged, commanding him (if he could not beare out the charge) to ſally out vpon them, but not vnleſſe he were conſtrained vnto it: he himſelfe went about to the reſt, adhorting them not to faint vnder their labour, foraſmuch as the fruite and benefite of all their former battels conſiſted in that day and that houre. The enemy within being out of hope of doing any good vpon the workes made in plaine and champion places, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the fortifications, tried what they could do in ſteepe and broken places, and thither they brought thoſe things, which they had prepared, with the multitude of their caſting weapons, they caſt out ſuch as fought from turrets, they fitted their paſſages with hurdles and earth, they brake downe the parapet and the rampier with hookes. Cæſar ſent firſt young Brutus with ſixe cohorts, and after him Fabius a Legate with ſeuen more, and at length as the fight waxed hote, he went himſelfe with a freſh ſupply. The fight being renued and the enemy beaten off, he haſted to that place whither he had ſent Labienus, and tooke foure cohorts out of the next Caſtle. Part of the horſemen he commaunded to follow him, and the reſt to compaſſe about the outward workes, and to ſet vpon the enemie behind. Labienus finding that neither rampier nor ditches were able to keepe out the enemie, hauing got ſuch forces together as were drawne by chaunce from the workes neareſt hand, he acquainted Cæſar by meſſengers what he thought fit to be done. Cæſar made haſt to be at the fight: his comming being knowne by the colour of his garment, which he was accuſtomed to weare in time of battell, and the troupes of horſe and the cohorts being diſcouered which he had commaunded to follow him, as the ſheluing and declining places were ſubiect to the view of higher grounds: the enemy begun the fight, a great ſhowt was taken vp on both ſides: our men hauing throwne their piles, betooke themſelues to their ſwords: ſuddenly the horſemen were diſcouered behind them, and other cohorts made their approches towards them. The enemie turned his backe and fled, the horſemen met them as they fled, the ſlaughter was great in that place. Sedulius, a Captaine and Prince of the Lemouici was ſlaine, Vergaſilaunus was taken aliue, threeſcore and fourteene enſignes were brought vnto Cæſar, and very few of ſo great a number returned ſafe

into their campe. Thoſe of the towne beholding the ſlaughter and flight of their friends, being out of all hope, drew backe their forces from the workes. This being knowne, the Gaules *fled preſently out of their campe: and if the ſouldiers had not bene wearied with that daies labour, they might eaſily haue deſtroyed all their enemies. About midnight the horſe being ſent out to fall vpon the reareward, a great number was taken and ſlaine, the reſt eſcaped into their countries.*

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old ſaying of a hungry man, that it is an eaſier matter to fill his belly then his eye, which is as true in other caſes: wherein our deſires are oftentimes ſo great, that we thinke no meanes ſufficient to accompliſh the ſame: but when we ſhall come to put it in triall, and ſuffer euery man to be meaſured with his owne foote, it will appeare that our deſires are better applyed to the infinitie of the mind, then to the neceſſarie occaſions of our liſe. *Vercingetorix* was ſo farre intereſſed in the ſucceſſe of this warre, that he thought all the able men of Gallia not inough to make it happie vnto him: but the other Princes that were not ſo deepely touched, and yet ſtood as well affected to the cauſe, refuſed to inrole all that were able to beare armes, but thought two hundred fortie and eight thouſand men to be a competent force for this ſeruice. But comming to the execution of the buſineſſe, they employed onely but ſixtie thouſand: and whē they failed of their indeuour, and were rowted and ouerthrowne by the *Romaines*, the reſt ſtaid no longer to diſpute the matter, but fled all away by night: which ſheweth the difference betweene the affections which are forerunners of a cauſe, and ſuch as grow and increaſe with a buſineſſe, and are not commonly found in one and the ſame ſubiect in their greateſt ſtrengths. For theſe antecedent deſires, are like womens longings, ſtrong and violent at firſt: but decaying as faſt againe before they come to any ripeneſſe: whereas ſuch affections as riſe from the cariage of a buſineſſe, and grow from the occurrences of that proceeding, are not ſo eaſily abated, but do hold out ſtrong either for conſtancie or obſtinacie.

A little is enough to ſaue a longing.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Vercingetorix yeeldeth himſelfe, and the Towne to Cæſar

THE next day Vercingetorix *hauing called a Councell, told them, that he had not vndertooke that warre for his owne occaſions, but for the cauſe of common libertie, and foraſmuch as they were neceſſarily to yeeld to fortune, he made offer of himſelfe vnto them, either to ſatisfie the* Romaines *with his death, or to be deliuered vnto them aliue. Ambaſſadours were ſent to* Cæſar *touching that point: he commaunded their armes to be deliuered, and the Princes to be brought out: he himſelfe ſate in the fortifications before the campe: thither the Captaines were brought,* Vercingetorix *was deliuered, their weapons were caſt out. The* Hedui *and the* Aruerni *being reſerued, to the end he might recouer the reſt of the States by them: of the reſt of the captiues, he gaue throughout all the army, to euery man a priſoner, by the name of a bootie. Theſe things being ended, he went to the* Hedui *and receiued in the State; thither did the* Aruerni *ſend Ambaſſadours vnto him, promiſing to obey whatſoeuer he commaunded: he demaunded a great number of hoſtages, and ſent the Legions into their wintering campes: he ſent home twenty thouſand captiues to the* Hedui *and* Aruerni; *he ſent* T. Labienus *with two Legions into the* Sequani, *and gaue him* M. Sempronius Rutilius *to aſsiſt him: he lodged* C. Fabius *and* Lucius Minutius Baſilius *with two legions amongſt the men of* Rhemes, *leſt they ſhould receiue any dammage by the neare bordering* Bellouaci: *he ſent* C. Antiſtius Reginus *to the* Ambiuariti, *and* T. Sextius *to the* Bituriges, *and* C. Caninius Rebilus *to the* Rutheni, *with each of them a Legion: he placed* Quintus Tullius Cicero *and* Paulus Sulpitius *at* Cauillonis *and* Matiſcona *of the* Hedui *vpon the riuer* Arar *for prouiſion of corne: he himſelfe determined to winter at* Bibract. *Theſe yeares ſeruice being knowne at* Rome, *there was a feaſt of thankeſgiuing appointed for twentie dayes together.* *Cæſar.*

OBSERVATIONS.

VERCINGETORIX notwithſtanding a hard fortune, entertained a noble reſolution: for hauing firſt acquainted the *Gaules* that he had not vndertooke that warre for any reſpect to himſelfe, but for the cauſe of *Gallia*, and the auncient libertie of that continent, he made offer to ſatisfie the angry *Romaines* with his body dead or aliue.

Plutarke reciteth the maner of his deliuerie to be in this ſort: being armed at all parts, and mounted on a horſe furniſhed with a ritch capariſon, he came to *Plutark in the life of Cæſar.*

Cæsar and rode round about him as he sate in his chaire of Estate; then lighting off his horse, he tooke off his cappariſon and furniture, and vnarmed himselfe and laid all on the ground, and went and sate downe at *Cæsars* feete, and said neuer a word. *Cæsar* at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to be led afterwards in his triumph at *Rome*: but the ciuil wars did cut off that solemnitie.

Plutark in the life of Paulus Emilius.

If it be demaunded, what became of these great Princes and personages after the triumph, it will appeare that they did not stroke their heads, or make more of them then of miserable captiues: for *Paulus Emilius* after the noble triumph for king *Perseus*, pittying his fortune and desiring to help him, could neuer obtaine other grace for him, then onely to remoue him from the common prison, which they called *Carcer*, into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being straightly guarded, he died, either by abstinence, or being kept from sleepe by the souldiers. Two of his sonnes died also, but the third became an excellent Turner or Ioyner, and could write the *Romaine* tongue so well, that afterwards he became Chancellor to the Magistrates of *Rome*. And thus the *Romaines* dealt with their captiue Princes, making them examples of Fortunes vnconstancie, and turning their diadems into shakels of iron.

And thus far did *Cæsar* comment himselfe vpon the warres he made against the *Gaules*, being a noble and a worthy people, and bred in a large & fertile continent; the inhabitants whereof haue in all ages, euen to these times, challenged an eminencie, both for polliticke gouernment and martiall prowesse, amongst the Westerne kingdomes of the world: their actions and cariage from time to time deseruing as honorable memory as these warres recorded by *Cæsars* owne hand; whereof *Paulus Emilius*, *Philip Commines*, and of late *Iohn de Seres* are very pregnant witnesses: they continued vnder the *Romaine* gouernement foure hundred fortie and one yeares, according to the computation made by *Iohn Tillius*, reckoning from the last victorie in *Cæsars* Proconsulship, to the time of *Marcomerus* a General of the *French*, by whose prowesse and meanes they denied to pay that homage and tribute to the Emperour *Valentinianus*, which *Vercingetorix* had lost to *Cæsar*.

The next Sommers seruice compiled by *Hirtius*, I haue purposely omitted, as intending no further matter then what *Cæsar* hath related, who best knew the whole proiect of that businesse.

And thus endeth the seuenth and last Commentarie, written by *Cæsar* of the warre he made in *Gallia*.

Laus Deo in æternum.

FINIS.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF Cæsars Commentaries of the *Ciuill Warres.*

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Commentarie containeth the Motions and Contentions at Rome, concerning Cæsars giuing vp his gouernment: The rent in the State, vpon the disagreement of the Senate: How either side bestirred themselues, to seize vpon the Provinces. Pompey got the East, and Cæsar the West part of the Empire; and defeated Afranius and Petreius in Spaine.

CHAP. I.

The Senates affection on Cæsars behalfe.

LETTERS beeing deliuered by Fabius, to the Consuls from C. Cæsar, it was hardly obtained by the extreame importunitie of the Tribunes, to get them read in the Senate: but to consult thereof, or to bring the Contents in question, would not be graunted. The Consuls propounded businesses concerning the state of the Cittie. L. Lentulus, Consull, protested his assistance should not be wanting, neither to the Senate nor to the Common-weale, if they would speake their mindes freely and boldly: but if they respected Cæsar, and had an eye to his fauour (as in former times they vsually had) he would then take a course for him selfe, and not regard the authoritie of the Senate; neither wanted hee meanes of entrance into Cæsars friendship and good acceptance. To the same effect spake Scipio, that Pompey was resolued to be ayding to the Common-weale, if the Senate would stand to him: but if they temporized, and dealt coldly, in vaine hereafter should they seeke ayde from him, albeit they instantly desired it. This speech of Scipios, seemed to come from

Pompeis owne mouth, he himſelfe being abſent, and the Senate at that time kept within the Cittie. Some others ſpake more temperately; as firſt, M. Marcellus, who thought it not conuenient, that the Senate ſhould bring theſe things in queſtion, vntill they had made a levie of ſouldiers throughout all Italie, and inroled an Army; by whoſe protection, they might ſafely & freely determine what they thought fit: As alſo M. Calidius, who thought it requiſite, that Pompey ſhould goe to his Prouinces and Gouernments, to remoue all occaſions of taking Armes: For, Cæſar hauing two legions newly taken from him, feared that Pompey kept them neere about the cittie to his preiudice. And likewiſe M. Rufus, varying ſome few words, declared himſelfe of Calidius opinion. All theſe were bitterly reprooued by L: Lentulus the Conſull; who vtterly denied to publiſh what Calidius had ſentenced. Marcellus, feared with theſe menaces, retracted his opinion. And ſo, what with the clamor of the Conſull, the terrour of the preſent Armie, and the threatning vſed by Pompeys faction, moſt of the Senators were compelled againſt their will, to allow that which Scipio thought fit: which was, that by a certaine day, Cæſar ſhould diſſolue and diſmiſſe his Armie; which if he did refuſe to doe, that then he openly ſhewed himſelfe an Enemie to the Cõmonweale. M: Antonius, and L: Caſsius, Tribunes of the people, did oppoſe this decree. Their oppoſition was inſtantly ſpoken vnto; and many ſharpe & hard cenſures were giuen vpon the ſame: for, according as any one ſpake moſt bitterlie, and cruelly, ſo they were moſt highly commended by Cæſars Enemies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the former Commentaries doe carie in their front the enſignes of honour, diſplaying the militarie valour of the Romaine people, in the Continent of Gallia, and other Kingdomes of warlike Nations: ſo are theſe Relations branded in the forhead with a note of Infamie, and titled with the direfull name of Ciuill warre; An odious and decried cauſe, ill befitting the integritie of that State, or the excellencie of the Actors, which are chiefe in this Tragedy; who neglecting all that might either enlarge the Empire, or repaire Romes honour for the loſſe of Craſſus, choſe rather to imbrew their ambitious ſwords in the blood of their owne Countrey: Eagle againſt Eagle, and Pile againſt Pile, in a warre which could chalenge no Triumph. If it be now demaunded as formerlie it was,

Quis furor ô Cives? quæ tanta licentia ferri?

Parcs Aquilas et pila minantia pilis. Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos. Luc. lib. 1.

Was it Pompeis Ambition, or Cæſars high Thoughts, that bereft the State of libertie, with the loſſe of ſo many Romaines? It were beſides the ſcope of theſe diſcourſes, to lay an imputation vpon either of thoſe Worthies; the one beeing chiefe Aſsiſtant to the Empire, when ſhe put off her Conſularie Gouernment, and the other ſitting ſole at the helme, directing a courſe to fetch in many Cæſars. Onely this I may truely ſay with Tacitus; That Ciuil wars were neuer ſet on foote by iuſtifiable courſes. Yet for the Readers better direction, and for opening the truth of this ſtorie (which is more to be regarded then

Arma ciuilia neque parari, neque haberi, per bonas Artes poſſunt. Tac. 1. Annal.

then either Socrates or Platos friendſhip) it ſhall not be impertinent to fetch the cauſes of this warre a little higher in a word then theſe Commentaries doe afford them.

The hiſtories of that age do all intimate, that whē Rome had ennobled Pompey with her ſeruice, & ſtiled him by imployments with the title of Greatneſs, as a ſatisfaction for the iniuries done vnto his father; he (forgetting the rights of a State, which chalengeth the renowne of other mens labours, and ſuffereth no ſubiect to be Copartner therein, further then by approbation of ſeruice & obedience) aſſumed to himſelfe the honour due to the Common-weale, and became proude of that which was none of his: in which conceit, the ambition of his ſpirit kept no meaſure, but over-valued his merits ſo far, that he thought himſelfe rather a Soueraigne then a ſeruant; ſo eaſily are men bewitched when the fauour of a State hath once made them abſolute, and put it ſelfe vnder the awe of priuate commaund. In this height of greatneſſe & authoritie, he made way for Cæſar, his father in law; hauing a ſpirit as ſubiect to ambition, and as capable of publique dignities, as any one amongſt all the Patrician Families: And vpon the ending of his firſt Conſulſhip, in the yeere of Rome 695, obtained the gouernment of Gallia Tranſalpina, and likewiſe of that other Gallia which they called Ciſalpina, containing the Countries that lie betweene the Alpes and the little Riuer Rubico, together with Slauonia, and foure legions of ſouldiers for the tearme of fiue yeares. At the expiration wherof, his charge was continued, by the like fauour and mediation of Pompey, and the aſsiſtance of Craſſus, for fiue yeares longer, with a redoubling of his forces. But after that Craſſus was ſlaine in the Parthian warre, and that Iulia, Cæſars daughter, whō Pompey had maried, was deceaſed (wherby Cæſar ſtood ſingle, without any tie of alliance, or other counterpoiſe of a third partie, to hold them ballanced at the ſame weight as they ſtood while Craſſus liued) Pompey, iealous of thoſe victories and paſſages of Armes which Cæſar had atchiued by his valour, and impatient of any partner in point of Lordſhip; found meanes firſt to draw two legions from him, vnder colour of the Parthian warre; and afterwards, got a Decree of Senate, to ſend him a ſucceſſor before his time was expired: and withall, to returne as a priuate perſon to Rome, to render an account of his Actions during his imployment. Which Cæſar taking as an aſſurance of his downefall, gaue huge ſummes of money to gaine Paulus Aemilius, one of the Conſuls, and C: Curio, a Tribune of the people, to reſiſt this Decree. Howbeit, the ſucceeding Conſuls beeing both his enemies, and hauing no hope of repealing the ſame, hee intreated in the end, that hee might hold onely Gallia Ciſalpina, and Illiricum with two legions, vntill hee ſhould obtaine the Conſulſhip; which was the effect of theſe Letters deliuered by Fabius. And beeing denied by Pompeys faction, in theſe partiall and tumultuous aſſemblies of the Senate, cauſed him to forfeit his loyaltie to the State, verifying the olde ſaying; That oftentimes an iniurie maketh way to a greater fortune.

Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato: Magis amica veritas. Ariſtot. 1. Ethi.

Pomp. Mag.

Conſtantine was ſo iealous thereof, that he publiſhed an Edict, that the honour of all victories ſhold be attributed to him, although they were atchiued 100. leagues off.

Fonte cadit modico, paruiſque impellitur vndis puniceus Rabicon, et Gallica certus limes, ab Auſonijs diſterminat arua colonis. Lucan. li. 1.

Facta tribus dominis communis Roma.

Pompeius, Cæſar, et Craſſus.

Nā ſola futuri Craſſus erat belli: Medius mora. Nulla ſancta ſocietas, nec fides Regni. Ennius.

Nec quemquā, iam ferre poteſt, Cæſárue priorē, Pompeiúſue parem. Lucan. l. 1.

Arduа res hæc eſt, opibus non tradere mores. Martial.

Sæpe maiori fortunæ locum fecit iniuria. Seneca. Epiſt. 91.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Tribunes of the people.

CONcerning the oppoſition of the Tribunes, it is to bee vnderſtood, that the people eaten vp with vſurie, and other grieuous exactions, forſooke both the Cittie and the Campe, when the State had war with the Doſci and the Equi; and taking themſelues to a Mountaine neere vnto Rome, would not returne from thence, vntill the Senate had giuen order for their grieuances. In which tranſaction it was agreed, that there ſhould be Magiſtrates choſen out of the body of the people, to counterpoiſe the power of the Senate, and to reſtraine the boundleſſe authoritie of the Conſulls: which office, was reconed in the number of their holieſt things; neuer to be violated either in word or deed, but the offender ſhould redeeme it with the loſſe of his life. Their whole power conſiſted in letting & hindering. As, when either the Senate, or any one Senatour, went about a matter, which might be preiudiciall to the people in generall, or to any one of the cõmunaltie in particular; Then did the Tribunes interpoſe their authority, to fruſtrate and auert the ſame: which was auaileable, albeit the matter was gainſaid but by one Tribune onely. By which intervention, they kept the Senate in awfull moderation, and were alwaies profitable to the State, but when they happened vpon factious and turbulent perſons; howbeit, their power was bounded with the walls of Rome, and extended no further then the gates of the Cittie. Their doores were neuer ſhut, but ſtood open night and day, for a refuge to ſuch as ſhould flie to them for ſuccour: neither was it lawfull for them to bee abſent from Rome a whole day together. The robes of their Magiſtracie were of Purple; as Cicero intimateth in his oration *Pro Cluentio*. This Tribunitian power, began about the yeere of Rome 260; was ſuppreſt by Sylla; reſtored by Pompey; and vtterly taken away by the Emperour Conſtantine.

What kind of Common-wealth was this of Rome.

If it be demaunded what kind of Common-wealth this Romaine gouernment was; it is to be vnderſtood, that vpon the expulſion of their Kings, the ſoueraintie reſted in their Conſulls. For, as Liuie ſaith, there was nothing diminiſhed of kingly gouernment, ſaue onely for the better eſtabliſhing of libertie, that the Conſular dignitie was made Annuall. But that held not long, for Publicola imparted this ſouerainty to the Communaltie; making it lawfull to appeale from the Conſuls to the people. Whereby the Conſular ſouerainty was diſſolued, and the people tooke occaſion to oppoſe themſelues againſt the Fathers. Hence grew the reciprocall inuectiues between the Senate and the Tribunes; and when the Conſull ſent a Seriant to the Tribune, the Tribune would ſend a Purſeuaunt to the Conſull. And ſo the Cõmon-wealth halted betweene an Ariſtocratie and a Democratie, vntill at length the voagg of the Communaltie, drew it to a perfit Democratie, and made their Acts of Senate of no value, vnleſſe they were ratified by the people: Howbeit, the Senate, affoording alwaies many famous and eminent Men, ſuch as hauing inlarged the boundes of their Empire, and kept on foote their auncient valour, and

Libertatis originem inde magis, quia annuũ cõſulare Imperium factum eſt, quã quod diminutiũ quicquam ſit ex regia poteſtate, numeres. Liu. lib. 2.

His legibus diſſolutum eſt Imperiũ conſulare. &c. Liu. lib. 4.

Lictor.

Viator.

and were the flower of that people, which Cyneas called a towne of kinges, were consequentlie so engaged in the businesses of the State, that matters were for the most part, carried as they stoode affected; as appeareth by this passage of Cæsar.

Cyneas interrogatus à Pyrrho qualis Roma esset? Respondit, Regũ vrbem sibi videri. Iusti. l. 8.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, we may obserue, that violence and partialitie, are the bane of all consultations: especiallie, when the common good is shadowed vvith priuate respects. And albeit, the grauitie of the Romaine Senate, farre exceeded all that can be spoken of other Councells of State, rectifying the inordinate affections of any Catiline that would lift vp his head higher then his fellowes: yet heere it suffered equitie and indifferencie to bee suppressed with faction, giuing way to violence, which gouerneth all thinges vntowardlie; and with cordes of priuate hate, oftentimes draweth the Common-wealth into vtter desolation. For preuention whereof, the Athenians swore their Senatours, to make the common good the chiefest scope of all their counsels: Implying thereby that priuate respects are alwaies offensiue to publique ends; and the State euer suffereth, when fauour preuaileth against the common profit.

Faction in a Councell, is an enemy to the publicke good.

Nam malè cũcta ministrat impetus, et stimulat non rarò, priuati odij pertinacia in publicum exitium. Tac. 1. hist.

Tully, going about to direct a Councellor in this behalfe, onely wisheth a man to deliuer sincerely what hee thinketh of any matter, although hee happen to stand alone in his owne conceit: for, the issue of a businesse, dooth not so much concerne a Councellor, as to speake truely his opinion thereof. And to that end, the custome of the Romane Senate was, that the youngest & such as came last in place, should declare themselues first; that they might not bee forestalled in their opinions, nor put besides that they would haue spoken; together with the equalitie which it made of their voyces: for, thinges first spoken, doe alwaies sticke fastest in our apprehensions. And for that cause, Theodorus (a Greeke Tragedian) would neuer shew himselfe on the stage after any other Actor; as holding the first passages to affect most the Spectators. Notwithstanding which custome, it is reported, that Cæsar, in fauour of Pompey, after their new made alliance, would take his voice first, thereby to anticipate the opinion of others that should follow.

Athenienſis Senator iurabat ſe præcipuè populo conſulturũ. Demoſt. cõt. Near. 1. Philippic.

Ariſt. 7. polit. 17.

Sueto. in vita Iulij Cæſaris.

The Emperours (as it seemeth) tooke what place they pleased; for, Tyberius in Marcellus cause said, that he would sentence openly, and vpon oath, that other men might doe the like. Wherevnto Cn: Piso replied; What place wilt thou take to declare thy selfe, Cæsar? for, if thou speake first, I knowe how to follow; if last, I am affeard I shall dissent from thy opinion. But that which is most blameable in matter of councell, is, when they come to the Senate house as to a prize of flatterie. VVherein L: Piso is deseruedly commended, for that hee neuer willinglie shewed himselfe of a seruile opinion; but when necessitie forced him, hee tempered it with wisedome. Neither is it

Tacit. 1. Annal.

Tacit. 6. Annal.

Plutarch. the leaſt miſchief, that the condition of ſoueraintie is ſuch as will hardly indure reproofe; but muſt be diſguiſed, as Appolonius corrected Lyons, by beating dogges before them.

CHAP. II.

The Senate proceede againſt Cæſar, *with all eagerneſſe.*

THE Senate, riſing a little before night, were all ſent for to Pompey. He commended them for what they had done, and confirmed them for after reſolutions, reprehended ſuch as ſhewed themſelues indifferent, and ſtirred them vp to more forwardneſſe. Many which were of Pompeis former Armies were ſent for, vpon hope of reward & aduauncement. Many of the two legions which lately came from Cæſar, were commaunded to attend; inſomuch, as the Cittie ſwarmed with ſouldiers. Againſt the election of new Magiſtrates: C. Curio called out the Tribunes of the people: All the Conſuls friends, the kinſfolks & allies of Pompey, and ſuch others as had any former enmity with Cæſar, were cõpelled into the Senate. By the preſence & opiniõ of theſe Men, the weakeſt were terrified, the doubtfull confirmed, & the moſt part were cut off from giuing abſolute and free voyces. L: Piſo the Cenſor, and L: Roſcius the Prætor, offered themſelues to goe to Cæſar, to aduiſe him of theſe things; requiring but ſixe daies ſpace to returne an aunſwere. Others thought it fit, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Cæſar, to giue him notice of the pleaſure of the Senate. To all theſe was oppoſed what the Conſull, Scipio, and Cato thought fit. Cato was incited through former enmitie, and ſpecially, by the repulſe of the Prætorſhip. Lentulus, out of a conſideration of his great debts, hoping to commaund an Armie, to gouerne Prouinces, and to receiue the liberall acknowledgements of Kings, whom he ſhould thereby procure, to be ſtiled with the Title of friends to the people of Rome; inſomuch, as he would not ſtick to boaſt in priuate, that hee was like to proue a ſecond Sylla, on whom, the ſoueraine commaund of the Empire would be conferred. Scipio was drawen on by the ſame hope, of hauing the gouernment of a Prouince, or the commaund of an Armie; which by reaſon of his alliance he thought to ſhare with Pompey (beeing otherwiſe affeard to be called into iuſtice) as alſo through flattery and oſtentation, both of himſelfe, and other great friends, which were able to ſway much, as well in the courſe of iuſtice, as in the Common-wealth.

Pompeius vt primũ rempub. aggreſſus eſt, non quemquã animo parẽ tulit. Velleius Paterc.

Pompey, in his particular, was much prouoked by Cæſars enemies, and ſpecially, for that hee could indure no man to be his equall. Hee was alienated altogether from Cæſars friendſhippe, and had reconciled himſelfe to their common Enemies; the greateſt part of whom, were by his meanes gained to Cæſar,

in

in the time of their alliance: as alſo by the diſhonour which he had gotten by taking thoſe two legions from their iourney towards Aſia and Syria, and vſing thē for the advauncement of his owne particular: which things moued him to draw the matter to Armes. For theſe reſpects, all things were caried impetuouſlie and confuſedly; neither was there leaſure giuen to Cæſars friends to advertiſe him thereof; nor yet to the Tribunes, to avoide the danger which was falling vpon them, or to vſe their right of oppoſition which L: Sylla left vnto them: but within ſeauen daies after they were entred into their office, they were forced to ſhift for their ſafetie; notwithſtanding that the moſt turbulent and ſeditious Tribunes of former times, were neuer put to looke into their affaires, or to giue account of their actions before the eight Month. In the end, they tooke themſelues to that extreame and laſt Act of Senate, which was neuer thought vpon, but whē the cittie was vpon the point of burning, or in the moſt deſperate eſtate of the Common-weale. That the Conſuls, Prætors, Tribunes of the people, and ſuch as had beene Conſuls, and were reſiant neere about the cittie, ſhould endeuour that the Common-weale might not be indangered. This Act was made the ſeauenth of the Ides of Ianuary: ſo that the fiue firſt daies, in which the Senate might ſit, after that Lentulus was entred into the Conſulſhip (excepting onelie two dayes for the generall aſſembly of the people) moſt heauie & cruell Decrees were made, againſt the authority of Cæſar, and againſt the Tribunes of the people, famous and worthy men; who there-vpon fledde preſently out of the cittie. Cæſar beeing then at Rauenna, attended an aunſwere to his eaſie and modeſt demaunds, if by any reaſonable courſe matters might be drawne to a peaceable end.

Ne quid reſpub. detrimenti capiat.

Conſecuti ſunt dies Commitiales, per quos ſenatus haberi non poterat. Cic. L. fratri.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is the condition of humane nature, to make good that which once it hath auouched, although the matter be of ſmall conſequence in particular, & tendeth rather to infamie then to profit; neither will it eaſilie be reclaimed by motiues of reaſon, but is rather incited thereby (*per Antiperiſtaſin*) to perſiſt in wilfulneſſe, then to harken to that which is more conuenient; eſpecially, when either iealouſie or reuenge doe implie an aduantage: for, then partialitie keepeth no meaſure; but to iuſtifie an errour, runnes headlong into all extremities, and flieth to the laſt refuge of deſperate and deplored caſes, to make diſordered paſsions ſeeme good diſcretion. Which euidently appeareth by Pompeis faction, in reſoluing of that deſperate Act of Senate, which was neuer thought of but in moſt eminent danger. For, as in foule weather at ſea, when a ſhippe rideth in a dangerous road, and through the violence of the tempeſt, is vpon the point of ſhipwrack, the Mariners are wont to caſt out a ſheete Anker as their laſt refuge: ſo had Rome anciently recourſe to this Decree, at ſuch times as the Common-wealth was in eminent and extreame calamitie; whether it were by enemies abroad, or by ſerpents in their boſome at home. Liuie ſpeaking of the warre of

V't gratia oneri, ſic vltio in quæſtu habetur. Tac.

Suprema lex Salus reſpub.

Lib. 3. of the Equi, ſaith; The Senators were ſo affrighted, that following the forme of the Decree which was alwaies reſerued for caſes of extreamitie, they ordained, that *Poſthumius* (one of the Conſuls) ſhould take care that the Common-wealth might not be endangered. The like was vſed in ciuill and inteſtine ſeditions: as, when Manlius Capitolinus aſpired to a Tyranny: and as likewiſe in the tumults of the Gracchij, the conſpiracie of Catiline, & other times of like danger. For, albeit the Conſuls had all ſoueraine authoritie, as well in warre as in peace; yet neuertheleſſe, there were certaine reſerued caſes wherein they had no power, without expreſſe order from the Senate, and aſſent from the people: as, to leuie an Armie to make war, to take money out of the Treaſury; whereas vpon ſuch a Decree, they were inabled to diſpoſe of all buſineſſes of State, without further mouing of the Senate or people: which Tully noteth in his Orations againſt Anthonie. I thinke it fit (ſaith hee) that the whole ſtate of the Common-weale be left vnto the Conſuls, and that they be ſuffered to defend the ſame; and to take care that the Common-weale be not indangered.

Plutar: in the life of Cicero.

5. Philipp. *Conſulibus totã rempub. cõmendendam cenſeo, ijsque permittẽdum vt rempub. defendant, prouideántque ne quid detrimenti reſpub: accipiat.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Fabius. I May not omit (for the better vnderſtanding of this noble Hiſtorie) to ſay ſomewhat of the Perſons here mentioned: and firſt of Fabius, as deſcended of the nobleſt and moſt auncient Family of the Patrician Order; beeing able of themſelues to maintaine warre a long time againſt the Veij, a ſtrong & warlike towne, vntil at length they were al vnfortunately ſlaine by an ambuſhment: which Ouid mentioneth, where he ſaith;

2. *De Faſtis.*

Hæc fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus arvis,
Tercentum Fabij ter cecidere duo.

Onely there remained of that houſe, a child then kept at Rome: which in tract of time, multiplied into ſixe great Families, all which had their turne in the higheſt charges and dignities of the Common-weale; amongſt whom, hee that ſupplanted Hanniball by temporizing, & therby got the ſurname of Maximus, was moſt famous, as Ennius witneſſeth;

Fab: Max.

Vnus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem:
Non ponebat enim rumores ante ſalutem.
Ergo póſt que magiſque viri nunc gloria claret.

But C: Fabius, here mentioned, neuer attained to any place of Magiſtracie, other then ſuch commaunds as he held in the warres vnder Cæſar.

Lentulus. Lentulus the Conſull was of the houſe of the Cornelians, from whom are ſaid to come xvi. Conſuls. He was from the beginning a mortall enemy to Cæſar, and ſo continued to his death, which fell vnto him in Egipt, by commaundement of King Ptolomey, after Pompey was ſlaine.

Scipio. Scipio was father in law to Pompey, after the death of Iulia, Cæſars daughter; and by that meanes, obtained the gouernment of Aſia. In the beginning of

of the Ciuil war, he brought good ſuccors to aſsiſt his ſon in law, as it folows in the third Cõmentary: & vpon the ouerthrowe at Pharſalia he fled into Affrick, where he renewed the war, & becam chief Commander of the remaining party againſt Cæſar; but being in the end defeated, he made towards Spaine: and fearing by the way leaſt he ſhould fall into his enemies hands, he ſlew himſelfe.

Marcellus.

Marcellus was of the ancient Family of the Claudians, which came originally of the Sabines; on his behalfe there is an Oration extant of Tullies, intituled, *Pro Marcello*. He was afterwards ſlaine by one Chilo.

M. Anto.

M. Antonius is famous in all the Romaine hiſtories, for attaining in a ſmall time to ſo great a height in that gouernment; for, in all the warres of Gallia, he was but a Treaſurer vnder Cæſar, which was the leaſt of all publique places of charge: In the beginning of the ciuill wars, hee was made Tribune of the people; and within leſſe then eight yeeres after, came to bee fellow partner with Octauius Cæſar in the gouernment of the Empire. And if Cleopatras beautie had not blinded him, he might haue eaſily through the fauour of the ſouldiers ſupplanted his Competitor, and ſeized vpon the Monarchie.

Caſsius.

The name of Caſsius was ominous for trouble to the ſtate of Rome, & their ends were as vnfortunate. This L: Caſsius, for his part, after the great troubles he had ſtirred vp in Spaine, was drowned in the mouth of the Riuer Ebet.

Piſo.

Piſo was made Cenſor in the Conſulſhip of L: Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, hauing himſelfe been Conſull eight yeeres before, in the yere of Rome 695, ſucceeding Cæſar, and Bibulus; and was the man againſt whom Tullie penned that Oration which is extant *in Piſonem*. Touching the office of Cenſor, it is to be vnderſtood, that about the yeere of Rome 310, the Conſuls beeing diſtracted with multiplicitie of forraine buſineſſe, omitted the Cenſure or aſseſment of the Cittie for ſome yeeres together: whereupon it was afterwards thought fit, that there ſhould be a peculiar officer appointed for that ſeruice, and to be called Cenſor; foraſmuch as euery man was to be taxed, rankt and valued, according to his opinion & cenſure. The firſt part of their office conſiſted in an account or valuation of the number, age, order, dignity, & poſseſſion of the Romane citizens: for it was very material for the State to know the number of their people, to the end they might be informed of their owne ſtrength, and ſo ſhape their courſe accordingly, either in vndertaking warres, tranſplanting Colonies, or in making prouiſion of victualls in time of peace. It was alſo as requiſite to know euery mans age, whereby they grew capable of honour & offices, according to that of Ouid;

To know the number of Cittizens.

Their age.

finitaque certis
Legibus eſt ætas, vnde petatur honos.

De Faſt.

M: Antonius commaunded, that the names of the Romaine children ſhould be brought into the Treaſurie within 30 daies after they were borne; according to which cuſtome, Francis the French king publiſhed an Edict, *Anno* 1539, that euery pariſh ſhould keepe a Regiſter of burials and chriſtenings: which ſince that time is vſed in England.

Halicarnaſſeus. lib. 4. Gotofred ad L. ætatem 3. §. De Cenſ.

Their calling.

The diſtinction of conditions and ſtates, ranging euery man in his proper order, is as neceſſary in the Common-weale, and as woorthy of the Cenſors notice,

Maiorũ primus quiſquis fuit ille tuorum, aut Paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolí.

Their ability.

notice as any thing beſides. Neither may the aſſeſment of mens abilities bee omitted: which was ordained that euery man might beare a part in the ſeruice of the State. In which reſpect, Seruius Tullus is commended, for rating men according to their wealth; whereas before that time euery man paid alike: for, men are taken to bee intereſſed in the Common-weale according to their meanes. The laſt and baſeſt ſort of Cittizens, were named *Capite cenſi*, and were ſet in the Subſidie at 375 peeces of money. Such as were not aſſeſſed, had no voice in the Common-weale.

Florus l. 1. ca. 6.

Gell. lib. 16. cap. 10. circ.

The ſecond and chiefeſt part of this office, was in reforming maners, as the ground-plot and foundation of euery Common-wealth; to which end they had power to inquire into euery mans life. If any one had plaid the ill husband, and neglected his Farme, or left his Vine vntrimmed, the Cenſors tooke notice of it. If a Romaine knight kept his horſe leane, it was a matter for them to looke into. They depoſed, or brought in, new Senators. They reviewed all degrees and conditions of men: advaunced this man from a meane Tribe to a more honourable, and pulled another downe. They had the care of buildings, repairing of high waies, with other publique works; and were reputed of the beſt rank of Magiſtrates in Rome. L. Roſcius had formerly bin one of Cæſars Legates in Gallia: as appeareth in the fift Commentary, *Tertiam in Eſſuos. L. Roſcio.* The Prætor was Iudge in cauſes of controuerſie, & differences between partie and party; and was as the Caddy amongſt the Turkes.

Poli. lib. 6.

L. Roſcius.

CHAP. III.

The Senate prepareth for warre.

Pompey hauing a charge of an Armie, could not enter into the Cittie prohibited by diuers lawes.

THE next day after, the Senate aſſembled out of the Cittie: where Pompey (according to ſuch inſtructions as he had formerly giuen to Scipio) extolled their conſtancy & magnanimity; acquainted them with his forces, conſiſting of ten legions in Armes; and further aſſured them, he knew of a certaine, that Cæſars ſouldiers were alienated from him, and would not be drawne either to defend or follow him. And vpon the aſſurance of theſe remonſtrances, other motions were entertained: As firſt, that a leuie ſhold be made throughout all Italy. That Fauſtus Sulla ſhould foorth-with be ſent as Proprætor into Mauritania. That mony ſhold he deliuered out of the Treaſurie to Pompey. That king Iuba might haue the title of friend & confederate to the people of Rome; which Marcellus contradicting, ſtopt the paſſage thereof for that time. Philippus, Tribune of the people, countermaunded Fauſtus commiſsion: other matters were paſſed by Act. The two Conſular, and the other Prætorian Prouinces, vvere giuen to priuate men that had no office of Magiſtracie. Syria fell to Scipio, and Gallia to L: Domitius. Phillippus and Marcellus, were purpoſely omitted, and no lottes caſt for their imployment. Into the other Prouinces vvere ſent Prætors, vvithout any conſent or approbation of the

Fauſt. Sulla.

Rex Iuba, ſocius et amicus.

Gallia & Syria were two conſularie Prouinces.

Quorum nemo ſtultior eſt quã L: Domitius. Cic. ad Attich.

the people, as formerly had beene accuſtomed: and hauing performed their ordinary vowes, they put on their Military garments, and ſo tooke their iourney. The Conſuls (which before that time was neuer ſeene) went out of the Cittie, & had their Seriants priuatly within the Cittie, and in the Capitoll, againſt all order and ancient cuſtome. A leuie was made ouer all Italie: Armes and furniture was commaunded: Money was required from Municipall townes, and taken out of Temples and religious places. All diuine and humane Rights were confounded.

Paludati exeũt.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THe neglect of Ceremonies and formes in matter of State, is the ruine and aboliſhment of a Common-weale. For, if it hold generallie true which Philoſophers ſay; That the forme giueth being to whatſoeuer ſubſiſteth, and that euery thing hath his name from his faſhion and making: then it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the life and perfection of a State, dependeth wholly of the forme; which cannot be neglected but with hazard of confuſion. For, complements and ſolemnities, are neither *Nimia* nor *Minima* (as ſome haue imagined) either ſuperfluities, which may bee ſpared, or trifles of ſmall conſequence. But, as the fleſh couereth the hollow deformitie of the bones, and beautifieth the body with naturall graces: ſo are ceremonies, which ancient cuſtome hath made reuerent, the perfection and life of any Common-weale; and doe couer the nakednesſe of publique actions, which otherwiſe wold not be diſtinguiſhed from priuate buſineſſes. And therfore the neglect of ſuch ceremonies, as were vſually obſerued to ennoble their actions, was as iniurious to the ſafety of the Empire, and as euident a demonſtration of faction and diſloyaltie; as the allotment of Prouinces to priuate perſons, or whatſoeuer elſe they broached, contrarie to the fundamentall rights of the publique Weale.

The vſe of Ceremonies. *Forma dat nomẽ et eſſe. Ariſt.*

Nimia nec Minima.

Ciuitatis legibus conſeruatis, ſalua quoque populi dominatio. Aeskin. in Cteſiphont.

Concerning which, it is to be vnderſtood, that no man was capable of thoſe gouernments, but ſuch as had borne the chiefeſt offices and places of charge. For, their manner was, that cõmonly vpon the expiration of their offices, the Conſuls and Prætors did either caſt lots for the Prouinces, which they called *Sortiri prouincias*, or did otherwiſe agree amongſt thẽſelues how they ſhould be diſpoſed: and that they tearmed, *Comparare Prouincias*. Liuie toucheth both the one & the other; *Principio inſequentis anni cùm Conſules noui de Prouincijs retuliſſent, primoquoq; tempore, aut cõparare inter eos Italiam et Macedoniam, aut ſortiri placuit.* Howbeit, ſometimes the people (whoſe aſſent was alwaies neceſſary) interpoſed their authoritie, & diſpoſed the ſame as they thought expedient. But ſuch as had neuer borne office of charge in the State, were no way capable of thoſe dignities, nor thought fit to commaund abroad, hauing neuer ſhewed their ſufficiencie at home.

The maner of diſpoſing of the Prouinces and gouernments.

Sortiri Prouincias, comparare Prouincias. Lib. 43.

For the maner of their ſetting forward out of Rome, after they were aſsigned to imployments, it appeareth by infinite examples of hiſtories, that they firſt went into the Capitoll, & there made publick ſacrifices & ſolemn vowes, either

The maner of their ſetting forward to their gouernments.

to build a Temple, or to doe ſome other worke woorthy good fortune, if their deſignes were happily atchiued; which they called *Vota nuncupari.* And hee that had made ſuch a vow, ſtood *voti reus* vntill his buſines ſorted to an iſſue: and after he had attained his deſire, he was *voti damnatus*, vntill he had aquitted himſelfe of his promiſe.

Vota nuncupari.
Voti reus.
Macrob. li. 3. cap. 2.
Saturnal.
Paludati.

Touching their habite expreſſed in this phraſe, *Paludati exeunt*, it appeareth, as well by auncient Sculptures, as Medallies, that *Paludamentum*, was a cloake vſed and worne by men of warre, whether they commaunded in chiefe, or as Lieutenants and Centurions; and was tied with a knot vpon their left ſhoulder. Feſtus calleth all militarie garments, *Paludamenta.* And Varro giuing a reaſon of that name, ſaith; *Paluda à Paludamentis, ſunt hæc inſignia et ornamenta Militaria: Ideo ad bellum, cùm exit Imperator, ac Lictores mutant veſtem, et ſigna incinuerunt, Paludatus dicitur proficiſci: quæ, propterea quod conſpiciuntur, qui ea habent, et Palam fiunt, Paludamenta dicta.* The colour of this cloake, was either purple or white. And therefore it was held a preſage of ill fortune, when at Carres, a Cittie in Meſopotamia, one gaue Craſſus a black cloake in ſteed of a white, as hee went to loſe the battaile to the Parthians.

Lib. 6. de lingua Lat.

Valerius, li. 1. cap. 6.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines, not contented with the ſpacious circuit of the ſunne, bounding their Empire with the Eaſt and the Weſt, but for want of Regions and Countreys, ſearching the vaſtnes and depth of the ſea; did ſildome acknowledge any other ſoueraintie, or leaue a partie worthy their amitie, in any remote angle of the then knowne world. But if any Prince had been ſo fortunate, as to gaine the fauour and eſtimation of a friend or a confederate to the State, it was vpon ſpeciall and deſerued reſpects, or at the inſtance of their Generalls abroad, enforcing the woorthines of ſuch Potentates, and the aduantage they might bring to the ſeruice of the Empire. Which appeareth by that of Liuie, concerning Vermina, king Syphax ſonne; that no man was at any time acknowledged either a king or a friend by the Senate and people of Rome, vnleſſe firſt he had right well deſerued of the Common-weale.

Rex Iuba ſocius & amicus.
Raptores orbis, poſtquã cunctis vaſtantibus deſuere Terræ, & Mare ſcrutãtur quos nec oriens nec occidens ſatiauerit. Tacit.
Neminem eſſe Regem ſolitum & amicũ á Senatu Populoq; Rom: appellari: niſi qui optimè de Rep. bene meritus eſſet lib. 1. decad. 4.

The manner of this acknowledgement, is likewiſe particularly expreſſed by Liuie, in another place ſpeaking of Scipio. The day following (ſaith hee) to put king Maſsiniſſa out of his griefe and melancholie, hee aſcended vp to his Tribunall, and hauing called an aſſembly of the ſouldiers, preſented him before them; where he firſt honoured him with the appellation of king, accompanied with many faire praiſes: and then gaue him a crowne of gold, a cuppe of gold, a chaire of State, a ſcepter of Iuorie, and a long robe of Purple. To which agreeth that of Cæſar: That Ariouiſtus was by the Senate ſtiled by the name of King and Friend, and preſented with great and rich gifts; which happened but to few, and was onely giuen by the Romaines to men of great deſert. Howbeit,

Sequenti die &c. lib. 10. dec. 3.

Lib. 1. de bell: Gallico.

beit, ſuch as had gouernments and imployments abroad, did oftentimes make profit of giuing this honour: whereof Cæſar taxeth Lentulus in the former chapter. And in this ſenſe was king Iuba brought in queſtion, to bee called by the Senate, a Friend and Aſſociate to the State of Rome.

Et Spe Apellandorum Regum.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

TOuching the franchiſes and liberties of the townes of Italy, and others in the dominions of the Romaine Empire, called *Municipia*; it is to be noted, that according to Gellius, thoſe were called *Municipes*, that beeing gouerned by their owne lawes, and their owne Magiſtrates, were neuertheleſſe indowed with the freedome of Rome. And therefore Adrianus maruailed, that the Italicenſes and Vticenſes, did rather deſire to bee Coloni, and ſo tied to the obedience of forraine & ſtrange lawes, then to liue in a Municipall ſtate, vnder their owne Rights and Cuſtomes; and as Feſtus addeth, with the vſe of their peculiar rites for matter of religion, ſuch as they anciently vſed, before they were priuiledged with the immunities of Rome.

Municipes.

Lib. 6. cap. 13.

Lib. 11.

For the better vnderſtanding whereof, we are to obſerue, that there were degrees and differences of Municipall townes; for ſome had voices with the Romane people, in all their elections and ſuffragies: and ſome others had none at all. For, Gellius in the ſame place, ſaith, that the Cerites obtained the freedom of the Cittie, for preſeruing the holy things of Rome, in the time of the warre with the Galles, but without voice in elections. And thence grew the name of *Cerites Tabulæ*, wherein the Cenſors inroled ſuch, as were by them for ſome iuſt cauſe depriued of their voices. And the Tuſculani, beeing at firſt receiued into the liberties of the Cittie, according to the admiſsion of the Cerites, were afterward, by the free grace of the people, made capable of giuing voyces.

Cum ſuffragio

Municipium

Sine ſuffragio.

Cerites Tabulæ. Liuie lib. 6.

The meanes of obtaining this freedome, was firſt and ſpecially by Birth: wherin it was required (as may be gathered by Appius Oration) that both the Parents, as well the mother as the father, ſhould be free themſelues. Howbeit, Vlpian writeth, that the ſonne may challenge the freedome of the State, wherin his father liued and was free. So that the father being of Campania, & the mother of Puteolis, he iudgeth the ſonne to belong to Campania: According to that of Canuleius; That the children inherite the condition of the father, as the head of the Family, and the better rule to direct in this behalfe. Neuertheleſſe, Adrianus made an Act of Senate in fauour of Iſſue; That if the wife were a cittizen of Rome, and the husband a Latine, the children ſhould be Romaine Cittizens. And the Emperour Iuſtinian, cauſed it likewiſe to be decreed, that the mother beeing a free woman, and the father a bond-man, the ſon ſhould be free. Such as were thus borne free, were called *Ciues originarij*.

Liuie lib. 3.

Liuie lib. 3.

Ciues originarij.

The ſecond meanes of obtaining this freedome, was by Manumiſsion, or ſetting bond-men at libertie: for in Rome, all men freed from bondage were taken for Cittizens; and yet rankt in the laſt and meaneſt order of the people.

The third meanes, was by gift, or coaptation; and ſo Romulus at firſt inlarged and augmented Rome; Theſeus, Athens; Alexander Magnus, Alexandria, ſited at the out-lets of Nilus; and Richard the firſt, London; by taking all ſuch ſtrangers into the freedome of the Cittie, as had inhabited there for tenne yeeres together. The Emperours were profuſe in giuing this honour. Cicero floutes Cæſar, for taking whole nations into the freedome of the Citty; and Anthony gaue it to all that liued in the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, as Vlpian witneſſeth, Rome was called *Communis Patria*. Popular ſtates were more ſparing in this kind; as may be deemed by the aunſwere of one of the Corinthian Embaſſadours, to Alexander. Wee neuer gaue the freedome of our Cittie (ſaith he) to any man but to thy ſelfe and Hercules. And vntill Herodotus time, the Lacedemonians had neuer admitted any, but onely Tiſamenus and his brother.

Polido: Virg.

1 Philip.

Seneca 1. de benef. cap. 13. Herod. lib. 9.

The priuiledges of this freedome were great; for, the Cittizens of Rome were held to be *Maieſtate plenos*. Is the beſt man of Gallia (ſaith Tully) to be compared with the meaneſt Cittizen of Rome? And hence came that law, requiring, that the life of a Cittizen ſhould not bee brought in queſtion, but by the generall aſſembly of the people. Verres hauing condemned one Coſanus, a Romaine Cittizen in Sicilia, Tully vrgeth it as a matter vnſufferable: *Facinus eſt (inquit) vinciri Ciuem Romanum, ſcelus verberari, prope parricidium necari, quid dicam in crucem agi?* with many the like examples: beſides the poſsibilitie they were in, if their ſufficiencie were anſwerable accordinglie, to become great in the State; and conſequently, Commaunders of the Empire.

An quiſquam ampliſſimus Galliæ, cum infimo Ciue Romano comparãdus eſt? Cicero pro M. Font. De capite Ciuis niſi per maximũ commitiatũ ollosque quos cenſores in partibus populi locaſſint, ne ferunto. Cic. 3. de legib.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæſar taſteth the affection of the Souldiers.

Cæſar vnderſtanding of theſe things, called the ſouldiers together, and acquainted them with all the iniuries which his Enemies from time to time had done vnto him; complaining that Pompey was by their practice and meanes alienated frõ him, and drawne through enuy of his good fortune, to partialize againſt him; notwithſtanding that he had alwaies affected his honour, and endeuoured the aduauncement of his renowne and dignitie: Lamenting likewiſe the preſident which this time had brought into the State; that the Tribunes authoritie ſhould be oppoſed and ſuppreſſed by Armes, which former ages had by force of Armes reeſtabliſhed. For, Sylla hauing ſtript the Tribuneſhip, naked of all rights and prerogatiues, yet left it the freedome of oppoſition: But Pompey, who would ſeeme to reſtore it to the dignity frõ which it was fallen, did take away that power which was onely left vnto it. The Senate neuer reſolued of that Act, That the Magiſtrates ſhould take a courſe for the ſafetie of the Common-weale, whereby the people were neceſſarily ſummoned to Armes;

Bellorũ ergo ſociũ qui mille pericula mortis, mecum, ait experti, decimo iam vincitis anno. &c. Lucan lib. 1.

Armes; but in times of pernicious lawes, vpon the violence of the Tribunes, or the mutinie and ſeceſsion of the people, vvhen the Temples & high places of the Cittie were taken and held againſt the State: which diſloyalties of former ages, were expiated and purged by the fortune and diaſter of the Saturnines and the Gracchi. But at this preſent, there was no ſuch matter attempted, ſo much as in thought: no law publiſhed; no practice with the people; no tumult; no departure out of the Cittie. And therefore adhorted them; that foraſmuch as vnder his leading and commaund, for nine yeres together they had moſt happily caried the gouernment, fought many proſperous and victorious battels, ſettled all Gallia and Germanie in peace; they would now in the end, take his honor into their protection, and defend it againſt the malice of his aduerſaries. The ſouldiers of the xiij. legion which were preſent (for them onely had hee called out in the beginning of the troubles, and the other legions were not as yet come) cried out inſtantly, That they were readie to vndertake his defence againſt ſuch wrongs, and to keepe the Tribunes of the people from iniurie.

Whereof *Lex Agraria* was the chiefeſt.

Plutarch ſaith, he had thē but 500. foote, and 300. horſe on that ſide the Alpes: which amounteth to the iuſt number of a legion.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS Publique-weales and Societies are chiefely ſupported and maintained by iuſtice: ſo likewiſe, ſuch as liue in the ciuill communitie of the ſame, and inioy the benefit of a well qualified gouernment, doe take themſelues intereſſed in the maintenaunce of iuſtice, and cannot indure the tyrannie of wrongs; vnleſſe happely (as euery man is partiall in his owne cauſe) they be the authors thereof themſelues. The firſt dutie of iuſtice, which is, *Ne cui quis noceat*, did Cæſar make the theame of his Oration to the ſouldiers; aggrauating his particular iniuries, by opening and enforcing the malice of his Aduerſaries: and making the State a partie in his ſufferings, through the oppreſsion and defacing of the Tribuneſhip; which in times of libertie, and iuſt proceeding, was ſacred and inviolable.

Cic: 1. officio.

Nihil inſtius quā propulſare iniuriam. Xenophon Cyrop. lib. 1.

Iuſtitiæ primum munus eſt ne cui quis noceat. Cic. lib. 1. de officijs.

Theſe remonſtrances were apprehended by the ſouldiers, as matters ſpecially cōcerning their dutie; holding thēſelues either bound to redreſſe them, or otherwiſe to be guiltie of betraying their parents, coūtry, cōpanions & friends. Some report, that one Lælius, a Primipile of Cæſars Armie, making aunſwere to this ſpeech, gaue aſſurance of the ſouldiers good affection; which the reſt approued with a generall acclamation. Howbeit, the argument lay couched in a Sophiſme, pretending Cæſars right, but concluding the ruine of the State.

Qui non defendit nec obſiſtit ſi poteſt iniuriæ, tam eſt in vitio, quā ſi parentes, aut amicos, aut patriam, aut ſocios deſerat. Cic. lib. 1. offi.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, we may obſerue, that as diſcord and diſſenſion, renting aſunder the bonds of ciuill communitie, are the bane of floriſhing and opulent Citties, and make the greateſt Empires examples of Mortalitie: ſo by the ſame rule of diſcourſe, it is alſo true, that the mutuall

Opulentis ciuitatibus venenū ſeditio, magna imperia mortalia reddidit. Liv: lib. 2.

Non Exercitus neque Theſauri præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici. Saluſt. in bello Iugurth. Lib. de amicitia.

mutuall reſpects of well qualified friendſhip, are as expedient, both for the faſtening of the ioynts of a publique State, & for keeping the particular parts in due temper and proportion, as either treaſure, or Armies, or any other thing required therevnto. Hence it is that Cicero ſaith, that wee haue as much vſe of friendſhip, as of fire and water: and that he that ſhould goe about to take it from among men, did indeauour (as it were) to take the ſunne out of the heauen; which by heate, light, and influence, giueth life vnto the world. And as men are eminent in place and authoritie, and haue vſe of many wheeles for the motion of their ſeuerall occaſions; ſo haue they the more neede of amitie and correſpondencie, to ſecond the multiplicitie of their deſires, and to put on their buſineſſes to their wiſhed ends.

Vt quiſq; maximè opibus principatu, et poteſtate excellit, ita amicis maximè indiget. Ariſt. Ethic. 8.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar taketh Arminium, receiueth and aunſwereth meſſages from Pompey.

Rimini.

L. Cæſar.

Cæſar hauing ſounded the minds of the ſouldiers, went directly with that legion to Arminium: and there met with the Tribunes of the people that were fled vnto him, ſent for the reſt of their legions from their wintering Campes, and gaue order they ſhould follow him. Thither came young L: Cæſar, whoſe father was a Legate in Cæſars Campe. And after ſome ſpeech of the occaſion of his comming, acquainted Cæſar, that Pompey had giuen him a meſſage in charge to be deliuered vnto him: which was, that he deſired to cleare himſelf to Cæſar, leaſt he might peradventure take thoſe things to be done in ſcorne of him, which were commaunded onely for the ſeruice of the State; the good whereof he alwaies preferred before any priuate reſpect: and that Cæſar likewiſe was tied in honour to lay aſide his indignation and affection for the Common-wealths ſake: and not to be ſo tranſported with anger and diſdaine of his Adverſaries, as he ſeemed to be; leaſt in hoping to bee auenged of them, he ſhould hurt the publique weale of his Country. Hee added ſomewhat more of the ſame ſubiect, together with excuſes on Pompeys behalfe. Almoſt the ſelfe ſame diſcourſe, and of the ſelfe ſame things, Roſcius the Prætor dealt with Cæſar, and ſaid that hee had receiued them in charge from Pompey: which although they ſeemed no way to ſatisfie or remooue the iniuries and wrongs complained of; yet hauing got fit men, by whom that which he wiſhed might bee imparted to Pompey, he praied the̅ both, for that they had brought vnto him what Pompey required, they would not thinke it much to returne his deſires to Pompey; if happily with ſo little labour they might accord ſo great differences, and free all Italy from feare and danger. That he had euer held the dignitie of the Common-weale in high regard, and dearer then his owne life. He greeued much, that

that a benefit giuen him by the people of Rome, ſhould be ſpightfully wreſted frō him by his aduerſaries; that ſix months of his gouernment were to be cut off, & ſo he to be called home to the Cittie: notwithſtanding the people had commaunded at the laſt creation of Magiſtrates, that there ſhould regard be had of him, although abſent. Neuertheleſſe, for the Common-wealths ſake hee could be content to vndergoe the loſſe of that honour. And hauing writ to the Senate that all men might quit their Armies, he was ſo far from gaining the ſame, that contrariwiſe a levie was thereupon made throughout all Italy; and the two legions which were drawne from him, vnder a pretence of the Parthian warre, were ſtill retained about the Cittie, which was likewiſe in Armes. And to what tended all this, but his deſtruction? And yet notwithſtanding, hee was content to condiſcend to all things, and to indure all inconveniences, for the cauſe of the Publique weale. Let Pompey goe to his gouernment and Prouinces; let both the Armies be diſcharged; let all men in Italy lay downe their Armes; let the Citty be freed of feare; the aſſemblies of the people left to their auncient libertie; and the whole gouernment of the State remitted to the Senate and people of Rome. For the better accompliſhment whereof, vnder well adviſed and ſecure conditions, let an oath be taken for due keeping of the ſame: or otherwiſe, let Pompey approache neerer vnto him; or ſuffer Cæſar to come neerer to him, that theſe controuerſies might happely receiue an end by conference.

Roſcius, hauing this meſſage, went to Capua, accompanied with L. Cæſar; where finding the Conſuls and Pompey, he deliuered vnto them Cæſars propoſitions. They hauing conſulted of the matter, made an aunſwere in writing, and returned it by them to Cæſar, wherof this was the effect; That he ſhould returne into Gallia, quit Arminiū, & diſmiſſe his Army: which if he did, Pompey would then goe into Spaine; In the meane time, vntill aſſurance were giuen that Cæſar wold perform as much as he promiſed, the Conſuls & Pompey wold not forbeare to levy ſouldiers. The condition was too vnequall, to require Cæſar to leaue Arminium, and to returne into his Prouince; and Pompey to hold Prouinces & legions belonging to other men: to haue Cæſar diſmiſse his Armie, and he to raiſe new troopes; to promiſe ſimply to goe to his gouernment, but to aſſigne no day for his departure: inſomuch, that if hee had not gone vntill Cæſars time of gouernment had expired, he could not haue been blamed for falſifying his promiſe. But foraſmuch as they appointed no time for a conference, nor made any ſhew of comming neerer, there could no hope be conceiued of peace.

Capua. *Cicero, lib. 7. ad Atticum, epiſt. 13,* ſaith; that this aunſwer was made at Thianū, in the territories of L'auour, the 25 of Ianuary.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CAeſar, lying at Ravenna, within his gouernment of Gallia, and vnderſtanding how matters paſt at Rome, according as Plutarch reporteth, commaunded diuers of his Centurions to goe before to Arminium, without any other armour then their ſwords; and to poſſeſſe themſelues thereof with as little tumult as they could. And then leauing the troopes about him to be commaunded by Hortenſius, he continued a whole day together in publique ſight of all men, to behold the fencing of the

Plutarch: in vita Cæſaris.

Sword-players. At night hee bathed his body, and then kept companie with ſuch as he had bidden to ſupper; and after a while roſe from the table, wiſhing euery man to keepe his place, for he would inſtantly come againe. Howbeit, hauing ſecretly commaunded ſome of his followers to attend him, in ſuch maner as might giue leaſt ſuſpicion, hee himſelfe tooke a Coach which he had hired; and making ſhew of going a contrary way, turned ſuddenly towardes Arminium. When hee came to the little riuer Rubicon, which diuided his gouernment from the reſt of Italie, he ſtood confounded through remorſe of his deſperate deſigne, and wiſt not whither it were better to returne or goe on: but in the end, laying aſide all doubtfull cogitations, he reſolued vpon a deſperate Adage, importing as much as *Fall back, fall edge.* And paſsing ouer the Riuer, neuer ſtaied running with his Coach, vntill he came within the Cittie of Arminium: Where he met Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people; and ſhewed them to the ſouldiers, as they were driuen to flie out of Rome, diſguiſed like ſlaues in a Carriers cart.

Multa videri volumus velle, ſed nolumus. Seneca, epiſt. 96

Let it lie vpon the Dice.

Bonum eſt dum adhuc ſtat nauis in portu, præcauere tempeſtatẽ futuram; et non eo tempore, quo in medias irrueris procellas, trepidare. Ioſep. de bello Iud. l. 2.

It is ſaid, that the night before he paſſed ouer this Riuer, hee dreamed that he lay with his mother in an vnnaturall ſenſe; but of that, hee himſelfe maketh no mention. This Cittie of Arminium, is now called Rimini, and ſtandeth in Romania, vpon the Adriatick ſea, in the Popes dominion. The Riuer Rubicon, was anciently the bounds of Gallia; ouer which, Auguſtus cauſed a faire bridge to be built, with this inſcription;

IVSSV. MANDATV-VE. P.R. COS. IMP. MILI. TIRO. COMMILITO. MANIPVLARIS-VE. CENT. TVRMÆ-VE. LEGIONARI-VE. ARMAT. QVISQVIS. ES. HIC. SISTITO. VEXILLVM. SINITO. NEC CITRA. HVNC. AMNEM. RVBICONEM. DVCTVM. COMMEATVM. EXERCITVM-VE. TRADVCITO. SI. QVIS. HVIVSCE. IVSSIONIS. ERGO. ADVERSVS. FECIT. FECERIT-VE. ADIVDICATVS. ESTO. HOSTIS. P.R. AC. SI. CONTRA. PATRIAM. ARMA. TVLERIT. SACROSQVE. PENATES. E. PENETRALIBVS. ASPORTAVERIT. SANCIO. PLEBISCI. SENATVS-VE. CONSVLT. VLTRA. HOS. FINES. ARMA. PROFERRE. LICEAT. NEMINI.

S. P. Q. R.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IF this manner of proceeding be brought into diſpute, and the reaſon required why Cæſar kept not himſelfe in the prouince of Gallia, where he might haue held his gouernment according to his owne deſire, or otherwiſe haue drawne his adverſaries to buckle with the ſtrength of thoſe conquering Legions; and ſo brought the buſineſſe to a ſhort end, with as great probabilitie of good ſucceſſe, as by any hazard of vndertaking: It is to bee vnderſtoode, that in cauſes of this nature, which ſildome admitte anie treatie of accorde, hee that ſtriketh firſt, and hath the advantage

advantage of the forehand, is well entered into the way of victorie: for, the rule is of old, that if an enemy hath a deſsigne in hand, it is farre more ſafe to begin firſt, and by way of preuention, to giue the onſet on him, rather then to ſhew a readineſſe of reſiſting his aſſaults. For, if blowes (of neceſsitie) muſt be way-makers to peace, it were a miſtaking to be either wanting or behind hand therin; beſides the gaine which attendeth this advantage. For, hee that ſtands affected to deny what is iuſt, and of right due, doth neuertheleſſe grant all things which the ſword requireth; and will not ſticke to ſupply all vniuſt refuſals, with as great an ouer-plus of what may be demaunded. For which cauſe, Cæſar ſtaid not the comming of his whole Army; but began with thoſe forces which were ready at hand: and ſo preuenting all intendements, hee put his aduerſaries to ſuch a ſtraight, that they quitted Italie for feare, and left Rome (with whatſoeuer was ſacred or precious therein) to the mercy of them whom they had adiudged enemies to their Countrey.

Magis terrorem incutit, vt inuadere volenti prior occurras, quàm vt te repugnaturum ſignifices. Thucyd. lib. 6.

Arma tenenti omnia dat, qui iuſta negat. Lucan. lib. 1.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Cæſar taketh diuers Municipall *Townes*.

FOR which regard, he ſent M. Antonius with fiue cohorts to Arctium: but he himſelfe ſtaid at Arminium with two legions, and there intended to inroll new troopes; and with ſeuerall cohorts, tooke Piſaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. In the meane while, being aduertiſed that Thermus, the Prætor, did hold Tignium, with fiue cohorts, and fortified the place, and that all the inhabitants were well inclined towards him; hee ſent Curio thither with three cohorts, which he had at Piſaurum and Arminium. Vpon notice of whoſe comming, Thermus (doubting of the affection of the towne) drew his cohorts forth of the Cittie, and fled. The ſouldiers by the way went from him, and repaired home-ward. Curio was there receiued with the great contentment and ſatisfaction of all men. Vpon notice whereof, Cæſar conceiuing hope of the fauourable affections of the Municipall townes, brought the cohorts of the 13 legion out of their guarizons, and marched towardes Auximum; a towne held by Atius, with certaine cohorts which hee had brought thither with him: and hauing ſent out diuers Senatours, made a levie of men thoroughout all the Countrey of Picenum.

Cæſar.
Halfe a legion beeing about 2500 men.
Piſaurum.
Peſarò. Ital.
Fanum.
Ancona.
Tignium.
Auximum.
Atius Varus
Picenum.

Cæſars comming beeing knowne, the Decuriones of Auximum repaired to Atius Varus, accompanied with great troopes of people; told him that the matter concerned not him at all: for, neither themſelues, nor the reſt of the Municipall townes, would ſhut their gates againſt ſuch a Commaunder as Cæſar was, that by great and worthy ſeruice had ſo well deſerued of the Common-wealth:

and therefore adviſed him to conſider what might enſue thereof, and the danger which might befall him in particular. Varus, beeing throughly wakened at this warning, drew out the Guariſon which he had brought in, and ſo fled away: and being overtaken by a few of Cæſars firſt troopes, was compelled to make a ſtand; and there giuing battell, was forſaken of his men. Some of the ſouldiers went home, and the reſt came to Cæſar. Amongſt them was taken L. Puppius, Centurion of a Primipile order, which place he had formerly held in Pompeys Army. Cæſar commended Atius ſouldiers; ſent Puppius away; gaue thanks to them of Auximum; and aſſured them of a mindfull acknowledgement on his behalfe for this ſeruice.

L. Puppius.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AMongſt other things which ſerue to inable our iudgements, and do make men wiſe to good fortune: that which is gathered from ſimilitude or likeneſſe of qualitie, is not the vnſureſt ground of our diſcourſe; but oftentimes giueth more light to guide our paſſage, thorough the doubtfulnes of great enterpriſes, then any other help of reaſon: for, he that will attend an overture from euery particular, and tarry for circumſtances to accompliſh all his purpoſes, & make no vſe of inſtances to better his advantage, ſhall neuer wade farre in buſineſſes of moment, nor atchieue that which he deſireth. Which Cæſar well obſerued: for, vpon the accidentall diſcouerie of the diſpoſition of one towne, hee thereby tooke occaſion to make triall how the reſt ſtood affected: and either found them or made them anſwerable to his hopes.

Peſarò. Ital. *Plut. Anto.*

Concerning theſe places taken by Cæſar, it is to be vnderſtood, that *Piſaurum* is ſited on the Adriatick ſea, and belongeth to the Dutchie of Vrbine; a towne famous of old, by reaſon of the prodigious opening of the earth, and ſwallowing vp the inhabitants before the battell of Actium, ſome few yeeres after it was thus taken by Cæſar.

Fanò. Ital.

Fanum was ſo called of a faire Temple which was there built to Fortune. *Tacit. Annal.* 10. *Exercitus Veſpaſianꝰ ad Fanum Fortunæ iter ſiſtit.* It is a ſmall towne on the ſame ſea, and belongeth to the Pope.

Ancona.

Ancona is a famous towne vpon the Adriaticke ſea, ſited vpon a boaw-like promontorie, which taketh in the ſea betweene two forlands; and ſo maketh one of the faireſt Hauens of all Italie, as well for largenes as for ſafetie. From whence riſeth that common ſaying, expreſsing the rareneſſe and ſingularity of three things; *Vnus Petrus in Roma*, noting the beauty of Saint Peters Church: *Vna Turris in Cremona*, the excellent workmanſhip of a ſteeple there: And *vnus Portus in Ancona*, which is this Hauen. The Emperour Traian, to giue it more ſhelter, and keepe it from the furie of the wind, raiſed the top of the Promontorie in faſhion of a halfe moone, with a mount made of great Marble ſtones: and made it Theater wiſe, with deſcents and degrees to goe to the ſea; together with an Arke triumphall in memorie thereof. The towne is now vnder the Pope.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THis word *Decurio* hath a double vnderſtanding: for, Romulus hauing 3000 foote, and 300 horſe, diuided them into three Tribes,& euery Tribe into ten Curies, containing 100 foote men and tenne horſmen. Whereby Marcellinus concludeth, that *Decuriones, et Centuriones à numero cui in Militia præerant dicebantur.* But Vegetius is more particular in this point. A Companie of footmen (ſaith he) was called a *Centurie* or *Maniple*: and a troope of horſe was called *Turma*, of *Ter-denos*, contayning 30 men, whereof the Captaine was named *Decurio*. In which ſenſe Cæſar ſpeaketh; *Ea res per fugitiuos L. Aemylij Decurionis equitum Gallorum hoſtibus nunciatur.* But in this place it hath another ſignification: for, the Romaines, when they ſent any Cittizens to people and inhabite a place, they choſe out euery tenth man; ſuch as were found moſt able, and of beſt ſufficiencie, to make and eſtabliſh a publique Councell: whom they called *Decuriones*; according as Pomponius and other Ciuilians vnderſtand it. So that theſe *Decuriones* were the Senate of that place.

Decuriones.

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. de bell. Gallico.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus flieth in great feare out of Rome. *Cæſar commeth to Corfinium.*

Cæſar.

THeſe things beeing reported at Rome, the Cittie was ſuddenly ſtrooke into ſuch a terrour, that when Lentulus the Conſull came to open the Treaſurie, and to deliuer out money to Pompey according to the Act of Senate, he fled out of the Cittie, & left the inner chamber of the Treaſurie open. For, it was reported (although vntruly) that Cæſar was neere approching, & that his Caualrie was hard at hand. Marcellus, the other Conſul, together with moſt of the other Magiſtrates, followed after. Pompey, departing the day before, was gone to thoſe legions which he had taken from Cæſar, & had left in Apulia to winter. In the meane while, the inrolement of ſouldiers ceaſed within the Cittie. No place ſeemed ſecure betweene that and Capua. There they began firſt to aſſemble and aſſure themſelues; impreſting for ſouldiers, ſuch as by Iulius law were ſent thither to inhabite. And the Fencers which were there trained and exerciſed by Cæſar, for the entertainement of the people of Rome, were by Lentulus brought out, ſet at libertie, mounted vpon horſes, & cõmaunded to follow him. But afterwards, vpõ aduiſe of his friends (euery mans iudgement diſallowing thereof) he diſperſed them heere and there throughout Campania, for their better ſafetie and keeping.

Sanctiore Aerario.

Capua.

Lex Iulia.

Picenum. *Cingulum.* *Aſculum.* *L. Hirrus.* *Camerinum* *Domitius Aeneobarb.* *Corfinium.* *Albania* *Marſia.* *Pelignia.* 2500 men.

Cæſar, diſlodging from Auximum, marched throughout all the Countrey of Picenum, and was moſt willingly receiued by all the Præfectures of thoſe Regions, and relieued with all neceſsaries which his ſouldiers ſtood in need of; inſomuch as Commiſsioners were ſent vnto him from Cingulum, a towne which Labienus had founded, and built from the ground at his owne charges, promiſing to obay whatſoeuer he commaunded: whereupon he required ſouldiers, & they ſent them accordingly. In the meane time, the twelfth legion overtooke Cæſar, and with theſe two hee marched directly to Aſculum, a towne which Lentulus Spinther held with ten Cohorts: who, vnderſtanding of Cæſars approche, left the place; and labouring to carry the troopes with him, was forſaken by the greateſt part of the ſouldiers: and ſo marching with a few, happened by chaunce vpon Vibullius Rufus, ſent of purpoſe by Pompey into the Countrey of Picenum, to confirme and ſettle the people. Vibullius, being aduertiſed how matters went there, tooke the ſouldiers, and ſo diſmiſſed him of his charge: gathering likewiſe from the confining Regions, what cohorts hee could get from Pompeis former inrolements; and amongſt others, entertained L: Hirrus, flying with ſixe cohorts out of Camerinum, whereof he had the keeping. Theſe being all put together, made 13 cohorts; and by long marches, he made towards Domitius Aeneobarbus, who was at Corfinium, telling him that Cæſar was at hand with two legions. Domitius had raiſed twenty cohorts, out of Albania, Marſia, and Pelignia, adiacent Countreys. Aſculum beeing taken in, and Lentulus driuen out, Cæſar made inquirie after the ſouldiers that had left Lentulus, and commaunded them to bee inrolled for him. And after one daies aboade for the prouiſion of Corne, he marched towards Corfinium. Vpon his approche thither, Domitius ſent 5 cohorts out of the towne, to breake downe the bridge of the Riuer, which was about three miles off. The vauntgard of Cæſars Armie, incountering with Domitius ſouldiers, draue them from the bridge, & forced them to retrait into the towne; whereby Cæſar paſt ouer his legions, made a ſtand before the towne, & incamped himſelfe vnder the walles.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Sempre é congiunto in vn medeſimo ſuggetto l' Inſolentia con la Timiditá. Lib. 2.

IT is well obſerued by Guichardine, that Inſolencie & Timiditie are neuer found aſunder, but doe alwaies accompany one another in the ſame ſubiect; for, the minde beeing the center of all ſuch motions, doth according to euery mans nature, giue the like ſcope to paſsions of contrariety, and extend them both to an equidiſtant circumference: as, if courage ſhall happen to dilate it ſelfe to Inſolencie, then is doubtfulneſſe in like manner inlarged to Cowardice; & will imbaſe mens thoughts as lowe, as they did riſe in height by inſulting. For which cauſe it is aduiſed by ſuch as treat of Morality, that men be well warie in admitting dilatation of paſsions, or in ſuffering them to flie out beyond the compaſſe of reaſon, which containeth the meaſure of Equabilitie, commended by Cicero, to be obſerued throughout the whole courſe of mans life. Lentulus the Conſull may be an inſtance of

De Officijs.

this

this weakenes, and learne others moderation by ſhunning his intemperancie. For, in queſtion of qualifying the rage of theſe broiles, & ſorting of things to a peaceable end, his arrogancie was incompatible with tearmes of agreement, and overſwaide the Senate with heedleſſe impetuoſitie. And againe, when his authoritie, and Conſular grauitie ſhould haue ſettled the diſtracted Cõmons, and made good his firſt reſolution, his over-haſtie flying out of the Cittie, did rather induce the people to belieue, that there was no ſafetie within thoſe wals, not for ſo ſmall a time, as might ſerue to haue ſhut the Treaſurie at his heeles; and ſo became as abiect, as before hee ſhewed himſelfe inſolent.

Concerning theſe words (*Aperto ſanctiore Aerario*) it is to be noted, that *Aerarium* was their publique Treaſurie; and by the appointment of Valerius Publicola, was made within the Temple of Saturne: whereof diuers men make diuers coniectures. Macrobius ſaith, that as long as Saturne continued in Italie, there was no theft committed in all the countrey: and therefore his Temple was thought the ſafeſt place to keepe money in. Plutarch thinketh rather, that the making of the Treaſurie in that place, did allude to the integritie of the time wherein Saturne raigned; for, auarice and deceit was not then known amongſt them. S. Cyprian is of an opinion, that Saturne firſt taught Italie the vſe and coynage of money; and therefore they gaue the keeping thereof to his Dietie. Howſoeuer; it is manifeſt, that not onely the publique Treaſure was there kept, but alſo their Records, Chartes, Ordinances and Edicts: together with ſuch bookes as were for their immeaſurable greatnes, called *Libri Elephantini*; contayning all their Acts of Senate and deedes of Armes, atchieued by the Commaunders abroad, as alſo their militarie Enſignes which they fetched alwaies from thence when they went into the field: and there likewiſe did ſuch Embaſſadours as came to Rome, enregiſter their names, as Plutarch affirmeth.

Aerarium. *Plutar. in vita Publicolæ.* *Aerarium populus Romanus in æde Saturni habuit. Feſtus.*

Libri Elephantini.

Signa ex Aerario prompta ferũtur ad Dictatorem. Liu. lib. 4.

It was called *Aerariũ* of *Aes*, ſignifying Braſs; for that the firſt money vſed by the Romaines was of that metall, vntill the yeere of Rome 485, as Pliny witneſſeth; when they began firſt to coyne peeces of ſiluer marked with the letter X. whereof they tooke the appellation of *Denarium*, as valuing ten aſſes of braſs, which before they vſed for their coyne; and euery of the ſaide aſſes waied 12 ounces. Touching their order obſerued in their Treaſurie, for their diſpoſing and laying vp of their moneys, we muſt vnderſtand, that as bodies politique require neceſſarie and ordinarie treaſure to be imploied in ſuch manner, as may beſt concurre with the publique honour and weale of the ſame: ſo there muſt be ſpeciall care to prouide againſt vnuſuall and extraordinarie caſualties, which are not remooued but by ſpeedy and effectuall remedies. According to which prouidence the Romaines diſpoſed of their treaſure, and tooke the twentith part of their receit, which they called *Aurum viceſsimarium*, and reſerued it apart in an inner chamber; where it lay ſo priuiledged, that it was a capitall crime to touch it, but in extreame and deſperate neceſsity: as in time of warre with the Galles, or in a ſedition and tumult of the people. Liuie affirmeth as much, where he ſaith, *Cætera expedientibus quæ ad bellum opus erant conſulibus, aurũ viceſsimariũ, quod in ſanctiore Aerario ad vltimos caſus ſeruaretur, promi placuit, prompta ad quatuor Millia pondo Auri.*

Lib. 3. cap. 33.

Aurum viceſſimarium.

Lib. 24.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SVch as affect offices and dignities in a State, muſt euer haue meanes to court *Souerainty*, according as may beſt ſute with her *Politia*, either as ſhe is eſpouſed to a Monarch, or left in truſt to a Multitude. Hence it was, that the Romaines to gaine the fauour of the people, & to make way for their owne ends, were very ſumptuous in ſetting foorth ſhewes and ſpectacles, of diuers ſorts and faſhions; and ſpecially of Gladiators or Fencers, as beſt fitting a Romaine diſpoſition, & more pleaſing then others of any kind. *Equidem* (ſaith Tully) *exiſtimo, nullum tempus eſſe frequentioris populi, quàm illud Gladiatorum, neque concionis vllius, neque verò vllorum Commitiorum.* And in another place; *Id autẽ ſpectaculi genus erat, quod omni frequentia, atque omni hominum genere celebratur, quo multitudo maximè delectatur.*

Pro Roſcio.

Their manner was to keepe great numbers of theſe Fencers, in ſome conuenient and healthfull townes of Italie, as at Rauenna, & Capua (which were as Seminaries of theſe people) and there to traine them vp in the feate of fencing, vntill they had occaſion to vſe them in their ſhewes, either at their triumphall entries into the Citty vpon their victories, or at the funerall ſolemnitie of ſome perſonage of memorie; or otherwiſe at their feaſts and iollities.

And therefore they were called, Buſtuarij à buſtis.

Sil. Italicus.

Quin etiam exhilarare viris conuiuia cæde
Mos olim, et miſcere epulis ſpectacula dira.

They fought commonly man to man, at all aduantage, and were ſildome excuſed, vntill one of the two lay dead vpon the place. Neither was hee then quitted that had ſlaine his companion, but ſtood liable to vndertake another, and ſo a third, vntill he had foiled ſixe or ſeauen Combattants. And if his hap were to preuaile ſo often, he was then honoured with a Garland wound about with ribands of wooll, which they called *Lemniſci*, and receiued of the Prætor a great knotted ſtaffe, called *Rudis*: which he afterward carried about with him as an enſigne of libertie. Theſe bloudy ſpectacles continued vnto the time of Conſtantine the great; and were by him prohibited, as likewiſe alſo by Arcadius and Honorius; and vtterly aboliſhed after the raigne of Theoderick, king of the Gothes. Let him that would looke further into the faſhion of theſe ſhewes, read what Lipſius hath written cõcerning the ſame. That which I obſerue heerein, is, the vſe which the State made heereof: for, howſoeuer theſe ſights and ſolemnities were ſette forth for the compaſsing of priuate ends; yet neuertheleſſe, the Common-weale drew benefit from the ſame. For, a multitude beeing of a fickle and mutable nature, are no way ſo well ſettled with contentment of the time, or kept from nouelties and innouations, as with publick ſhewes and entertainements: which are as ſtaies to their affections, that they ſwarue not from the gouernment by which they liue in ciuill conſociation. So we read how the Grecians inſtituted, as popular entertainements, their Olympian, Nemean, Iſtmean, and Pythian Games; The Romaines, their Apollinary, Secular, Gladiatory, and Hunting ſhewes, with Tragedies and Comedies: and all

Lemniſci. Spectatum ſatis et donatum, iam rude. Horac.

The Romanes neuer vſed theſe Gladiators in any military ſeruice, but onely in Ciuill warres. Ac deforme inſuper auxilium, duo millia Gladiatorum: ſed per ciuilia arma ſeueris ducibus vſurpatũ. Tac. hiſto. 1.

all for the ſatisfaction of the people. Wherein, howſoeuer the Grecians ſeem more iudicious, for inventing ſuch Games as might both exerciſe and enterterraine the people, yet the Romaines failed not of the end aymed at in theſe ſpectacles; which was, to inure them to bloud and ſlaughter, and to make thē dreadleſſe in caſes of horrour.

But, to leaue all ſhewes of this nature, as either too little for earneſt, or too much for paſtime; it ſhall ſuffice to note, that theſe publique entertainements are ſo farre expedient as they conſiſt of pleaſure and comlineſſe: for, as their chiefeſt end is to pleaſure and content the people; ſo their manner muſt be directed by lawfulneſſe and honeſtie. In which reſpect, a Tragedy is more commendable then a Comedy; foraſmuch as few comicall arguments doe ſympathiſe with honeſtie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

TO be great, and of a large proportion, doth not take away caſualties of inconuenience; nor can it giue a priuiledge, to free thinges from diſtemperature: tall men are as ſubiect to Feauers, as others of leſſer ſtature; and great Empires as eaſily diſturbed, as the ſtates of pettie Princes.

O faciles dare ſumma Deos, eademque tueri
difficiles! — *Lucan. lib. 1.*

It is eaſier to attaine the end of high deſires, then to keepe it being got: and better is the aſſurance of ſeeking, then of poſſeſsing. The Romaine people that had over-awed the world with Armes, & left no kingdom vnfoiled with the fear of their legions, were as much diſmaied at a ſubiects diſloialtie, as was poſsible for a meane State to be amuzed vpon an alarum of any danger. And that Citty which ſuffered no enemie to approche neer her confines, but in the condition of a Captiue, was not truſted as able to giue her owne people ſafety.

Parare, et quærere arduũ: tueri difficilius. Liv. lib. 37.

ſic turba per Vrbem
Præcipiti lymphata gradu, velut vnica rebus
Spes foret afflictis patrios excedere muros,
Inconſulta ruit. — *Lucan. lib. 1.*

The aduantage is, that kingdomes of great commaund, haue great helps in caſes of diſturbance; but are otherwiſe as ſubiect to apprehenſiōs of diſtruſt, as thoſe of leſſer power to reſiſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar goeth on with the ſiege of Corfinium, *and taketh it.*

DOMITIVS, being thus ingaged, ſent out skilfull men of the Countrey, with promiſe of great reward to carie Letters to Pompey, intreating and praying, that he would come and relieue him; for, Cæſar, by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſages, might with two Armies bee eaſily ſhut vp: which opportunitie if he neglected, himſelfe, with aboue 30 cohorts of ſouldiers, beſides a great number of Senators and Romaine Knights, were in danger of running a hard fortune. In the meane time, hee exhorted his men to courage and reſolution; placed his * Artillery on the walles; aſſigned euery man his quarter to bee made good; promiſed in publique aſſembly of the ſouldiers, foure akers a peece to each man out of his owne lands and poſſeſſions: and the like rateable parts to the Centurions and Enocates. Meane-while, it was told Cæſar, that the inhabitants of Sulmo, a towne diſtant ſeauen miles from Corfinium, were deſirous to receiue his commaunds, but that they were reſtrained by Q. Lucretius, a Senatour, & Atius Pelignius, that kept the towne with a guarizon of ſeauen cohorts. Whereupon, he ſent thither M. Antonius with fiue cohorts of the ſeauenth legion: whoſe Enſignes were no ſooner diſcouered by thoſe of the towne, but the inhabitants and ſouldiers came all out, to gratulate and welcome Antonius. Lucretius and Atius conuaied themſelues ouer the wall. Atius beeing taken and brought to Antony, deſired to be ſent to Cæſar. Antonie returning the ſame day, brought Atius & the ſouldiers that were found in Sulmo, to Cæſar; whom he tooke to his Army, and ſent Atius away in ſafetie.

15000 men, or there-about.

* Tormenta.

Sulmo.

Cæſar, the three firſt daies, made great workes to fortifie his Campe; cauſed ſtore of corne to be brought from the townes next about him; and there determined to ſtay the cõming of the reſt of his forces. Within the ſpace of thoſe three daies, the eight legion came vnto him, with 22 cohorts newly inrolled in Gallia, together with CCC. horſe, which the King of Noricum had ſent vnto him. Vpon the arriual of which forces, he made ſecond Camp on the other ſide of the towne, and appointed Curio to commaund it. The reſt of the time was ſpent in compaſſing the towne with a Rampier and with Caſtells: the greateſt part of which worke beeing finiſhed, it chaunced at the ſame time, that ſuch as were ſent to Pompey, returned. The Letters beeing read, Domitius diſſembling the truth, gaue out in the counſell of warre, that Pompey would come ſpeedily to ſuccour them: and therefore wiſhed that no man ſhould be diſmaied, but to prepare ſuch things as were of vſe for the defence of the towne; and hee himſelfe conferring ſecretly with ſome of his familiar friends, conſulted how he might eſcape away. But forаſmuch as his lookes agreed not with his words, and that his cariage ſeemed more troubled and timorous then vſuall, & likewiſe his ſecret conferences,

Duces rebus afflictis hilaritatẽ de induſtria ſimulant. Seneca, ad Poly.

as

as alſo his auoiding of publique councells and aſſemblies, as much as hee could, the matter coulde bee no longer diſſembled. For, Pompey had writ backe, that hee woulde not hazard the cauſe, by drawing it into ſuch tearmes of extremitie: neither was Domitius ingaged in the keeping of Corfinium by his aduice or conſent; & therefore, if by any meanes he could, he ſhould quit the place, and bring the forces vnto him: But the ſiege was ſo ſtraight, and the workes did ſo begird the towne, that there was no hope of effecting it. Domitius purpoſe being knowne abroad, the ſouldiers within the towne, about the beginning of the euening forſooke their ſtations, and drew themſelues apart, and thereupon had conference with the Tribunes of the ſouldiers and Centurions to this effect: That they were beſieged by Cæſar, and the fortifications almoſt finiſhed; their Generall Domitian (in hope and confidence of whom they were engaged in that place) ſetting aſide all matters whatſoeuer, was bethinking himſelfe how hee might eſcape and flie away: and in regard thereof, they were not to neglect their owne ſafetie. The Marſi at firſt began to differ from the reſt, vpon that point; poſſeſt themſelues of that part of the towne which ſeemed to be ſtrongeſt: and ſuch a diſſenſion thereby grew amongſt them, that they had almoſt gone to blowes. Howbeit, vnderſtanding a while after (by meſſengers which paſt to and fro betweene them) of Domitius purpoſe to flie away, whereof formerly they were ignorant, they agreed together, and with one conſent brought Domitius out into open publique; and ſent ſome to Cæſar, to let him know, they were ready to open the gates to receiue his commaundements, and to deliuer Domitius aliue into his hands. Vpon aduertiſement whereof (albeit Cæſar found it a matter of great conſequence, to gaine the towne with as much ſpeed as he could, and to take the ſouldiers into his Campe, leaſt eyther by large promiſes and gifts, or by entertayning other purpoſes, or otherwiſe through falſe bruits or deuiſed meſſages, their mindes might happely be altered, as oftentimes in the courſe of war, great and eminent chances & alterations do happen in a ſmal moment of time; yet for that he feared leaſt the night time might giue occaſion to the ſouldiers vpõ their entrance to ſack & pilfer the towne) hee cõmending thoſe that came vnto him, ſent them back againe, & willed that the gates & the walles ſhould be kept with a good guard. He himſelfe diſpoſed the ſouldiers vpon the worke, which hee had begun; not by certaine ſpaces and diſtances, as he had accuſtomed the dayes before, but by continuall watches and ſtations, one touching another round about all the fortifications. Moreouer, he ſent the Tribunes & Captaines of the horſe about, and willed them to haue a care that there might be no eruptions or ſallies, and that they ſhould looke to the priuate ſlippings out of particular men. Neither was there any man ſo heauie or dull, that ſuffered his eyes to be ſhut that night; for, ſo great was the expectation of what would enſue, that no man thought of any other thing, then of what would happen to the Corfinians, to Domitian, to Lentulus and the reſt. About the fourth watch of the night, Lentulus Spinther ſpake from the wall to our ſouldiers that had the watch, and ſignified that hee would willingly haue leaue to come to Cæſar: which being graunted, he was ſent out of the towne, attended with ſome of Domitians ſouldiers, who left him not vntill he came in ſight of Cæſar. With him he dealt concerning his life, & praied him

Lentulus Spinther.

him to pardon him; put him in mind of their former familiarity; acknowledged the fauours receiued from Cæſar, which were very great; namely, that by his meanes, he was choſen into the Colledge of Prieſts; that vpon the going out of his Prætorſhip, he obtained the prouince of Spaine; and in his ſuit to be Conſull, hee was much aſsiſted by him.

Collegium Pontificum.

Cæſar, interrupting his ſpeech, told him, that hee came not from his gouernment to hurt any man; but to defend himſelfe from the iniuries of his aduerſaries; to reſtore the Tribunes of the people to their dignitie, that were thruſt out and expelled the Cittie; and to put himſelfe and the people of Rome into liberty, which were oppreſt with the partialities of a few factious perſons. Lentulus, being reaſſured vpon this aunſwere, prayed leaue to returne into the towne; and the rather, that this which he had obtained touching his owne ſafety, might giue hope to the reſt: amongſt whom, ſome were ſo affrighted, that hee doubted they would fall into ſome deſperate courſe; and hauing obtained leaue, hee departed. Cæſar, as ſoone as it was day, commaunded all the Senators and Senators children, together with the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and the Romaine Knights, to be brought out vnto him. Of Senatours, there were L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Vibullius Rufus, Sex: Quintilius Varus, the Treaſurer, L. Rubius; beſides Domitians ſonne, and many other young men: with a great number of Romaine Kinghts and Decurions, whom Domitian had called out of the Municipall Townes. Theſe beeing all brought forth vnto him, were protected from the inſolencies and iniuries of the ſouldiers. Moreouer, he ſpake a few words vnto thē, concerning the ill requitall on their behalfe, for the great benefites hee had done vnto them: and ſo ſent them all away in peace.

The gold which Domitian had laid vp in the publique Treaſury, being brought vnto him by the two chiefe Magiſtrates or Bailiefes of Corfinium, he redeliuered to Domitian; leaſt hee ſhould ſeeme more continent in taking away mens liues, then their moneys: although he knew, that this money was part of the publique treaſure, and deliuered out by Pompey to pay ſouldiers. He commaunded Domitians partie to be ſworne his ſouldiers. And that day remouing his Camp, went a full daies march through the confines of the Marmurci, Frentani, & Larinati, and came into Apulia.

Duumviri.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS it is true, that a friend is not ſolie tied to the reſpects of right; but doth giue more aduantage by offices of good indeuour, then by that which dutie requireth: ſo is it dangerous for a man to put his ſickle further into a harueſt, then happely may deſerue thankes of the owner. Neither can it be cleered from imputation of follie, to care an other mans buſineſs, with hazard and perill of our own fortune. Howbeit, the Current & drift of things, doth oftentimes ſo ingage both our perſons and affections, either in the maine action it ſelfe, or in ſome circumſtances of the ſame, that we cannot avoid the hazard of rebuke, if our indeuours doe not ſort with

Latius patet officiorum quam iuris Regula.

Stultitiæ videtur, alienam rē ſuo periculo curare. Saluſt. de bello Iugurth.

with his liking that is to approoue them. VVhereof Domitius may be an inſtance; who, taking Corſinium on the behalfe of the State, was neuertheleſſe diſavowed in his merit, and conſequentlie, brought into extreamitie of danger, for his over-forwardnes in the ſeruice of his Country. Such libertie hath ſoueraintie, either to take or leaue, when the euent ſhal not riſe anſwerable to a good meaning.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

WHen a partie is fallen into an exigent, it hath no better remedie for reliefe then that of the Comick, *Redimas te captum quàm queas minimo*; which is not vnderſtood, that we ſhould cleere the head, and leaue the reſt of the members to misfortune: for, that were to draw a double miſchiefe on the whole bodie. But the head is to eſcape with as little preiudice to the other parts, as by wiſedome and vertue may be gained; and ſo much the rather, leaſt in ſeeking to purchaſe ſafetie with hazard of the other members, it draw the whole deſtruction vpon it ſelfe; as it fell out with Domitius: Who, going about to flie out of the towne, and to leaue ſuch forces as by his meanes were imbarked in that cauſe, was iuſtly made the ſacrifice of their peace. Sulla deſerued better to be followed by men of adventure: for, beeing mooued to eſcape himſelfe away by night, and to leaue his troopes to ſuch fortune as Iugurth vpon advantage ſhould put vpon them; anſwered; *Etiamſi certa peſtis adeſſet, manſurum potius, quàm proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga, incertæ ac forſitan paulò pòſt morbo interituræ vitæ parceret.* And therefore, if a Commaunder ſhall at any time goe about to betray his forces, with hope of his owne ſafetie, the iſſue will bring out either his diſhonour, or his confuſion. *Saluſt. de bello Iugurth.*

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

SVch as vndertake great deſignes, doe likewiſe proiect the meanes of atchieuing the ſame, & doe propound vnto themſelues ſuch principles to be obſerued, as they take to be ſpeciall way-makers to the fortune they reach at; from which grounds they ſildome or neuer ſwarue. As appeareth by this of Cæſar; who ayming at the ſouerainty of that Empire, and knowing no way ſo direct to leade him thereunto, as to clime vp by the ſteps of Mildneſs, and to make his Aduerſaries debtors to his clemency, he left aſide his Maximes of war, to hold firme that principle; and did forbeare to gaine a towne of great importance, with that ſpeed which occaſiõ & opportunitie did affoord him, and to take the troopes into his Campe, for the preuention of ſuch chaunces and changes, as doe happen in a ſmall moment of time; leaſt his ſouldiers entering into the towne, after the ſhutting of the euening, might take leaue of the night time to make forfeiture of his mercie.

It ſhall therefore be well-beſeeming the wiſedome of a Leader, to haue alwaies reſpect to the principles of his Meanes, and to diſtinguiſh between that which is fit and that which is more fit, in the natiue cariage of his buſineſs.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

Collegium Pontificum.

COncerning this *Colligium Pontificum*, the Colledge of Prieſtes; we are to note, that Numa, the founder of the Romaine Commonweale, for the preventing of partialities and factions in that State, which at that time conſiſted of two Nations or Tribes, did breake the whole bodie into manie ſmall parts and fractions, making his diuiſion by Artes and Occupations; whereby he ordained, that all Minſtrels or Trumpeters ſhould bee incorporated into one Brotherhood: and that in like manner, Goldſmithes, Carpenters, Diers, Shoomakers, Coriers, Tawyers, Belfounders, Potters, & all other trades & Sciences, ſhould haue their peculiar body or Fraternitie; appointing them feaſts, aſſemblies, and ſeruices, according to the worthineſs of each myſterie, as Plutarch hath obſerued in the life of Numa.

Plutarch in the life of Numa.

Valerius Maximus maketh mention of the Colledge of Pipers or Minſtrels. And Plinie, in like manner, mentioneth the Colledge of Copperſmithes. Cicero taketh notice of the colledge or companie of Marchants, which hee calleth *Collegium Mercurialium*; for that of old time, the nimble tongued Mercurie was beleiued in, as the Guider and Protector of Marchants. The priuiledges & cuſtomes where-with theſe Fraternities were endowed, are ſet downe by Caius, the Ciuilian. There are certaine Colledges at Rome, ſaith hee, incorporated by Act of Senate, and eſtabliſhed with good ordinances and conſtitutions, hauing certaine things in common, in imitation of the publique weale: And as Sceuola further noteth, with power to make lawes, for the better gouernment of ſuch Colledges and Societies; ſo the ſame be not contrary to the fundamentall lawes of the State. After the ſame manner, the Prieſtes had their peculiar Colledge or corporation; & at the firſt inſtitution were but foure in number, and all of Patrician families, vnto the yeere of Rome 454: at what time there were foure of the Commons choſen, and added to the former number; whom Sulla increaſed to 15, as Dio: witneſſeth. And theſe were called *Collegiũ Pontificũ*, wherof this *Pontifex Maximus* was preſident: one of the abſoluteſt dignities of Rome; as being for tearme of life, and of greateſt and diuine authority. Which generall diſtribution of the Romaines into trades and myſteries, doth not vnfitly bring into remẽbrance, that which is vſuall amongſt the Turks, who by their law, are al bound to be of an occupatiõ; not excepting the Grand Signior himſelfe. For, hee that now vpholdes the Ottoman familie, by the name of *Sultan Acmet*, is a profeſſed maker of rings, which the Turkes doe weare on their thumbe when they ſhoote, to let the ſtring go eaſily without hurting them: and his father Mahomet was a Fletcher, and made arrowes. In like manner, all his Courtiers are of trades and occupations; and euery man is called by the title of his Art: as, he that was lately Viſier Baſſa to the preſent Sultan, was called by the name of *Natcaſh Baſha*; the Viſier Painter, beeing indeed the

Cap. de inſtitutiõ. Lib. 34. cap. 1. Lib. 2. Epiſt. ad Qu. fratrẽ. Epiſt. 5.

In L. 1. §.

L. Pater filiũ. §.

Lib. 36.

Acometus the great Turke.
Fruterer Baſha.
Nailer, or parer of nailes, Baſha.
Buſtangi Baſhaw, Gardener

the Sultans Painter; neither are they athamed to acknowledge as much: for, opening Letters which were ſent into Turkie out of Chriſtendome, that were limmed about the Margin, ſaid, he could paint as well as that himſelfe.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

THE fiſt thing which I obſerue out of theſe paſſages at Corfinium, is the reſtoring back of ſuch moneys to Domitian, as were brought vnto Cæſar by the Officers of the towne, and which he knew to be of the publique treaſure of the State. Which howſoeuer may ſeeme admirable to the hearers of theſe times, wherein there is but this one rule for matter of mony, *Vnde habeas quærit nemo, ſed oportet habere*: Yet ſuch as wil lay a ſure foundation of honour, and thriue in the courſes which they follow, muſt not be ignorant, that there is nothing more requiſite to gaine opinion & reputation in the carriage of any publique buſineſs, then to bee cleare of the leaſt ſuſpicion of couetouſneſs. Neither is there any meanes that will ſooner win a multitude, to belieue in thoſe thinges which are ſet abroach by publique Authoritie, then thoſe two virgin vertues, Abſtinence & Continencie: eſpecially when they are found in Princes and chiefe Cõmaunders, that can other wiſe iuſtifie their actions with ſoueraintie & vncontrolement. Nor on the other ſide, did euer Apollo giue out truer Oracle then that, which ſaide; that there was no meanes to ruine Sparta but by Auarice.

Caput autem eſt in omni procuratione negotij, et muneris Publici vt auaritiæ pelläatur etiam minima ſuſpicio. Nulla autem re, conciliare facilius benevolentiam multitudinis poſſũt ij qui reipub. præſunt, quam abſtinentia et continentia. Cicero.

In which ſenſe, C. Pontius, the Samnite, wiſhed, that the Gods had reſerued him to times wherein the Romaines would haue beene corrupted with gifts: for, then he would ſoone haue ſeene an end of their Cõmon-weale. And certainely, that Empire could neuer haue towred ſo high, nor continued firme ſo many ages, had not her foundation been laid by men of admirable temper in this kind: Such as was Paulus Aemilius; who hauing ſacked Macedonia, and brought as much wealth into the publique Treaſurie, as gaue an end to Tributes and Subſidies, was no way the richer (but in honour) for all that hee had taken. And ſuch alſo was Scipio Affricanus; that of all the wealth of Carthage, brought nothing into his priuate houſe, but a high and triumphant Name, as a merit of his vertues and deedes of Armes: Leauing behind him this Oracle, as a document to following times; That couetous Captaines are good to none but to the Enemie. And to conclude, ſuch was M. Curius, who hauing triumphed of the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus, refuſed a great maſs of Gold, which was offered him by the Samnites: eſteeming it more honourable, to commaund them that had Gold, then to haue Gold of his owne. Howbeit, ſuch is the frailetie of humaine nature, that for the moſt part, men haue alwaies ſuffered their deſire of money, to increaſe with their wealth, although it were to their ruine and deſtruction. VVhich Cæſar well diſcerned, as appeareth by that which he writ to Oppius, touching this accident: *Hæc noua ſit vincendi ratio, vt miſericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.*

Cic. lib. 1 Offici.

Imperatores muneribus hiantes, Hoſtibus ſunt perutiles. Appian. de bell. Hiſpan.

Cic. Cato Maior

THE SIXT OBSERVATION.

VPon occaſion of Cæſars calling vnto him, out of the towne, *Senatores, ſenatorumque filios, Equiteſque Romanos*, it ſhal not ſeeme impertinent, to note the degrees and conditions of ſtate whereof the Romaine people conſiſted. For the better clearing wherof, it is to be vnderſtood, that by that notable tranſaction at Comitium, between Romulus and Tatius, it was agreed; that both thoſe Nations ſhould dwell togeather at Romulus towne, which after his name, ſhould bee called Rome: and that the inhabitants thereof, ſhould be named *Quirites*, after the name of Tatius Cittie. Howbeit, ſpeciallie they were diuided into three Tribes, whereof they which were of Romulus partie, were called after his name, *Ramnenſes*; thoſe that came with Tatius, *Tatienſes*; and the third Tribe *Luterences*, of *Lucus*, a Groue: foraſmuch as they beeing neither of Romulus retinew, nor yet of the Sabines, were neuertheleſſe met together at that place, from diuers parts, as at a Groue where commonly aſſemblies were made to offer ſacrifice, and to performe their heatheniſh ſolemnities.

Plutarch. in vita Romuli.

Each of theſe Tribes were diuided by Romulus into ten Curiæ; and ſo made the number of 30 Curiæ. And out of each of theſe Curiæ, he choſe 3 perſons, ſuch as by their preſence and ſufficiencie, ſeemed fitteſt, and moſt woorthy; which amounted to ninetie. To whom, out of euery Tribe hee further added three, and one more of his owne chooſing, to make the number vp a hundred; whom he eſtabliſhed as his Councel or Senate: by whoſe aduiſe he reſolued of all matters of conſequence, either concerning peace or warre, as Dioniſius Halicarnaſſeus noteth. Howbeit, Plutarch ſaith, they were ſildome aſſembled but to vnderſtand the Kings pleaſure: and had no other preheminence in the Common-weale, ſauing they were the firſt that did knowe what was purpoſed. Howſoeuer; they were ſtiled by the name of *Senatores, quaſi ſeniores*, as thereby qualified to be admitted to Counſell: and in the ſame ſenſe they were called *Patres*.

Senatus.

Lib. 2.

The Senate beeing thus eſtabliſhed, Romulus ſelected out of euery of thoſe Curiæ ten young men, and ſo made vp the number of three hundred for a guard to his perſon: who for their readineſſe and nimbleneſſe were called *Celeres*, all mounted on horſebacke: whence grew their *Ordo Equeſtris*, or band of Romaine knights, which were the meane betweene the Senate and the people; and as a Seminarie to ſupply the Senate; for, out of them were the Senators taken. The reſt, that were not of theſe two Orders, were comprehended vnder the name of the Commons, or Populacy. Whereby it appeareth, that Rome conſiſted of three eſtates; Senators, Knights, and the Commons, according to that of Auſonius;

Celeres or Equites: ordo Equeſtris.

Plebs or populus

Martia Roma triplex; Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.

Touching the number of Senators, it is further to be noted, that Tarquinius Priſcus, to gaine the fauor of the people, tooke 100 of the Commons, & added them to the Senate, who were called *Senatores minorum Gentiũ*. And Brutus hauing

Senatores minorũ Gentium.

hauing reduced it to a Common-weale, made thē vp three hundred out of the band of Knights; and from that time they were called *Patres conſcripti*. Neither were they at all times limitted in that number: for, the ſeditious *Gracchi* added 300 more vnto them: and Iulius Cæſar admitted vnto the Senate all manner of perſons. In which regard, Auguſtus (as Suetonius ſaith) *Senatorū affluentem numerum, deformi, et incondita turba (erant enim ſuper mille, et quidam inaigniſsimi) ad modum priſtinum et ſplendorem redegit.*

Patres cōſcripti.

Suetonius, 35.

Concerning a competencie of wealth, to make a man capable of the place of a Senator; we may obſerue, that in the raigne of Seruius, the King, hee that was worth a thouſand aſſes (which are about 300 pound ſterling) was eligible. But the riches of the Empire increaſing, a Senators wealth was rated at nine thouſand pound, according to Suetonius; *Senatorum ſenſum ampliauit, ac pro octingentorum milliū ſumma duodecies H-S taxauit, ſuppleuitque non habentibus.* The wealth of a Romaine Knight, was rated at three hundred three ſcore, or there abouts.

Suetonius, 41.

This Corſinium, was the chiefe towne of the Pelignians, and ſtoode in the center of Italie, where all the confederate people aſſembled when they conſulted of warre againſt the Romaines, for their right of Burgeſshippe, or freedome of the Cittie, which was then denied them: which war was called *Bellū ſociale, Marſicum*, and *Italicum*. There is now nothing remaining of that towne but the ruines, as a marke of the place where it anciently ſtood vpon a Plaine, commonly called Pentina, or Sant Peligno.

Corſinium. Strabo, lib. 6.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey goeth to Brunduſium: Cæſar maketh *meanes to treate with him.*

Cæſar.

Pompey, vnderſtanding of theſe things which had paſt at Corſinium, departed from Luceria, and went to Canuſium, and from thence to Brunduſium; cauſing all the power hee could to be raiſed by new muſters and inrolements, arming ſhepheards and ſlaues, and mounting them on horſebacke; of whō he made ſome 300 horſe. In the meane time, L. Manlius, the Prætor, fled from Alba with ſixe cohorts; and Rutilius Rupus, Prætor, fled from Taracina with three cohorts: who deſcrying a farre off the Caualrie of Cæſar, commaunded by Binius Curius, forſaking the Prætor, turned their Enſignes towards Curius, and ioyned with him. In like manner, the daies following, diuers other cohorts came in as they marched, ſome to the foote troopes, and ſome to the horſe. Cn: Magius of Cremona, maiſter of the workes, and of the munition in Pompeys Army, was taken on the way, and brought backe to Cæſar: whom he ſent backe againe to Pompey, with commiſsion to treat with him to this effect; For-

Nocerum.

aſmuch as there had yet happened no opportunity of meeting or conference, hee was now determined to ſeek him at Brunduſium; for, it much imported the Cõmon-weale, and euery mans ſafety in particular, that they two might confer together. Neither could thinges bee ſo well handled, vpon ſo great a diſtance of way, where the articles of treatie muſt be caried to and fro by a third partie, as when they met face to face to conclude of the conditions.

This meſſage being firſt giuen, he came to Brunduſium with ſixe legions, foure legions of old ſouldiers, and the other raiſed by new inrolements, or made vp as he came along the Countrey: for, he had preſently diſpatched Domitians cohorts from Corſinium into Sicily. At his comming, he found the Conſuls gone ouer to Dyrrachium, with the greateſt part of the Armie, and Pompey remaining at Brunduſium with twentie cohorts. Neither could hee certainely bee informed, whither he remained at Brunduſium to make good the towne, whereby he might the eaſier be maiſter of the Adriatick ſea, and commaund both the vtter parts of Italy, and the Regions of Greece, and ſo to keepe the warre on foote on the one ſide and on the other; or whether he ſtaied there for want of ſhipping. Howſoeuer; he would not endure, that Pompey ſhould thinke hee could not be forced to quit Italie; and therefore reſolued to ſtop vp the mouth of the Hauen, & to take away the vſe thereof, which he went about in this manner: Where the mouth of the Hauen was narroweſt, hee raiſed great mounts of earth on either ſide neere vnto the ſhore; for, there the Sea was ſhallow: but going further into the deepe, where no ſuch mounts could be raiſed, hee placed double flottes of wood, right againſt the ſame mounts, of thirtie foote ſquare; and at the corners caſt out foure Ankers to faſten them. Theſe flottes beeing thus placed, hee then added other flottes of the ſame ſcantling, and couered them with bavin and earth, to the end men might come readily vpon them to defend them. Hee armed them in front and on each ſide, with hurdles and gabions; and on euery fourth flotte, made a towre of two ſtories high, the better to defend them from violence of ſhipping, and from burning.

Cæſar beſieged Pompey at Brunduſiũ, the 23 of Febru. *Ann: vrbis cõd.* 704.

Againſt this worke, Pompey ſent out great ſhips of burthen, which he found in the Hauen, armed with towers of three ſtories high, full of munition, & all ſort of weapons, to hinder and diſturbe the ſame. So that euery day they fought a farre off each with other, with ſlings, arrowes and other caſting weapons. Which buſineſs Cæſar ſo carried, as being willing not to let fall the conditions of peace, if happely it might be effected. And albeit hee greatly wondered that Magius, whom hee had ſent to Pompey, did not returne againe; and that this Treatie ſo often attempted, did hinder much his deſignes: yet hee thought it fitte by all meanes to perſeuer therein: and therefore ſent Caninius Renilus, one of his Legates, and an inward friend, and neere allied to Scribonius Libo, to ſpeake with him, commaunded him to perſwade Libo to mediate a reconciliation, and that Cæſar himſelfe might ſpeake with Pompey. It might be, that thereupon, both of them would yeelde to lay downe their Armes vpon equall conditions: the greateſt part of which honour would redound to Libo, if by his interceſsion the war might take an end.

Pompeys ſon maried Libo his daughter.

Libo, hauing heard Caninius, went ſtraight to Pompey; and within awhile returning,

returning, told him: That forasmuch as the Consuls were absent, there could be nothing done touching an agreement. Where-vpon, Cæsar resolued to let fall the matter of Treatie, which hee had so often attempted, and to prepare for warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis accident of taking Cn: Magius, hath made knowne an officer of great place and vse in the Romaine Armie, of whom otherwise their Histories make little mention. For, howsoeuer there is found in these Commentaries, many particular descriptions of admirable and incredible workes; such as may seem to be made rather by Giants & Cyclops, then any labour of man; yet there is no mention of any *Præfectus Fabrûm*, or Maister of the workes in any of Cæsars Armies. Howbeit, Vegetius, expressing their singular care to haue in abundance all manner of prouisions requisite for an Armie, saith; That to euery legion did belong Carpenters, Bricklaiers, Smithes, Painters, & other Artizans, skilfull and fit to build lodgings for their wintering Campes; to make Engines and deuises for warre; such as were their portatiue, or ambulatorie towres, targets, morions, corslets, bowes, arrowes, darts, and piles: or whatsoeuer else might serue, either for offence or defence. Which Artificers were all knowne by the name of *Fabri*; and he that was Chiefe, and had the commaund of them, was called *Præfectus Fabrûm*. And in like manner, Plutarch sheweth, that there was such an officer; as also, that the place was giuen by the Generall; where hee saith, that Vibius a Sicilian, refused to lodge Cicero, as hee passed to exile, thorough Lucania; although that in his Consulshippe hee had bestowed vpon him the place of *Præfectus Fabrûm*. And albeit Cæsar maketh no mention of any such officer; yet Catullus dooth it for him, in such biting Trimetres as will not be forgotten:

Præfectus Fabrûm.

Lib. 2. cap. 11.

Plutarch in the life of Cicero.

Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati
Nisi impudicus, et vorax et Helluo,
Mamurram habere, quod comata Gallia
Habebat et vltima Britannia?

Of which Mamurra, Plinie thus writeth; Cornelius Nepos, saith hee, writeth, that Mamurra, a Romaine knight, borne at Formia, and Maister of the workes vnder Cæsar, in Gallia, was the first that couered all the walles of his house, which he built in Mount Cælius, with leaues of Marble. Neither let any man disdaine the Author as a meane person; for, this is that Mamurra, whom Catullus dooth note in his verses; vvhose house vvas farre more stately then Catullus did expresse, by saying hee had gotten all the wealth of Gallia Comata. For, the saide Cornelius affirmeth, that hee was the first in Rome that

Lib. 36. cap. 6.

that made the pillars of his houſe of ſolide Marble, euen hewen out of the quarries of Cariſtus, or Luna: Thus farre goeth Pliny. Out of which may be noted, that exorbitancie in gaining, doth produce the like courſe in ſpending; and howſoeuer ſuch commings in may be cloſe and ſecret, yet the illuings out will proclaime it in profuſe and lauiſhing manner: and therefore, ſuch as commaund in theſe places, and haue ſuch meanes to inrich themſelues, had neede to be cleane fingered. Cæſar writing to Oppius, mentioneth the taking of this man, as a thing of ſome note. *Cn: Magium, Pompei Præfectum deprehendi ſcilicet, meo inſtituto vſus ſum, et eum ſtatim miſſum feci: iam duo Præfecti fabrum, in meam poteſtatem venerunt, et à me miſſi ſunt.* Concerning the vſe of theſe manuall Artes, and the prerogatiue they haue in well ordered States; it is to be noted, that without theſe, no Cittie can conueniently be built, fortified, or furniſhed with Armes. And thereupon ſuch Artizans, haue alwaies chalenged a place of chiefe regard in the Common-weale. Whence it was, that Vliſſes ſcorned not *ſe fabrum profiteri.*

Epiſt. ad Attic. lib. 9. Epiſt. 8.

Odiſſ. Homer. 23.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE *Maxime proprium* of warre, is oppoſition; and that vniuerſall, rather then any other kind of repugnancie: for, there is no ſympathiſing condition betweene two enemie Armies, otherwiſe then by mutuall exchange of *velle et nolle*, throughout the whole courſe of their intendements; as may be here obſerued vpon Cæſars arriuall at Brunduſium. For, finding Pompey to remaine there after the departure of the Conſuls, and not certainely informed of the reaſon of his ſtay; leaſt he ſhould think he could not be forced to quit Italy, Cæſar went about to thruſt him out headlong: or otherwiſe, if his purpoſe were to follow after the Conſuls to Dyrrachium, Cæſars deſigne then was to ſhut him in, and ſo to haue followed the rule of contradiction, by which ſouldiers are directed in their atchieuements.

Concerning the ſite of Brunduſium, which hath euer been famous for the commodiouſneſſe of the Hauen, and the vſuall port where the Romaines tooke ſhipping for Greece; being but a hundred Italian miles diſtant from Apollonia in Epirus: We are to note, that the towne ſtandeth vpon a Langet of earth, extended into the Hauen Peninſule-like from the maine land, reſembling the neck and head of a Stagge, and in that regard is called Brunduſium, of βρέντη, which ſignifieth a Stagge: which Langet hath many crooked guts, or inlets of of the Sea, capable of great ſhipping; beſides the two maine Ports on either ſide of the towne, which with the reſt of the Hauen, make the ſafeſt and faireſt roade of that part of the world. The mouth of the Hauen where Cæſar made his flottes, is very ſtraight; and oppoſite therevnto, ſome three miles diſtant into the Sea, ſtandeth a ſmall Iland, to abate the violence and rage of the waues. Now, to beſiege Brunduſium, it was requiſite to take away the vſe and benefit of the Hauen: which Cæſar attempted with ſuch rare and artificiall works (of mounts where the Sea was ſhallowe, and of flottes where the water

Brũduſium quidam Poetæ breuitatis cauſa Brendam dixerunt. Feſtus.


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water was deepe; and thoſe made firme with earth, and fenced with hurdles & turrets) that the Reader may diſcerne it, by the deſcription, to bee a Maiſterpeece of excellent invention.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IT is truly ſaid of old; That peace is not deare at any rate. Which Antiochus well vnderſtood, when he bought it of the Romaines for twelue thouſand Attick talents, and 540000 buſhels of wheate: Eſteeming it as the ſoueraine happineſſe of mans fortune; and an extraordinarie effect of thoſe intelligent ſpirits, which guide the motions of the celeſtiall ſpheres, to keepe the elements in a diſagreeing concord, and the feete of men in the pathes of tranquillitie. Hence it is, that ſuch as are inſtruments of ſo great a good, and ſhall thereby happen to redeeme a Nation from horror and confuſion, haue in all ages been crowned with honor & renowne, as the due rewarde of a Mediatour of Peace. And therefore Cæſar, perſwading Libo to negotiate a ceſsation of Armes, and to worke in Pompey a diſpoſition to an agreement, propounded the honour which attended this ſeruice, and the merit of that endeuour which brought backe peace into the Empire. *Liui. lib. 8. Dec. 4.*

CHAP. X.

Pompey leaueth Brunduſium, and ſhippeth *himſelfe for Greece.*

THE worke beeing halfe perfected, and nine daies labour beſtowed vpon it; the ſhippes that had tranſported the Conſuls and the other part of the Armie, returned from Dyrrachium to Brunduſium: and therevpon, Pompey beganne to fitt himſelfe for a departure; Beeing induced therevnto, eith her by the workes which Cæſar had begunne, or by a reſolution formerly taken to quit Italie. And the better to retard Cæſars proſecution (leaſt vpon his iſſuing out, the ſouldiers ſhould enter the towne) he mured vp the gates, and ſtopt the enterances of the ſtreets and paſſages; ſunke ditches and trenches croſſe the waies, & therin ſtuck ſharp piles & ſtakes; and couering the ſame with ſlight hurdles, leuelled it with thin & light earth: leauing onely two waies free, which went vnto the Hauen, which he hedged in with a ſtrong Paliſado of huge ſharpe Piles. *Cæſar.*

Theſe things beeing thus prepared, he commaunded the ſouldiers to get a ſhipboard, without noiſe or tumult; and left vpon the walles, and in the towers here and there, ſome of the readieſt Slingers and Archers, to bee called away vpon a warning

warning ſigne, when the reſt of the ſouldiers were all ſhipped; appointing Gallies to take them in, at an eaſie and ſafe place. The inhabitants of Brunduſium, oppreſſed with the iniuries and contumelies of Pompeys ſouldiers, did fauor Cæſars partie; and vnderſtanding of this departure, whilſt they were running vp and downe, and buſied about getting aboard, gaue notice thereof from the tops of their houſes. Which beeing perceiued, Cæſar (not to omit any opportunitie of atchieuing his purpoſe) commaunded ladders to bee prepared, and the ſouldiers to take Armes. Pompey a little before night weied Anker: and the ſouldiers keeping guard on the wall, vpon the watch-word giuen, were all called frõ their ſtations, and by knowne paſſages repaired to the ſhippes. Cæſars ſouldiers with Ladders got vpon the wall: but beeing admoniſhed by them of Brunduſium, to take heed of the blind ditch, they ſtood ſtill. At laſt, they were brought a great compaſſe about, and ſo came to the Hauen; and with skiffes and boates, ſeized two ſhips with ſouldiers, which ſtuck by chaunce vpon the Mounts which Cæſar had made.

Cæcum vallum.

OBSERVATIONS.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

FOraſmuch as this manner of Pompeyes departure from Brunduſium, and the ſlight he vſed to imbarke himſelfe and his Armie without danger of Cæſars entering the towne, is commended for one of the beſt ſtratagems of warre that euer he vſed; Let vs a little conſider the parts thereof, which preſent thẽſelues of two ſorts: the one conſiſting of the workes he made, to hinder and retard Cæſars entrance, if happelie hee ſhould haue knowledge of his departure: and the other, in the cleanlie conuaiance of his men aboard, without noiſe or tumult; & the ſemblance hee made of keeping the towne, by continuing watch vpon the walles, to the end there might be no knowledge taken thereof. The workes were of three ſorts. For, firſt hee mured and ſtopped vp the ends and enterances of ſtreets and lanes, which might giue acceſſe to a purſuing enemie. And to that end alſo, hee ſunk ditches, or trenches, croſſe the waies and paſſages: which he ſtuck full of ſharp ſtakes and Galthrops, and couered them with light and thin hurdles, that the Enemie might not eſpy them; And thirdly, hedged in the waies leading to the Port, with a ſtrong Palizado of huge ſharp piles: And ſo vſed both the Lions and the Foxes skin, to auoid the danger which might haue fallen vpon him, if Cæſar happely had found meanes to attache them, as they were incombered in getting to their ſhips, and diſpoſing themſelues to flie away. Which beeing an occaſion that might haue giuen him great aduantage, was in this manner carefullie preuented by Pompey. Howbeit, this his quitting Brunduſium, is cenſured but for a faultie reſolution handſomlie caried: for, Cicero dooth much blame him for abandoning Italie; calling it a Themiſtoclean policie, to perſwade his partie to forſake their Countrey, and to leaue the beſt of their pleaſures, and the weakeſt of each ſexe, to ſuch miſerie and deſolation, as moued pittie in thoſe that conſidered but the condition of the dogges, and brute beaſtes;

Cicer. Epiſt. ad Atticum.

beaſtes; as it fell out at Athens, when Themiſtocles perſwaded the Athenians to leaue their towne and Countrey, and betake themſelues wholly to ſea, to fight againſt Xerxes.

CHAP. XI.

Cæſar diſpatcheth forces into Sardinia and Sicilie. *Catos endeuour to keepe Sicily for* Pompey.

Cæſar.

Albeit Cæſar well knew, that it much imported a ſpeedy end of the buſineſs, to get ſhippes and paſſe the Seas after Pompey, before hee could ioyne himſelfe with the forces of the tranſmarine parts; yet doubting the lets, and the long time before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with him all the ſhipping he could get, and therby left him for the preſent no meanes to follow after: it remained that hee attended ſhipping to be brought from remote parts; as, out of Gallia, from Ancona and the Streights: which at that time of the yeere, would require a long and troubleſome paſſage. In the meane time, he thought it no way fit, that Pompeys old Army, & the two Prouinces of Spaine, ſhould be ſettled and aſſured; (one of them being deepelie ingaged to Pompey for many great and ample benefits) or that they ſhould haue time to raiſe new troopes, eſpecially of horſe; or that Gallia or Italie ſhould bee ſolicited or wrought from him in his abſence: And therefore for the preſent, reſolued to deſiſt from making any further purſute after Pompey, and to goe into Spaine; giuing order to the Duumviri *of all the Municipall townes, to prouide ſhipping, and ſend it to Brunduſium. He ſent Valerius, a Legate, into Sardinia, with one legion; and Curio, the Proprætor, into Sicily with three legions; commaunding him, after he had poſſeſſed Sicily, to tranſport his Armie into Affrica. Marcus Cotta gouerned Sardinia, and M. Cato Sicily. Tubero ſhould by lotte haue held Affrica.*

Bailieffes.

The Caralitani, vnderſtanding that Valerius was to be ſent vnto them, before he had left Italy, of their own accord thruſt Cotta out of the towne. Cotta amuſed thereat, and perceiuing withall, that the whole Prouince gaue conſent vnto it, fled preſently out of Sardinia into Affrica. Cato prepared and new trimmed the Gallies in Sicily, giuing order to the townes to build new, and proſecuting his direction with great diligence: Moreouer, by his Legats, muſtered and inrolled Cittizens of Rome, in Lucania and Brutia, requiring rateable numbers of horſe and foote from the townes in Sicilie. Which thinges beeing almoſt accompliſhed, vnderſtanding of Curio his comming, he complained in publique how he was abandoned and betraied by Pompey; who, without any prouidence or preparation, had ingaged himſelfe in an vnneceſſary warre: and yet beeing demaunded

ded by himſelfe, and the reſt in the Senate, anſwered confidently, that hee was prouided of all neceſſaries fit for warre: And after he had thus publiquely complained, fled out of the Prouince. By which meanes, Valerius found Sardinia, and Curio Sicily, voide of gouernment, and there brought their Armies.

Tubero, arriuing in Affrica, found Atius Varus commaunding the Prouince: who (as wee haue formerly ſhewed) hauing loſt his cohorts at Auximum, fled forth-with into Affrica; and of his owne authorite, poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Prouince, which he found without a Gouernour. He got together by new inrolements, two compleat legions, which hee raiſed by his knowledge and experience of the people of that Country, by reaſon hee had gouerned that Prouince as Prætor ſome few yeeres before. Tubero, arriuing with his fleet at Vtica, was by Varus kept out of the towne and the Hauen; neither would he ſuffer him to ſet his ſonne aſhore, which was ſicke, but compelled him to wey Anker and depart.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

THis Chapter maketh the firſt period of this warre, as it is taken from the beginning of theſe Ciuill broiles, vnto Pompeys forſaking Italie, which was begun and ended in the ſpace of 60 daies: and alſo openeth the gate to ſecond reſolutions, which are proſecuted, as the ſequell of the Hiſtorie will manifeſt: Containing likewiſe the reaſons, why Cæſar made not preſent purſute after Pompey, as the hinges of the ſucceeding warre, and the true cauſes of the conſequents of the ſame. In the cõſideration whereof, albeit Cæſar vnderſtood the advantage of him that proſecuteth a receding enemie, and the hopes which might be thereby conceiued of a ſpeedie end of that warre; yet hauing no ready meanes to accompliſh his deſire, thought it better to prevent ſuch inconveniences as might happely haue fallen out vpon the ſame: and ſo to keepe his partie in a progreſſe of their actiue thoughts, by clearing and aſſuring that Weſterne part of the Empire, which Pompey had left vnto him by his departure; rather then to leaue an enemie on his back, or to admit a cooling and languiſhment of their reſolutions, through expectation of ſhipping, to follow that courſe which otherwiſe had beene without exception.

Tueri quæſita difficilius eſt, quàm acquirere; quoniam in acquirendo, ignauia poſſidentis ſæpe plus confert quã propria virtus: tueri autem quæſita, ſine propria virtute nemo poteſt. D. Toſilæ Zonoras.

In the cariage whereof, we may obſerue, that as vpon the firſt breaking out of theſe troubles, they ſcambled for the townes of Italie, & ſought to ſtrengthen their parties, by ſuch as had no voice in the grand Chapter of the Senate, but onely inioyed the benefit of Municipall rights; ſo now beeing parted aſunder, and the contagion of this inteſtine euill ſpred abroad, and grown to more ripeneſs, they made like haſte to faſten vpon the remoter Prouinces, wherein Cæſar had the better portion. For, in his ſhare, were contained Italia, Gallia, Britannia, Hiſpania, Sicilia; which beeing the prime Countreys of Europe, were conſequently the flowre of that Empire, for that Europe hath euer been taken for the principall and chiefeſt part of the world.

Europa prima et præſtãtiſſima mundi pars. Appian.

Europa altrix victoris omnium gentium populi longeque terrarũ pulcherrima. Plin. lib. 3. c. 1.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, wee may obſerue, in Cato, the effects of a Stoicall or formall ſpirit, which are more valuable in the enſignes of peace, then in the difficulties of warre. For, howſoeuer hee made ſhew of beſtirring himſelfe, in rigging and trimming vp the Gallies of his Prouince, commaunding more to be built, raiſing new troopes of horſe & foote, and proſecuting his commaunds with purpoſe of an exact account: yet in the end, vnderſtanding of Curio his comming, ſpent his furie in complayning of his friends, and laying the cauſe of thoſe garboiles vpon him, whom by election and conſent he had formerly ſet vp, to make head againſt ſuch, as otherwiſe may be ſuppoſed would haue contained themſelues in a better meaſure of moderation.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar goeth to Rome; and, calling a Senate, complaineth of the iniuries done vnto him.

THeſe things beeing ended, that the ſouldiers might for the reſidue of the time bee a little eaſed and refreſhed, Cæſar brought them backe into the next Municipall townes; hee himſelfe went directlie to the Cittie: and hauing called a Senate, he laieth open the iniuries and wrongs offered vnto him by his Aduerſaries; ſheweth them, that he neuer ſought honour in the State by extraordinary meanes, onely hee looked to haue enioyed the full time of his Conſulſhip, and there-with to haue been contented: which was no more then any Cittizen might ſtand for. The Tribunes of the people had required, that conſideration might be had of him in his abſence, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his enemies, and Cato his bitter reſiſtance; ſpending the time after his old manner, with long and tedious ſpeeches: which if Pompey (beeing Conſull) had diſliked, why did he ſuffer that to paſſe which was enacted? But if then he did allow and like of it, what reaſon had he to hinder him from inioying a benefit which the people of Rome had beſtowed vpon him? From that, hee fell to ſpeake of his patience: which appeared, in that of his owne accord, hee mooued that either party might quit their forces; which might haue bin very preiudiciall to his honour and dignitie: Declared what had beene the malice and bitterneſs of his Aduerſaries; who refuſed to doe that themſelues, which they required of another man: chooſing rather to imbroile and confound the whole State, then to forgoe the commaund of an Armie: Spake at large as well of the wrong done vnto him, by taking the two legions from him, as alſo for their hard and inſolent dealing, in putting the Tribunes of the people by their place and authoritie.

He forgot not likewiſe to relate the conditions which he propounded; the conference which he deſired, and would not be graunted. In regard whereof, hee praied and required, that they would take the charge of the Common-weale, and giue a helping hand to him for the gouernment thereof. But, if they ſhould vpon any doubt or miſtruſt, refuſe to ioyne with him, hee would not much importune them, but would take it into his owne handes; and in the meane time, let Commiſsioners bee ſent to Pompey to treat of peace. Neither did hee reſpect what Pompey a little before had ſaide in the Senate (That to whom ſoeuer Embaſſadours were ſent, to ſuch ſeemed to be aſcribed Authoritie and Preheminence; as, on the contrary part, ſuch as ſent thē, manifeſted an apprehenſion of feare); for, theſe were arguments of puſillanimitie. For his part, as he had gone beyond him in deedes of Armes and noble acts; ſo would hee in like manner, endeuour to excell him in iuſtice and equitie.

The Senators were well pleaſed that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent: but there was no man found that would go; euery man refuſing in particular, for feare of Pompey: who, vpon his departure from Rome, had ſaide in the Senate, That hee would hold him that ſtaied at Rome, in the ſame condition with them that were in Cæſars Campe. So that three daies were ſpent in debate and excuſes; L. Metellus. *L: Metellus, Tribune of the people, beeing drawne by Cæſars aduerſaries, to protract the time, and to hinder any matter which Cæſar ſhould propound vnto them.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIrſt, wee may obſerue, how irkeſome it is to humane nature, for him that hath taſted the ſweetneſſe of authoritie, to forgoe the raines of commaund, and againe to inrolle his name in the liſt of common dutie; deſcending from the throne of ſoueraintie, to the condition of obedience, & to loſe his eminencie in reſpectleſs equalitie: eſpecially, if the honour be Militarie, and of Martiall nature. For, that faſteneth on vs with a ſtronger hold, then any other power; beeing leſſe capable of moderation, and waited on with the eyes and expectation of preſent and future ages. Whereby, men growe deſperatly iealous of the opinion of the world, and cannot indure to quit themſelues of that care, although they haue attained to the ful time of their deliuerance: but to be ſupplanted in the midſt of ſo glorious a race, or to be pulled out of the ſeate of Magiſtracie, by an abortiue miſcariage, is able to inrage an ambitious ſpirit, ſo farre beyond the bounds of modeſtie, that it will not ſpare any endeuor, to confound the greateſt Empire, with irrecouerable calamities.

Felicitatis et moderationis diuduum, Contubernium.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, wee may obſerue the diſpoſition of thoſe Senators, that by their ſtaying at Rome, became neutrall in that Faction; and there-vpon, refuſed either to take Cæſars commaundes, or to preſent themſelues to Pompey, as Mediators of peace. Plutarch hath two reaſons why the Senators would vndertake no ſuch matter of Commiſsion as was required by Cæſar. The firſt is this which is heere expreſſed; euery man fearing the diſpleaſure of Pompey, who at his departure from Rome, had proteſted to hold them for enemies that went not along with him: where-as Cæſar cenſured their forbearance with better advantage to himſelfe; and tooke their neutralitie as an argument of becomming his followers. The other reaſon which Plutarch auoucheth, is the opinion which the Senators had of Cæſars double dealing; as not carying his hart in his mouth, but pretending that which he neuer meant. For, they could not be perſwaded that his end was a ceſſation of Armes, or ſuch a peace with Pompey as ſhould haue kept on foot their auncient libertie; but ſought rather pretexts of good meaning, to colour his deſigne of making Rome his ſeruant. Howſoeuer; wee may not omit what is reported to haue happened betweene him and Metellus, more then hee himſelfe ſpeaketh of. For, going about to take Money out of the Treaſurie, hee was there ſtoutly reſiſted by this Metellus, of whom hee complaineth; alleadging the Lawes and Acts of the State, forbidding any man to touch that Money, but in ſuch times of extreamitie as vvere therein expreſſed.

Denunciante Pompeio pro hoſtibus ſe habiturum qui reipub. deſuiſſent: ipſe medios et neutrius partis, ſuorum ſibi numero, futuros pronunciauit. Sueton. 75. Cicero. 10. Epiſt. ad Atticũ. Plutarch. Lucan. Appian. Florus.

To which, Cæſar anſwered; That thoſe Lawes were onely made for time of peace: but now, Armes and warre required an other courſe of proceeding. Neuertheleſſe, Metellus would not ſuffer him to breake open the doores, vntill Cæſar aduiſed him to be gone if he loued his life; for, it was eaſier for him to diſpatch him then to ſpeake it: and ſo entered and caried away the Treaſure. VVhere-vpon, groweth that of Florus; *Cenſum et patrimonium populi Romani, antè rapuit quàm Imperium.*

Non niſi per noſtrum vobis perꝛuſſa patebunt templa latus, nullaſque feres, ſine ſanguine ſacro, ſparſas, raptor opes. Lucan. lib. 3.

And Appian, deriding the ſcrupuloſitie of the auncient Romaines, that would not touch that Treaſure but in extreamitie of warre againſt the Celtes or Galles, ſaith; that Cæſar might lawfullie take it; for that hee had vanquiſhed and ſubdued the Galles; vvhereby the Romaines had no further cauſe to feare them.

Dignũ te Cæſaris ira, nullus honor faciet. Idem eodem.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſar leaueth the Cittie, goeth into Gallia, *and treateth with the Marſellians.*



Aeſar, perceiuing their reſolution, after hee had ſpent there ſome few daies (that he might not loſe any more time, and leaue thoſe things vndone which he purpoſely intended) hee left the Cittie, and went into the further Gallia. Vpon his arriuall there, hee vnderſtood that Pompey had ſent into Spaine, Vibullius Rufus, whom Cæſar had a little before taken at Corfinium and diſmiſſed him: and that Domitian likewiſe was gone to take Marſelleis, with eight Gallies, which he ſet out from Sicilia and Sardinia, and manned them with ſlaues, men infranchiſed, and his owne husbandmen: Sending, as meſſengers before, certaine young noble men of Marſelleis, with whō Pompey vpon his departure from the Citty had earneſtly dealt, that Cæſars new fauours, might not put out of their remembrance the old benefits which hee had done vnto them. Thoſe of Marſelleis hauing receiued this meſſage, ſhut their gates againſt Cæſar; called into the Cittie the Albicans, barbarous & mountainous people (who of auncient time had held amitie with them, and dwelt vpon the hilles aboue Marſelleis) brought Corne from all the adiacent Regions & Caſtles into the towne; ſet vp offices & forges to make Armes; repaired both their walles, their nauie, and their gates.

*Cæſar called out vnto him ſome fifteene of the chiefeſt men of Marſelleis, and treated with them, that the beginning of the warre might not growe from that towne; who ſhould rather follow the example of all Italie, then apply themſelues to the will of any one man: not omitting ſuch other perſwaſions as hee thought pertinent to a ſound reſolution. Theſe men reported at Marſelleis what Cæſar had deliuered, and by the common conſent of the towne, returned this aunſwer; That they vnderſtood, that the people of Rome was diuided into two parts, neither was it in them to iudge, or could they diſcerne which of the two was in the right. The Leaders of theſe two factions, were Pompey and Cæſar, both ſpeciall Patrons and Benefactors to their Cittie; of whom, one had augmented the publique reuenewes of the State, and indowed it with the landes and territories of the Volgi, Arecomici, and the Heluÿ: The other, hauing conquered and ſubdued *Gallias, gaue it vnto them; whereby their tributarie In-comes were much augmented; and therefore, as they were equallie bound to both for their fauours, ſo would they carie to both an equall reſpect, not ayding either of them againſt the other, or receiuing them within their gates.*

By this Gallias, is vnderſtood ſome place neere to Marſelleis.

Whileſt theſe thinges were in handeling, Domitius arriued at Marſelleis vvith his ſhipping; and beeing receiued in, was made Gouernour of the Cittie, and

and had the whole direction of the warre cõmitted vnto him. By his appointment, the fleet was ſent out into all Coaſts; and ſuch ſhippes of burthen as they found, they brought in: the nailes, timber, and tackling whereof, they tooke to mend and rigge out other ſhips. What Corne ſoeuer was found in the Cittie, was brought in publique keeping; reſeruing the ſurplus of victuall and prouiſion, for a ſiedge, as occaſion ſhould require.

Cæſar, prouoked with theſe iniuries, brought three legions to Marſelleis, determined to make towres and mantelets ready for an aſſault, and to builde twelue new Galleis at Arles: which were armed, rigged, finiſhed, & brought to Marſelleis, within thirtie dayes after the timber was cut downe. Of theſe he made D. Brutus Admirall, and left C. Tribonius to follow the ſiedge.

OBSERVATION.

FRom the Marſellians we may learne, that it is farre eaſier to ſay well then to doe well; for, howſoeuer they were able to diſcerne the truth, and to giue an anſwere to Cæſar, well-beſeeming the fame and opinion of their literature and knowledge (beeing an Academie little inferiour to the beſt, and in latter times more frequented by the Romaines, for the ſtudie of Oratorie and Philoſophy, then Athens, or any other ſuch chiefe ſeate of the Muſes); yet in their actions they diſavowed all: taking vpon them moſt vnſeaſonably to arbitrate thoſe differences, and to ſhew their opinion of the quarell, by taking part with one faction. Wherein their errour the more appeared, in that the partie grieued was not liable to their award, but rather had occaſion to gaine thereby a double honor to himſelfe; firſt, by forcing them, and then by pardoning their raſhneſs. And yet ſome VVriters doe thinke, they did no more then they were tied vnto by former treaties, and leagues with the Empire (which they tooke to conſiſt in Pompeys partie) whereof they were loiall & zealous confederates; as appeareth by their loue, when Rome was taken by the Galles: for, hauing newes therof, and vnderſtanding of the compoſition which was to bee made to raiſe the ſiedge from the Capitoll, they prouided all the gold & ſiluer they could get, & ſent it to Rome for that ſeruice. In regard whereof, they were indowed with manie Priuiledges and Immunities, both in the Cittie, and elſwhere in the Empire. Howſoeuer, their hap being to reſpect more an exact obſeruaunce of what had paſſed, then the fatall ſucceeding courſe of things, drew vpon them a ſharpe and bitter warre; whereof they could not bee freed, but by ſubmitting themſelues to his mercy whom they had reiected. And thus wee ſee verified that of the Poet;

Auguſto duum vetuſtiſſima poſt Maſſiliã bonarum artiũ ſedes. Taci. 3. Annal. Strabo. lib. 4.

Cumque alij famæ populi, terrore pauerent, Phocaii in dubijs auſa eſt ſeruare ventus. Non Graia lenitate fidē, ſignataque iura, et cauſas non fata ſequi. Lucan. l. 3

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achiui. *Horace.*

VVhich implieth alſo how dangerous it is, for men of authoritie and imploiment, to be ſubiect to wilfull ambition. For, as their ſeruice is of great importance to gouernment, when it is attended with well qualified affections; ſo are their motions as fearefull, which are carried with the violence of exorbitant

paſſions: eſpecially, conſidering the meanes they haue, either to miſimploy the power of the State, or to giue way to ſuch inconveniences, as may neceſſarily peruert all things but the ends they aime at: beſides the aptneſs of a high ſpirit, not to doubt the truth of that ſaying which is attributed to Cæſar, *Si violandum eſt ius, regnandi gratia violandum eſt.*

CHAP. XIIII.

Cæſar haſteth into Spaine.

Afranius.

Hileſt theſe thinges were prepared and put in order, he ſent C: Fabius, one of his Legates, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbone, before him into Spaine; commaunding him with all ſpeed and diligence to take the paſſage of the Pyrenean hills, vvhich were kept at that time with the forces of L: Afranius: and gaue order for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow after. Fabius, according to his directions, made haſte, put the Garizon from the paſſage, and by great iourneys marched towards Afranius Armie.

Petreius.
Varro.
* *Saltus caſtulonenſis.*
* *Guadiana.*
Iure pari rector, caſtris Afranius illis, ac Petreius erat. Lucan. l. 3.

*Vpon the arriuall of Vibullius Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was ſent by Pompey into Spaine, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro; Pompeys Legates (of whom the one gouerned the neereſt Prouince of Spaine with three legions, the other, held the Country from the * forreſt of Caſtile, to the riuer * Aua, with two legions; and the third commaunded the Vectones and Luſitania, with the like number of legions) did ſo diſpoſe and diuide their charges, that Petreius was appointed to bring his legions out of Luſitania, through the territories of the Vectones, and ioyne himſelfe with Afranius: and that Varro, with his power, ſhould keepe the further Prouince of Spaine. Which beeing ſo reſolued & determined, Petreius hauing commaunded the Luſitanians to leuie horſemen, and other Auxiliarie forces; and Afranius likewiſe hauing made the like leuie, in the territories of the * Celtiberi, * Cantabri, and the reſt of the barbarous Nations bordering vpon the Ocean: Petreius came ſpeedily through the Vectones to Afranius; and induced by the opportunitie of the place, by mutuall conſent, reſolued to keep the warre on foote neere about Ilerda.*

Nos Celtis geniti, et ex Iberis. Martial. lib. 4.
* *A valiãt people, deſcended from Lacedemon: of whom Sil. Ital. ſaith*
Damnatiũ viuere paci.
Scutati.
Cetrati.
Nonius, Cetra, ſcutum breue. Quis rotundam facere cetrã nequeat?

There were with Afranius (as formerly hath been ſhewed) three legions, beſides Targettiers of the neerer Prouince, & Buckler-bearers of the further Prouince, ſome 80 cohorts, and of both Prouinces about 5000 horſe. Cæſar had ſent his legions into Spaine, accompanied onely with ſixe thouſand Auxiliary forces, and three thouſand horſe, which had been with him in the former warres. And the Galles at his requeſt furniſhed him with the like number; beſides the nobleſt and valianteſt amongſt them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow him in that warre. To theſe were added the better ſort of the Aquitani, and high-landers, borderers vpon the Prouince in Gallia. Hee was aduertiſed that

Euocati.

Pompey

Pompey was on his iourney, coming through Mauritania into Spaine; and that he would ſpeedily be there with his legions: and therevpon, hee borrowed money of the Centurions and Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and gaue it to his Armie; wherby he gained two points: for, firſt he ingaged the Captaines by that lone to indeuour his good ſucceſſe; and ſecondly, bought the good affections of the ſouldiers by largeſs and diſtribution. Fabius omitted no opportunity, to get the fauour of the Cities neere about him: which he labored aſwel by Letters as Meſſengers, & had already made two bridges ouer the riuer Sicoris, diſtant one from another about foure miles, and ouer theſe bridges ſent out his men to forrage; for he had ſpent all that was to be found on this ſide the riuer. The ſame thing, and vpon the ſame occaſion, did the Leaders of Pompeys Armie; and oftentimes their Caualry met & incountred together. And as it hapned, that 2 legions going out to forrage according to their daily cuſtome, and had paſſed the riuer, the cariage & the Caualry following after, vpon a ſudden (by the ouerpeſtering of horſes, and ſwelling of the water) the bridge brake; and the reſt of the Caualry was ſecluded & cut off from the legions. Which Petreius and Afranius perceiuing, by the hurdles and planks that came downe the riuer; Afranius, preſently by the bridge which was adioyning to the towne & his Camp, put ouer 4 legions, and all his Caualrie, & went to meet with Fabius his 2 legions. Vpon whoſe approche, L: Plancus that commanded the legions, being conſtrained by neceſsity, tooke the vpper ground, diuiding his men into two Battalions, & making their fronts to ſtand 2 contrary waies, to the end they might not be circũvented by the horſemen. And although the number were very farre vnequall, yet hee valiantly withſtood very violent charges of the enemy. The Caualrie beeing thus ingaged, the Enſignes of two legions were deſcried afar off, which Fabius had ſent by way of the further bridge, to ſecond theſe other two; ſuſpecting that which was come to paſſe, that the Cõmaunders of the aduerſe Army, would take the occaſion and benefit of this accident, to cut off our partie. Vpon whoſe approche, the battell ceaſed; and the legions on either ſide were brought backe into their Campes.*

Heſperios inter, Sicoris non vltimus Amnis,
Saxeus ingenti, quem pons Amplectitur arcu,
Hibernas paſſurus aquas.
Lucan. lib.

Plancus ſiue Plãtius, à Planitie pedum, Splayfooted.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THE firſt obſeruation may be taken, from this deſigne of Cæſars vpon Spaine, beeing at that time vnder the gouernment and commaund of Pompey; The ſtanding or falling whereof, did much import the ſucceſſe of that warre: for which reſpect it was, that when Cæſar could not buckle with the perſon of his enemy, hee vſed all meanes to beat downe his authoritie, as the next in degree to his eſſence and beeing, and moſt concerning his honour and reputation. For, if he tooke from him thoſe Prouinces, which the State had commended to his charge, and left him no intereſt in the obedience of ſuch, whom he might in a ſort challenge for his owne people; what aſſurance could the other parts of the Empire haue in his protection? or what coulde hee elſwhere expect of that which theſe refuſed him?

The

Lib. Ethic. 4.

The excellencie of a Generall, is that perfection of iudgement commended by Ariſtotle, inabling him to diſcerne, *quid primum*, or what is moſt materiall in that varietie of vndertaking, which falleth out in following a warre. And if that cannot with any conueniencie be attained, then to know the next point of importance, and ſo conſequentlie to diſtinguiſh the degrees of difference, as they ſtand ranked in the order of iudicious proceeding.

For the effectuall proſecuting of which deſigne, let vs take a ſhort view of their forces on each ſide, according as we find them muſtered in this chapter; that by the inequalitie of their troopes, we may iudge of the want or ſufficiencie of their directions. Afranius, as it is ſaid in the ſtorie, had three legions, and Petreius two legions, together with 80 cohorts of Auxiliarie forces, ſupplied vnto them by the two Prouinces of Spaine; which cohorts equalled the number of eight legions: and ſo in all, made thirteene legions. And according to the vſuall rate at that time of 5000 in a legion, amounted to 65000 men, together with 5000 horſe; which came to ſeauentie thouſand men, or thereabouts.

Petreius and Afranius had 70000 men, or thereabouts.

To confront ſo great an enemy, Cæſar had fiue legions, 12000 Auxiliarie troopes from the Galles, and peraduenture 1000 Euocati: which according to the former rate of a legion, did riſe to 35000, or 40000 men at the moſt.

Cæſar 35000.

Whereby the one exceeding the other, well neere in a double proportion of ſtrength, and yet failing in coreſpondencie of ſucceſſe, calleth the verity of that prouerbe in queſtion, *Ne Hercules contra duos*. Beſides, the inequalitie of the place, where the triall was to bee made, being wholly deuoted to the greater partie; which is a matter of no ſmall conſequence. For, hee that maketh warre in a Countrey, abſolute in fauouring the enemie and confronting his purpoſes, had need of more forces then the aduerſe partie, or better fortune in his proceedings. And therefore Fabius, to preuent ſuch miſchiefes as might grow by that aduantage, ſought all meanes to draw ſome of the townes to his faction; and to make himſelfe friends for his better ſupport and ſecuritie, according to that which was ſaid of old; That warre cannot be made without ſome peace.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, wee may obſerue the meanes he vſed, to ſecure himſelfe of the loyaltie of his Armie, and whollie to ingage the ſoldier in his fortune. For, the money hee borrowed of the Tribunes and Centurions, was a ſpeciall Tie of their affections to his ſeruice; foraſmuch as no man wiſheth ill to him, by vvhoſe welfare and proſperitie he hopeth to thriue; for, ſo (wounding himſelfe throgh another mans bodie) the hurt would fall vpon his owne head: but rather deſireth ſuch an accompliſhment of his hopes, as may make himſelfe partaker thereof. And on the other ſide, the largeſs he made vnto the ſouldiers, did ſo oblige their indeuour to his purpoſes, that they were thereby readie to performe as much as warlike Lælius had promiſed in his owne perſon, on the behalfe

Rables ſaith, that the Creditor wiſheth all good to his Debtors.

Lælius.

behalfe of the reſt.

Pectore ſi fratris gladium, iuguloque Parentis
Condere me iubeas, plenaque in viſcera partu
Coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra.

Iucan. li. 1.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, let vs conſider the effects of diligence and prouident foreſight, which doe oftentimes redeeme an Armie from a diſhonourable ouerthow; as may be learned from two circumſtances in Fabius directions. Firſt, in that he truſted not to one paſſage ouer the riuer Sicoris, but made two ſeuerall bridges, as well for the cõueniencie as the better ſecuritie of his people. Secondly, vpon the occaſion which the enemie might take by the breaking of the bridge, to diſtreſſe the legions on the other ſide of the water, hee preſently ſent out ſuccours to preuent ſuch a caſualtie: which albeit might ſeeme to haue proceeded out of curious ſuſpicion, or idle feare, yet fell out to be no more then was requiſite and expedient. Which may teach a Generall to be carefull euen of poſsibilities; and to preuent contingencies, with the certaintie of induſtrious directions: accounting alwaies that which may happen, to be as certaine as any thing we moſt expect.

Vni antro non fidit mus.

Quicquid fieri poteſt, quaſi futurum cogitemus. Senec. Epiſt. 24.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

COncerning Spaine, wee are to note, that the Romaines at firſt diuided it into two Prouinces, which they called the Neerer, & the Further; or according to Strabo, the Vtter and the Inner; and were ſeparated aſunder by the riuer Iberus. And thence alſo they were called *Cis Iberum, et vltra Iberum*. The Neerer Prouince, beeing the leſſer, continued without alteration during the Romaines gouernment, and was ſomtimes called *Tarraconenſis Prouincia*, of Tarraco, the principall towne of the ſame. But the Further, in proceſſe of time was diuided into two partes; the one called *Betica*, and the other *Luſitania:* and ſo the whole Region of Spaine came to be diuided into three Prouinces. It was firſt entered by the Romaines, by occaſion of the notable ſiedge of of Sagunt: for, P. Scipio, hauing ſubdued the Carthaginians, reduced Spaine into a Prouince, and left it gouerned by Proconſuls, vnto the time of Cornelius Lentulus, & Lucius Stertinius. Afterwards, it was gouerned by Proprætors, and ſometimes by Prætors, according as the Empire came to be inlarged; and had therby many gouernments, for the preferment of ſuch as had ſupplied the better places of dignitie in the State. Neuertheleſſe, in the times of trouble, the Gouernours had alwaies Conſularie power; as, in the warre againſt Sertorius, *Quintus Metellus*, Proconſull, *et Cn: Pompeius, Queſtor, cum Conſulari poteſtate miſsi ſunt:* And at this time, Pompey gouerned it by two Deputies or Legates. Touching the

Spaine.
Citerior, et Vlterior.
Exterior, et Interior. lib. 3.

Anno 8 C. 555.

Liuie.

the forme and figure of the Countrey, Strabo likeneth it to an Oxe hide: the necke whereof ioyneth to the Pyrenean hilles, which riſe in towres from one Sea to another, as limits and bounds between France and Spaine; taking their name (as ſome thinke) from Pyrene, the Maid that Hercules deflowred, whom Sil. Ital. mentioneth.

Pyrene celſa nimboſi verticis arce
Diuiſos Celtis, latè proſpectat Iberos;
Atque æterna tenet magnis diuortia terris
Hoſpitis Alcidæ crimen: qui ſorte laborum
Gerionis peteret cùm longa tricorporis arma
Poſſeſſus, Baccho, ſæua Bebrycis in aula
Lugendam formæ, ſine virginitate reliquit
Pyrenem.
Defletumque tenent Montes per ſecula nomen.

Lib. 5. In libro de Mirandis auſcultationibus.

But according to the opinion more generally receiued, of the Greeke word πῦρ; for that Shepheards and Heardſmen ſet them once on fire, as witneſſeth Diodorus Siculus. And Ariſtotle; *In Hiberia (inquit) combuſtis aliquando paſtoribus Syluis, calenteque ignibus terra, manifeſtum argentum defluxiſſe: cumque poſtmodum terræ motus ſuſperueniſſet, eruptis hiatibus, magnam copiam argenti collectam; atque inde Maſſilienſibus proventus non vulgares obtigiſſe.* The Countrey of Spaine is commended for many things, as may appeare by diuers Elogies: amongſt which, that of Claudianus the Poet is written, as though the Author had been a penſioner to the Kingdome.

Quid dignum memorare tuis Hiſpania terris
Vox humana valet? primo lauat æquore ſolem
India: tu feſſos, exacta luce, iugales
Proluis, inque tuo reſpirant ſydera fluctu.
Diues equis, frugum facilis, pretioſa metallis,
Principibus fœcunda pijs.

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar, comming to his Armie, aduaunceth forward, and incampeth neere vnto the Enemie.

Cæſar.

Within two dayes after, Cæſar came into the Campe with nine hundred horſe, which he had kept with him for a conuoy. The bridge broken by the tempeſt, was almoſt reedified; and that which remained vndone, he commaunded to be finiſhed in the night. And hauing ſeene the nature and ſituation of the place, he left ſixe cohorts to keepe the Campe & the bridge, with all the cariages of the Armie. And the next day, putting all

all his forces into a triple battell, he marched towards Ilerda: and there ſtanding awhile in Armes, offered battell, in an equall and indifferent place. Afranius brought out his forces, and made a ſtand in the midſt of the hill, vnder his Campe. Cæſar, perceiuing that Afranius at that time was not diſpoſed to fight, determined to incampe himſelfe ſome 400 paſes from the foot of the hill. And leaſt the ſouldiers ſhould be interrupted in their workes, by the ſudden aſſaults and incurſions of the enemy, he forbade thē to fortifie it with a rampire or wall, which muſt neceſſarily be diſcouered and ſeene afarre of; but cauſed a ditch to be made of fifteene foote in breadth, in the front of the Campe next vnto the Enemie. The firſt and ſecond battell (according as was directed) continued in Armes; and the third battell performed the worke behind them vnſeene, before it was vnderſtood by Afranius that Cæſar would incampe in that place. Which beeing finiſhed, he drew his legions within the ditch, and ſo ſtood in Armes all night.

Prono tum Cæſar Olympo, in noctem ſubita circumdedit agmina foſſa, dum primæ præſtant acies, hoſtemque fefellit. Luc. l. 4.

The next day, he kept all his Armie within the ditch. And foraſmuch as the matter to make the Rampier was to be fetched farre off, hee kept the like courſe for the finiſhing of the reſt; allotting each ſide of the Campe, to be fortified by a ſeuerall legion, with a ditch to be ſunk about, of the ſame ſcantling: and in the meane time, made the other legions to ſtand ready in Armes againſt the enemie.

Afranius and Petreius, to the end they might amuſe the ſouldier, and hinder the worke, brought downe their forces to the foote of the hill, and prouoked them to fight. Howbeit, Cæſar intermitted not the worke, truſting to III *legions in Armes, and the munition of the ditch. The Enemy not making any long ſtay, or aduauncing further then the foote of the hill, ledde backe their troopes into the Campe. The third day, Cæſar fortified his Campe with a Rampire; and cōmaunded the reſt of the cohorts and the cariages which were left in the other Campes, to be brought vnto him.*

OBSERVATION.

IT may be obſerued for Cæſars cuſtome throughout the whole courſe of his warres, to approche as neere the enemie as conueniently he could; that ſo he might the better obſerue his paſſages, and be ready to take the fauour of any opportunitie, which either the nature of the place, or the motions of the aduerſary would afford him. Which was the rather his aduantage, in regard of his dexteritie, and ſuperlatiue knowledge in the vſe of Armes, together with the experience of his old legions: whereby he was able, not onely to improue his owne deſsignes to the vtmoſt of an honourable ſucceſſe, but to returne the diſgrace of any attempt made vpon his Armie, vpon the heads of them that were authors of the ſame. For, otherwiſe, his accoſting ſo neere an enemie, might haue turned to his owne loſſe; as beeing full of hazard, & ſubiect to more caſualties then hee that ſtandeth further off. And therefore the rule is; that he that deſireth to ſit neere his adverſarie, muſt be exceeding circumſpect, and ſure of ſome aduantage, either from

from the place, or the ouer-awing power of his forces, or elſe out of his owne vertue, or by ſome other meanes, to ouer-ſway the inconveniences which attend ſuch ingagements. As may appeare by that which Frontinus obſerueth hence, touching the ſtraight, wher-into Cæſar was fallen; being either to giue batteli, which the enemie refuſed: or to make good that place, from whence he could not retreit but with danger. Whereupon, a little before night hee ſtole the making of a ditch on the backe of his Armie; and retiring himſelfe within the ſame, ſtood in Armes all night, for his better ſafetie.

Lib. 1. cap. 5.

The vſe of ſuch ditches are of much importance, and haue oftentimes redeemed an Armie from great extreamities: and were ſo frequent vpon all occaſions with the Romaines, that he that ſhall deny them to be good ditchers, ſhall doe them wrong. And not onely they, but other Nations, could tell how to make vſe of the Spade.

Pericles of Athens, beeing forced by them of Peloponeſus, into a place that had but two out-lets of eſcape, ſunke a ditch of a great latitude, thwart one of the paſſages (as though he meant to keepe out the enemie) and ſet his ſoldiers to breake out the other way. The Peloponeſians, thinking hee could no way eſcape by the paſſage where the trench was cut, applied themſelues whollie to the other place, where the ſouldiers made ſhew of breaking out: whereby (through the help of bridges which he had formerly prouided) hee eſcaped ouer the ditch without reſiſtance. Sometimes they added other helpes to theſe trenches, eſpecially when they ſought handſome meanes to get themſelues away: whereof Sertorius may be an inſtance. VVho, hauing the enemie preſſing him in the reare, and beeing to paſſe a Riuer, drew a ditch and a rampier at his backe, in the faſhion of a halfe moone: which rampire, he heaped with wood and combuſtible matter; and ſo ſetting it on fire, kept off the enemie, and paſſed with eaſe ouer the water.

In like manner, Herculeius, one of Sertorius Legates, hauing raſhly entered with a ſmall power into a long and narrow paſſage, between two hilles; & finding himſelfe purſued by great forces of the enemy, ſunke a croſſe trench betweene the two Mountaines: and piling the rampire with wood, ſet it on fire, & ſo cut off the enemie.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæſars attempt to poſſeſſe himſelfe of a ſmall hill: *what diſadvantage he ran into, by miſſing of his purpoſe; what* meanes he vſed to recouer himſelfe.

BEtweene the towne of Ilerda, and the next hill where Petreius and Afranius were incamped, there was a Plaine, of about three hundred paſes; in the midſt whereof ſtoode a little Mole, riſing higher then the reſt: which if Cæſar could get and fortifie, he hoped to cut off the enemy from the towne & the bridge, and from ſuch victuals and prouiſions as vvere brought

brought to the towne: vvherevpon, he tooke three legions out of the Campe; and hauing put them into order of battell, hee commaunded the Anteſignani of one legion, to runne before and poſſeſſe the place. Which beeing perceiued, the cohorts that kept watch before Afranius Campe, were preſently ſent a neerer way to take that Mount. The matter came to blowes: but foraſmuch as Afranius partie came firſt to the place, our men were beaten backe; and by reaſon of new ſupplies ſent againſt them, were conſtrained to turne their backes, and retire to the legions.

The manner of fight which thoſe ſouldiers vſed, was firſt to runne furiouſlie vpon an enemy, to ſeize any place boldly and with great courage; not much reſpecting their orders or rankes, but fighting in a ſcattered and diſperſed faſhion. If they chaunc't to be throughly charged, they thought it no ſhame to giue way and retire; accuſtomed there-vnto, by frequenting the Luſitanians, and other barbarous people, vſing that kind of fight: as it commonly falleth out, that where the ſouldiers haue long liued, they get much of the vſage and condition of thoſe places. Notwithſtanding, our men were much troubled thereat, as vnaccuſtomed to that kind of fight: for, ſeeing euery man leaue his ranke, and runne vp and downe, they feared leaſt they ſhould be circumvented, and ſette vpon in flanke, and on their bare & open ſide; vvhere-as themſelues were to keepe their order, and not to leaue their places, but vpon extraordinarie occaſion.

Vpon the routing of the Anteſignani, the legion that ſtoode in the cornet, left the place, and retreated to the next Hill; almoſt all the Armie beeing affrighted, vpon that which had happened beyond euery mans opinion, contrarie to former vſe.

Cæſar, encouraging his men, brought out the ninth legion to ſecond them; by that meanes compelling the enemy (inſolent of good ſucceſſe, and ſhrewdly purſuing our men) to turne their backes, and to retire to the towne of Ilerda, and there to make a ſtand vnder the walles. But the ſouldiers of the ninth legion, caried on with endeuour, and going about to repaire their loſſe, they raſhly followed the enemy into a place of diſaduantage, and came vnder the Hill whereon the towne ſtood: and as they would haue made their retreit, they were charged afreſh from the vpper ground. The front of the place had an vneaſie broken aſcent, and was on each ſide ſteepe; extended onely ſo much in breadth, as vvould ſerue three cohorts to imbattell in: neither could the Caualrie come to helpe them. The Hill declined eaſily from the towne about foure hundred paſes in length: and that way our men had ſome conveniencie of retreit, from the diſadvantage to which their deſire had vnaduiſedly led them. The fight continued in this place: which was very vnequall, both in regard of the ſtraightneſs thereof, as alſo for that they ſtood vnder the foote of the Hill, whereby no weapon fell in vaine amongſt them. Notwithſtanding, by proweſſe and valour they patientlie endured all the woundes they receiued. The enemies forces were ſupplied and renewed, by ſuch cohorts as were often ſent out of the Campe through the towne, that freſh men might take the place of ſuch as were vvearied out. And the like vvas Cæſar faine to doe, ſending freſhe Cohorts to that place to relieue the vvearied.

After they had thus continuallie fought for the ſpace of fiue houres together, and that our men were much ouer-charged with an vnequall multitude; hauing ſpent all their weapons, they drew their ſwords, and aſcended vp the hill, to charge and aſſault the enemy: and hauing ſlaine a few of them, the reſt were driuen to make a retreit. The cohorts beeing thus put backe to the walles, and ſome of them for feare hauing taken the towne, our men found an eaſie retreit. Our Caualrie did from a lowe ground get vp vnto the toppe of the hill; and riding vp and downe betweene the two Armies, made our ſouldiers to retreit with better eaſe: and ſo the fight ſucceeded diuerſly.

About ſeauentie of our men were ſlaine in the firſt onſet. And amongſt theſe was ſlaine Q. Fulginius, Captaine of the firſt Haſtate Centurie of the foureteenth legion; who, for his exceeding valour, was preferred to that place from the lower orders. And of Afranius partie were ſlaine T. Cæcilius, Centurion of a Primipile order, and foure Centurions more, beſides two hundred ſouldiers. But ſuch was the opinion of that daies buſineſs, that either ſide belieued they left with the better.

Et victor ſubducto Marte pependit. Lucan. lib. 4.

Afranius party was ſo perſwaded, for that they long ſtood to handy blowes, and reſiſted the violence of our ſouldiers, although in all mens iudgement they were the weaker: as alſo, for that they firſt tooke and held the place which gaue occaſion of that fight; & in the firſt encounter, compelled our men to turne their backs. Our men, in like manner, thought they had the better, in regard they had maintained fight for fiue houres together, in a place of diſaduantage, & with an vnequall multitude: that they aſcended vp the hill with their ſwords drawne, and compelled their aduerſarie to turne their back, & to retreit into the towne, mauger the diſaduantage of the place.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this direction which Cæſar gaue, to take the little Hill betweene Ilerda and Afranius Campe, wee may obſerue the danger depending vpon the miſchieuing of an action. For, the failing of a purpoſe, in ſeeking to obtaine that which would prooue of great aduantage, doth oftentimes drawe men into as great inconueniences. And as the end in euery deſſigne pretendeth gaine, ſo the meanes thereof doe giue way to hazard: from whence it conſequently followeth; that ſuch as are imployed in execution, had neede to vſe all indeuour, not to falſifie the groundes of good directions, by negligent or inconſiderate cariage; but rather, to make good any want or defect, by ſerious and warie proſecution of the ſame.

Omnis laus virtutis in actione conſiſtit. Ariſt. Eth.

And the rather, for that it ſpecially concerneth their good, that haue the charge and handeling of commaundes; for, they firſt are like to feele the ſmart of anie errour committed therein; or otherwiſe, to haue the honour of anie fortunate ſucceſſe, for-aſmuch as Vertue hath all her praiſe from Action.

Concer-

Concerning the vſe of running, we are to vnderſtand, that the Romaines (amongſt other their exerciſes of Armes) had ſpeciall practiſe of this, as auailable in foure reſpects, according as Vegetius hath noted; Firſt, to the end they might charge the enemie with greater force and violence. Secondly, that they might poſſeſſe themſelues with ſpeed, of places of aduantage. Thirdly, that they might readily diſcouer, as ſhould be found expedient vpon all occaſions. And laſtly, to proſecute a flying enemie, to better purpoſe and effect. And this, as Seneca ſaith, they practiſed in peace; that beeing accuſtomed to needleſſe labour, they might be able to diſcharge neceſſarie duties. And Liuie, amongſt the militarie exerciſes vſed by Scipio, to fit his men for thoſe glorious exploits which hee afterwards atchieued, ſaith; That the firſt day, the legions ran foure miles in Armes. And Suetonius affirmeth, That Nero, hauing appointed a race for the Prætorian cohorts, caried a Target lifted vp before them with his owne hand. And that Galba did more admirably; for, beeing ſuted of purpoſe to make himſelfe eminent, directed a field race with a Target, himſelfe running as faſt as the Emperours Chariot, for twentie miles together.

Lib. 1. cap. 9. The vſe of running.

Miles in media pace decurrit, ſine vllo hoſte, et ſuperuacuo labore laſſatur, vt ſufficere neceſſario poſſit. Seneca Epiſt. 18.

Lib. 26.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſecond thing to be noted in theſe ſpecialties, is the bold enterpriſe of Cæſars men, in charging the enemie with their ſwordes drawne, againſt the Hill; and, making them to giue backe, had an eaſie and ſafe retreit from the danger wherein they were ingaged. Whereby wee may obſerue, that difficulties of extreamitie, are neuer better cleered, then by aduenturous and deſperate vndertakings: According to the condition of diſeaſes, and diſtemperatures of the body; which beeing light & eaſie, are cured with milde and eaſie potions: but beeing grieuous and doubtfull, doe require ſharpe and ſtrong remedies. VVhich doth alſo in like manner appeare throughout the whole courſe of Nature, and particularly in waights: for, as ponderous and heauie bodies are not mooued, but with a counterpoiſe of greater force; no more can extreamities of hazard bee auoided, but by like perilous enforcements.

Medici leuiter ægrotantes, leuiter curant: grauioribus autem morbis, periculoſas curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur. Cice. li. 1. de officijs.

And hence groweth the difference betweene true valour and foole-hardy raſhneſſe; beeing but one and the ſame thing, if they were not diſtinguiſhed by the ſubiect wherein they are ſhewed. For, to runne headlong into ſtrange aduentures, vpon no iuſt occaſion, were to ſhew more leuitie then diſcretion: And againe, to vſe the like boldneſſe in caſes of extreamitie, deſerueth the opinion of vertuous endeuour. As is well obſerued by Homer, in the perſon of Hector, perſwading the Troians that fledde away, to ſtand and make head againſt the Grecians; This is the time, ſaith he, conſidering the danger wherein wee are, to vſe that proweſſe and courage which we boaſt of.

Iliad. 6.

And accordinglie, Diomedes cenſured Glaucus in the ſame place, for offering himſelfe to the furie of the Grecians; Either thou art ſome God, ſaith he,

or elſe but a loſt and forlorne man. VVhich may ſerue to learne vs the true vſe of courage; that ordinarily is neuer more ſhewed then in misimployment.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

The parts of a Legion.

I Haue already, in the obſeruations of the ſecond Commentary of the warres of Gallia, diſcourſed particularly of the partes of a legion: VVhere it appeareth, that in Cæſars time, a legion conſiſted of fiue thouſand men, or there-abouts; and according to the ſufficiencie and experiencie of the ſouldiers, was diuided into three parts. The firſt and meaneſt of ſuch as followed an Enſigne, were called *Haſtati*. The ſecond, *Principes*. And the third and chiefe ſort, *Triarij*: and according to this diuiſion, had their place and precedencie in the Armie.

Againe, each of theſe three kindes, was diuided into tenne companies, which they called Maniples; and euery Maniple was ſubdiuided into two Centuries or Orders: and in euery Order there was a Centurion or Captaine. Theſe orders were diſtinguiſhed, by the numbers of the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſo conſequently vnto the tenth orders, which were the laſt & loweſt of each of theſe three kindes. So that this Q. Fulginius, here mentioned, was Centurion of the firſt and prime order of the *Haſtati*: And T. Cæcilius, Centurion of the firſt order of the *Triarij*, which by excellencie was called *Primipilus*, or the Leader of the firſt companie of a legion.

Now, concerning their imbattelling, we are to note, that according to this former diuiſion of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, vpon occaſion of fight, they made a triple battell, one ſtanding in front to another; which we call the vant-guard battell, and reareward. VVhereof the *Haſtati* were called *Anteſignani*: not for that they had no Enſignes of their owne; for, euery Maniple had an Enſigne: but becauſe they ſtood imbattelled before the Eagle, & other the chiefe Enſignes of the legion. To which purpoſe is that of Liuie, *Pugna orta eſt, non illa ordinata per Haſtatos, Principeſque et Triarios, nec vt pro ſignis Anteſignanus, poſt ſigna alia pugnaret Acies.* And againe; *Cadunt Anteſignani: et ne nudentur propugnatoribus ſigna, fit ex ſecunda prima Acies.* Whereby it appeareth, that moſt of the chiefeſt Enſignes were with the *Principes*, which were called *Subſignani*, as the *Triarij Poſtſignani*.

Anteſignani.

Lib. 22.

Lib. 9.

Amongſt other benefites of theſe ſo particular diuiſions of an Armie, that is not the leaſt which is noted by Thucidides, *Vt iuſſa imperatoris breui ſpacio ad ſingulos milites deferri poſſent.*

Lib. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæsar, brought into great extreamity by ouer-flowing of two Riuers.

THE enemy fortified the Mount for which they cõtended, with great and strong workes; and there put a Garizon. In the space of those two daies that these thinges were in dooing, there fell out vpon a suddaine a great inconuenience: for, such a tempest happened, that the like waters were neuer seene in those places. And further besides, the snow came downe so aboundantly from the Hilles, that it over-flowed the bankes of the Riuer; and in one day, brake downe both the bridges which Fabius had made: and thereby brought Cæsar into great extreamity. For, as it is formerly related, the Campe lay betweene two Riuers, Sicoris and Cinga, being distant about 30 miles one from another. Neither of these Riuers were passable: so that all the Army were of necessity cooped vp in that straightnes; neither could the Cities, which had formerly ranged themselues with Cæsars partie, furnish any supplies of victuall and prouision: nor such of the Armie as had gone far for forrage, beeing hindered by the riuers, could returne to the Campe; nor yet the great conuoies and renforcements, comming to him out of Italy and Gallia, could gette to the Campe.

Cæsar.

Cinga rapidus magis quam magnus.

The time was very hard; for, there was neither old corne left of their winter prouisions, nor that on the ground was as yet ripe. The Cities and townes neere about were all emptied; for, Afranius before Cæsars cõming, had caused all the Corne to be brought into Ilerda: and that which remained, was since Cæsars comming all spent. And for Cattell (which might haue relieued this necessity) by reason of the warre they were remooued by the bordering townes, and caried further off. Such as were gone out to forrage, and to seeke Corne, were by the light Armed Portingalls, and the Buckler-bearers of the heather Spaine, much troubled and molested: for, these men could easily passe the riuer, forasmuch as none of them vsed to goe to warre, without bladders for that purpose. On the contrary part, Afranius abounded with all necessary prouisions; great quantity of Corne was formerly prouided and stored vp; much was brought in from all the Prouinces round about, hauing also great plenty of forrage in his Camp: for, the bridge at Ilerda afforded meanes of all these things without danger; and the Countrey beyond the riuer was whole and vntouched, which Cæsar could not come vnto by any meanes. The waters continued for many dayes togeather. Cæsar vsed all meanes to reedifie the Bridges: but neither the swelling of the Riuer woulde permitte him, nor yet the cohorts of the Enemie, placed on the bankes of the other side, suffer him to goe forwardes with it: which they might easilie hinder, both in regard of the nature of the riuer; the

greatneſs of the water; as alſo, for that they might eaſily caſt their weapons frō along the banke, vnto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the ſame time (the Riuer running ſo violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to ſhunne the weapons.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIrſt, we may obſerue, that the ſtrength of a multitude is not priuiledged from ſuch caſualties as betide the weakeneſſes of particular perſons; but doth oftentimes vndergoe extreamities, which can neither by prouidence be preuented, nor remoued by induſtrie: & are ſuch as proceede not from the indeuour of an enemy, but out of the circumſtances of time and place; together with ſuch accidents as are interlaced with the ſame. In reſpect whereof it was, that Cambiſes told Cyrus; That in the courſe of warre he ſhould meet with ſome occaſions, wherein he was not to labour and contend with men, but with chaunces and things, which were not to be ouercome with leſſe difficultie then an enemy; and are the more dangerous, according as they giue way to ſcarcitie and lack of victuall. For, as it is ſaid in the ſame place; *Scis breui, finem habiturum Imperium, ſi commeatu exercitus careat.*

Sunt quædam in quibus non aduerſus homines certamen eſt, ſed cum ipſis rebus: quas ſuperare perdifficile eſt. Zenoph. lib. 1. de Inſt. Cyri.

The remedies whereof, are firſt, Patience; which is as requiſite in a ſouldier, as either courage or any other abilitie: and in ſuch caſes keepeth an Army from diſcontentment and diſorder, vntill meanes of better fortune. And ſecondly, Good indeauour, which auaileth much in ſuch chaunces; the effect whereof, will appeare by that which Cæſar wrought, to redeeme his Armie from theſe inconueniences.

Diligentia in omnibus rebus plurimum valet.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

COncerning that which is heere noted of the Spaniards, that made nothing of paſsing a Riuer with the helpe of bladders, which the Romaines were readier to wonder at then to imitate; it is obſerued, that as people exquiſitly faſhioned to a ciuill life, by a firme & ſettled policie of gouernment, are firme and reall in the whole courſe of their proceedings, and accordingly doe ſhew their punctualitie, as well in their ſolemnities and priuate cariages, as in their magnificent and ſtately buildings: ſo on the other ſide, barbarous and rude Nations, that liue vnder generall and ſlight lawes, are as ſlight and rude in their actions; as amongſt other thinges, may appeare by that the Spaniards thought it no ſcorn, to vſe the help of bladders in paſsing ouer a Riuer, as a deuiſe comming next to hand: which the people of a wiſe and potent State, would not haue done, but by a ſure and ſubſtantiall bridge.

Bladders vſed by the Spaniards, in ſwimming ouer Riuers.

The vſe of which bladders, as it hath been auncient amongſt people of that nature, ſo it is cōtinued in the ſame manner, by the Sauages, inhabiting Gronland,

land, and the North parts of America; as appeareth by the diſcoueries made of late by the Moſcouy Marchants, about the Northweſt paſſage: frō whence ſuch as are imploied in thoſe voiages, haue brought great and large bladders or bagges, made of Seale skinnes, ingeniouſly deuiſed to be filled and blowed with wind, and tied behind at their girdle, and at their coller, to helpe themſelues in ſwimming. And after the ſame eaſie faſhion, the Indians of Peru, as Ioſephus Acoſta writeth (in ſtead of wood and ſtone) made their bridges ouer great Riuers of plaited Reedes, which they faſtened to the bankes on each ſide with ſtakes: or otherwiſe of bundles of ſtraw and weedes, by which, men and beaſts (if there be any credit in his ſtorie) paſſe ouer with eaſe. Howbeit, as when the ancient Greeks would note a man of extreame inſufficiencie; They would ſay he could neither reade nor ſwim: So Cæſar ſeemed of the ſame opinion, by commending the skill of ſwimming, as a thing of much conſequence in the vſe of Armes. Whereof he made good experience in Egypt; where he caſt himſelfe into a ſmall boate, for his better ſafetie: and finding it ouer-charged, and ready to ſinke, he leapt into the ſea, and ſwom to his Fleet, which was 200 paſes off, holding certaine papers in his left hand, aboue the water; and trayling his coate of Armes in his teeth, that it might not be left to the enemie. *Lib. 6. ca. 14.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Afranius marcheth with three legions, to cut off a *party. The ſcarcitie of victuall in* Cæſars Armie.

Caſar.

IT was told Afranius, of great troopes and conuoies that were comming to Cæſar, but were hindered by the waters, and aboade there by the Riuers ſide: for, thither were come Archers out of Ruthenia, and Horſemen out of Gallia, with manie carres & cariages, according to the cuſtome of the Galles. There were beſides, of all ſorts, about ſixe thouſand men with their ſeruaunts and attendants; but without order, or any knowne commaund: for, euery man was at his owne libertie, trauelling the Countrey without feare, according to the former freedome & ſafetie of the waies. There were likewiſe many young men of good ranke, Senators ſonnes, and Knights of Rome; beſides Embaſſadors from ſundry States, & diuers of Cæſars Legates. All theſe were kept backe by the Riuer.

Afranius went out in the night time with three legions, and all his horſe, to cut off this partie; and ſending his Caualrie before, ſette vpon them vnawares. Howbeit, the Caualrie of the Galles, put themſelues ſpeedily in order, and buckled with them. And as long as it ſtood vpon indifferent tearmes, they, being but a few, did withſtand a great number of the enemie: but as ſoone as they diſcouered

uered the Enſignes of the legions comming towards them, ſome few of them being ſlaine, the reſt betooke themſelues to the next hilles.

Iam cõmes ſemper magnorum prima malorum, Sæua fames aderat: nulloque obſeſſus ab hoſte miles eget, toto cenſu non prodigus emit exiguam Cererem. Lucan. lib. 4.

This ſmall time of encounter, was of great conſequence for the ſafetie of our men: for, by this meanes, they had opportunitie to take the vpper ground. There were loſt that day 200 Archers, a few horſemen, and no great number of the ſouldiers boyes, together with the baggage. Victualls, by reaſon of all theſe things wexed very deere, as well in regard of the preſent want, as alſo for feare of future penurie, as commonly it happeneth in ſuch caſes; inſomuch as a buſhell of Corne was worth fiftie pence. Whereby the ſouldiers grew weake for want of ſuſtenaunce; and the inconueniences therof, daily more and more increaſed. For, ſo great was the alteration which happened in a few daies, that our men vvere much afflicted with the extreame want of all neceſſary prouiſions: wheras they on the other ſide, hauing all things in aboundance, were held for victors. Cæſar ſent vnto thoſe States which were of his party, and in ſtead of Corne, gaue them order to furniſh him with Cattell; diſmiſſed ſouldiers boyes, and ſent them to townes further off; relieuing the preſent ſcarcitie by all the meanes he could.

Afranius and Petreius, together with their friends, inlarged theſe thinges in their Letters to Rome: rumour and report added much heerevnto; as that the warre was euen almoſt at an end. Theſe Meſſengers and Letters beeing come to Rome, there was great concourſe from all parts to Afranius houſe, much congratulation and reioycing for theſe thinges: and there-vpon, many went out of Italy to Pompey, ſome to be the firſt meſſengers of the newes; others, that they might not ſeeme to expect the euent of the war, and ſo prooue the laſt that came to that partie.

Primum cana ſalix madefactlo vimine paruam Texitur in puppim, cæſoque induta iuvenco vectoris patiens tumidum ſuperenatat amnem. Lucan. lib. 4.

When the matter was brought to theſe difficulties and extreamities, and all the waies were kept by Afranius ſouldiers and horſemen; Cæſar gaue order to the ſouldiers, to make ſuch boates and Barkes as hee had in former yeeres taught them the vſe of in the warre of Britaine: the keeles whereof were built of light ſtuffe, and ſmall timber, and the vpper partes made with wicker, and couered with hides. Which beeing finiſhed, he laded them vpon Carres, and carried them in the night ſome twentie two miles from the Campe. And in thoſe Barks, tranſporting his ſouldiers ouer the riuer, vpon a ſuddaine poſſeſt himſelfe of a little hill, which lay continent vnto the water ſide: which hill he ſpeedily fortified, before the enemie had notice thereof. Afterwards, he brought ouer a legion to that place, and made a bridge frõ ſide to ſide in two daies ſpace: and ſo the convoies, which had gone forth for prouiſions & forrage, returned backe in ſafetie; wherby he began to ſettle a courſe for prouiſion of Corne.

The ſame day, he paſſed ouer the riuer a great part of his Caualrie, who falling vnlooked for vpon the forragers (ſcattered heere and there without feare or ſuſpicion) cut off a great number of men and cattell. Where-vpon, the Enemy ſending certaine Spaniſh troopes, bearing little round bucklers, to ſecond and relieue the forragers, they diuided themſelues of purpoſe into two parts; the one to keepe and defend the booty which they had gotte, and the other, to reſiſt and beate backe the forces ſent to charge them. One of our cohorts, which had eaſilie runne out before the Armie, was intercepted, & cut off: the reſt returned by the bridge into the Camp in ſafety with a great booty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THeſe Rutheni inhabited that part of prouince where Rhodes now ſtandeth: amongſt whom Cæſar had ordinarily a legion or two in Guarizon, for the better keeping of the Countrey in obedience, being a ſtout and warlike people, and vſing archerie, as appeareth in this place. Which, howſoeuer the courſe of time hath brought into vtter contempt, yet let vs not ſcorne to take notice, that anciently it hath been vſed by ſuch as performed the greateſt feates of Armes: for, Hercules had but two ſorts of weapons to atchieue labours of ſo much variety; a Club for ſuch monſters as would conteſt with his valour, and Boaw and Arrowes for others that kept further off. And in the old warre of Troy (if Homer may bee belieued) Pindarus, Duke of Lycia, hauing a ſtable of gallant Courſers, left them all at home, leaſt hee ſhould not find meanes at Troy, to giue them their ordinarie keeping; and came on foote with his boaw and arrowes, with ſuch reputation of his deedes of Armes, that Aeneas fought him out in a conflict, to reſiſt the rage and extreame preſsures of Diomedes. And on the contrary part, Teucer relieued the diſtreſſed Grecians from a hot and deſperate purſute, by ſlaying with his boaw eight valiant Troians before he ſtirred his foote.

Rutheni.
Soluuntur flaui longa ſtatione Rutheni. Luc. lib. 1.

Stymphalidæ. Iliad. lib. 5.

Iliad. lib. 7.

Concerning the vſe of which weapon, howſoeuer it may ſeeme ridiculous (to ſuch as vnderſtand nothing but the courſe of the preſent age) to recall the long boaw to the ſeruice of a battell; yet they may remember, that the Gray-gooſe wing gaue our forefathers ſuch aduantage, that they wrought wonders amongſt all Nations for deedes of Armes: which wee ſhould imitate with as much hope of ſucceſſe, if we could handle our boawes in any meaſure as they did. Of this I haue already formerlie treated.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT is a ſaying as true as it is old, that An ill hap commeth not alone, but is alwaies attended with ſuch conſequents as will inforce other inconueniences; as may be obſerued by this extreamitie heere mentioned. For, the miſchiefe was not bounded with the affliction which Cæſar ſuffered for want of needfull prouiſion, notwithſtanding the weight was ſuch as could not bee borne by ordinarie patience: but the enemy inlarged it to his further aduantage, vaunting of it as a helpleſſe remedy, and making out diſpatches to ſend victorie to Rome. VVhich gaue him yet further preiudice in the opinion of the world; and made thoſe his enemies, that formerlie ſhewed no diſlike of his proceedings. And thus euery ill chaunce hath a taile of many other misfortunes; which if either prouidence or indeuour may preuent, it ſhall much import a Commaunder to auoide them.

An ill chaunce commeth not alone.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Neceſſitas fortiter ferre docit, conſuetudo facilè. Seneca. de tranqui. cap. 10

AS Neceſſitie maketh men conſtant in their ſufferings, ſo Cuſtome giueth eaſineſs and meanes of deliuerance; according as may appeare by this direction of Cæſar, which was wholly drawne from former experience. For, firſt the Boates heere preſcribed, vvere ſuch as he vſed in the warre of Britannie; and as far as may bee gathered out of the former Commentaries, were thoſe he commaunded to be built for his ſecond iourney: which he would now imitate, in regard of the flatneſs of their bottomes, and not otherwiſe. For, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe Barkes were couered with skinnes; vnleſſe peraduenture hee vſed ſome ſuch as theſe vpon occaſion in that warre, not expreſſed in the ſtorie.

Ib. 5.

Herodotus in his *Clio*, deſcribeth the like; The boats (ſaith he) which come from Babylon, downe the Riuer Euphrates, are made by the Heardſmen of Armenia, of light Timber, in a round faſhion, without beake or poope, & are couered with skinne, the hairie ſide inwarde; and in theſe they take their paſſage. Such as fiſh for Salmon in the Riuer of Seuerne, vſe the like boates in all reſpects, which they call *Corracles* of *Corium*: beeing all couered with horſe-skinnes tanned. Secondly, the means he vſed to paſſe ouer without impeachement from the Enemie, by carying thoſe boates in the night time vp the Riuer to a place of ſecuritie, was ſuch, the like whereof he had formerly practiſed in Gallia, to paſſe the Riuer Loier, beeing then guarded on the other ſide by the Enemie. Whereby we ſee, how much vſe and continuance doth inable men, beyond others of ſmaller experience: according to that, *Dies Diem docet.*

Corracles.

CHAP. XIX.

The Maſsilians encounter with Brutus at Sea, *and are beaten.*

Cæſar.

WHile theſe things were done at Ilerda, the Maſsilians (by the direction of L. Domitius) rigged and ſet out 17 Gallies, whereof eleuen were couered; beſides many leſſer veſſels which went along with them, to make the Nauie ſeeme the greater for the aſtoniſhment of the Enemy. In theſe they put a great number of Archers, and many Albickes, of whom wee haue formerly made mention; encouraging them both by rewards and promiſes. Domitius required certaine ſhippes for himſelfe, and them he filled with Shepheards and Countrymen, which he had brought thither with him. The Nauie beeing thus furniſhed, ſet forward with great confidence towards our ſhipping, whereof D: Brutus was Admirall, and lay

lay at Anker at an Iland right ouer against Marſellies. Brutus was far inferior to the enemy in ſhipping; but Cæſar hauing pickt the chiefeſt and valianteſt men out of all the legions, as well of the Anteſignani as Centurions, put them aboard the Fleet, they themſelues requiring to bee imploied in that ſeruice. Theſe men had prepared hookes, and grapples of Iron, and had likewiſe furniſhed thẽſelues with many Piles and Darts, and other ſorts of weapons: and vnderſtanding of the Enemies comming, put to ſea, and encountered with the Maſsilians. They fought on either ſide very valiantly and fiercely; neither were the Albickes much inferiour to our men in proweſſe, beeing rough mountainous people, exerciſed in Armes: and hauing a little before fallen off frõ the Maſsilians, did now remember the late contract and league they had made with them. The Shepheards, in like manner (a rude and vntamed kind of people, ſtirred vp with hope of liberty) did ſtriue to ſhew their valour in the preſence of their Maiſter.

The Maſsilians, truſting to the nimbleneſs of their ſhipping, and in the skill and dexteritie of their Pilots, did fruſtrate (in a deluding manner) the ſhocke of our ſhippes, when they came violently to ſtemme them. And, foraſmuch as they had ſea-roome enough, they drew out their Nauie at length, to compaſſe and incloſe our men about: And ſometimes, they would ſingle out one of our ships, and ſet vpon them with diuers of theirs together, and wipe off a ſide of their oars in their paſſage along by them.

When they came to deale at hand (leauing aſide the art and skill of the Pilots) they tooke themſelues to the ſtoutneſs and valour of the Highlanders. Our men were faine to vſe worſe oare-men, and more vnskilfull Pilots; who beeing lately taken out of shippes of burden, did not well knowe the true names of the tackling, and were much troubled with the heauineſs and ſluggiſhneſs of the shipping; which beeing made in haſte of vnſeaſoned timber, was not ſo nimble or ready for vſe. But, as the matter came to handie blowes, euery ſingle shippe did willingly vnder-take two at once; and hauing grapled with either of them, fought on each ſide, entering valiantly the enemies shippes, killing a great number of the Hilanders and Shepheards. Part of the ships they ſunke, ſome they tooke with the men, & the reſt they beate backe into the Hauen. That day the Maſsilians loſt nine shippes, with thoſe that were taken. This newes was brought to Cæſar at Ilerda.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

I Haue formerlie obſerued the manner of their ſea-fight, conſiſting of three parts; The firſt was, their nimble & skilfull managing of their ſhippes, either forceably to aſſault, or to lauire and beare off, as might fall for their beſt aduantage: wherein the Maſsilians, by reaſon of the skilfulneſſe of their Pilots, had great confidence. The ſecond, was their fight before they came to grappling, as well with great engines, ſuch as were their *Baliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*, caſting ſtones and logs of wood one againſt another, as alſo with ſlings, arrowes and darts; reſembling our great artillerie, and *Sea-fight.*

and ſmall ſhot; for which purpoſe, their ſhippes were built with fore-caſtles & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their caſting weapons. The third, was their grappling and forceable entry; wherein, foraſmuch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionarie ſouldier caried the cauſe. Whence we may obſerue, that their legions were the nurſeries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the ſea as the land: beeing fitted by the diſcipline of their Militarie exerciſes, to vndertake any ſeruice ſubiect to humane induſtrie; whereof they gaue an account woorthie the Schoole wherein they were inſtructed.

Neither is it ſeene at any time, but that ſuch kingdomes as make care to traine vp their men in Academies of vertuous Actualitie, doe alwaies keepe their honour at a high price; affording, at all times, men of abſolute and compleat cariage, both for deſignement and performance.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I Haue a little before ſhewed out of Liuie, that the *Anteſignani* were ordinarilie taken for the *Haſtati*; which, beeing the eaſieſt ſort of ſouldiers, according to the generall diuiſion of a legion, doth ſeeme to contradict the paſſage in this Chapter, *Sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus, fortiſsimos viros Anteſignanos, Centuriones Cæſar ei claſsi attribuerat*. For the better cleering whereof, we are to note, that as the *Haſtati*, or firſt battell of a legion, were generallie taken for the *Anteſignani* (as ſtanding before the Eagle, and other the chieſeſt Enſignes, which were alwaies amongſt the *Principes* or ſecond battell); ſo euery Maniple, hauing an Enſigne in the middeſt of the troope, the ſouldiers that ſtood in front before the Enſigne, were likewiſe called *Anteſignani*, and were the beſt ſouldiers in the Companie: for, the Centurion, ſtanding alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valianteſt and worthieſt men; the reſt, filling vp the reare, conſorted with the Lieutenant, who there-vpon was called *Tergi-ductor*.

Whence wee may admire the temperature and diſpoſition of a Romaine Armie; beeing firſt generally diuided into three battels, whereof the meaneſt were in the vauntguard, to make triall of their ſtrength, and to ſpend the heat of their young blood in the firſt affront of an enemie: The *Veterani*, or olde ſouldiers, beeing left in the reareward, to repaire any loſſe, which either force or caſualtie ſhould caſt vpon their Leaders. And againe, to counterpoiſe thẽſelues, in ſuch a manner as the weakeſt might not alwaies goe to the wall, their priuate Companies were ſo ordered, that the beſt men were alwaies in front. Whereby they made ſuch an exquiſite temper, as kept euery part of the Armie in their full ſtrength.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, the Enemie *reſolueth to transferre the warre* into Celtiberia.

VPon the making of this Bridge, Fortune ſuddenly changed. The enemy, fearing the courage and valour of our Caualrie, did not ſo freely range abroad as they had wont to do; Sometimes ſeeking forrage within a ſmall diſtance of the Camp, to the end they might find a ſafe and eaſie retreit if occaſion required: Sometimes fetching a great compaſſe about to auoid the guardes & ſtations of our horſemen. And if they had receiued but the leaſt check, or had but deſcried the Caualrie afarre off, they would haue caſt downe their burdens, and fledde away. Cæſar.

At laſt, they omitted forraging for many daies together, and (which was neuer vſe by any Nation) ſent out to ſeeke it in the night. In the meane time, thoſe of Oſca and Caliguris, beeing in league together, ſent Embaſſadours to Cæſar, with offer of their ſeruice, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould pleaſe to cõmaund it. Within a few daies, the Tarraconenſes, Lacetani, and Auſetani, together with the Illurganonenſes, which border vpon the Riuer Ebrus, followed after. Of all theſe hee deſired ſupplies of Corne, and prouiſion: which they promiſed to furniſh; and accordingly got horſes from all quarters, and brought graine into the Campe. In like manner, the Regiment of the Illurganonenſes, vnderſtanding the reſolution of their State, left the Enemy, and came vnto him with their Colours: and ſuddainely a great alteration of things appeared. Oſca. Caliguris.

The bridge beeing perfected, great Citties and States beeing come in vnto him, a courſe ſetled for prouiſion of Corne, and the rumour blowen ouer of the ſuccours and legions, which Pompey was ſaid to come withall, by the way of Mauritania; many other townes further off, reuolted from Afranius, and claue to Cæſars partie.

The Enemie, beeing much affrighted and abaſhed at theſe things, Cæſar (to auoide the great circuit by which hee continually ſent his horſemen about by the bridge) hauing got a conuenient place, reſolued to make many trenches of thirtie foote in breadth, by which he might draine ſome part of the riuer Sicoris, and make it paſſable by a foord. Theſe trenches beeing almoſt made, Afranius and Petreius did thereupon conceiue a great feare, leaſt they ſhould be cut off altogether from victuall and forrage; foraſmuch as Cæſar was very ſtrong in horſe, and therefore they determined to leaue that place, and transferre the vvarre into Celtiberia: being the rather there-vnto induced, for that of thoſe 2 contrarie Factions, which in the former warre had ſtood for L. Sertorius, ſuch Citties as were ſubdued by Pompey, did yet ſtand in awe of his Name and Authoritie:

and that ſuch, as from the beginning had continued firme vnto him, did intirely loue him, for the great benefites they had receiued from him; amongſt whom Cæſars name was not knowne. There they expected great ſuccours both of horſe and foote, and made no doubt but to keepe the warre on foote vntill winter.

Octogeſa. *This aduice beeing agreed vpon, they gaue order to take vp all the boates that were on the riuer Iberus, and to bring them to Octogeſa; a towne ſited vpon Iberus, twentie miles from the Campe. There they commaunded a bridge of boates to be made; and tranſporting two legions ouer Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a rampier of twelue foote in height: which beeing knowen by the Diſcouerers, Cæſar by the extreame labour of the ſouldiers, continued day and night in turning the courſe of the water; & at length, brought the matter to that paſſe, that the horſemen (with ſome difficulty) durſt aduenture ouer: but the foot troopes, hauing nothing aboue the water but their heads, were ſo hindered as well by the depth of the Riuer, as the ſwiftneſs of the ſtreame, that they could not well get ouer. Notwithſtanding, at the ſame inſtant of time, newes was brought of the making of the bridge ouer the Riuer Iberus, and a foord was found in the riuer Sicoris.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ilerda. FIrſt, concerning the places heere mentioned, the Reader may take notice, that Ilerda (now knowen by the name of Lerida) ſtandeth vpon the Riuer Sicoris, in the Prouince of Catalonia; and beeing ſited vpon a hill, is incloſed round with a wall of hewen ſtone, in a pleaſant and fertile Countrey, both for Corne, wine, oyle, and fruite: as it is graphicallie deſcribed by Lucan; *Lib.* 1111.

Colle tumet modico, leuique excreuit in altum
Pingue ſolum tumulo, ſuper hunc fundata vetuſta
Surgit Ilerda manu; placidis prælabitur vndis
Heſperios inter Sicoris non vltimus amnes:
Saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu,
Hibernas paſſurus aquas.

It was formerly a Vniuerſitie, and at all times famous for ſalt meates & pickled fiſh. Where-vnto Horace alludeth, when hee tolde his booke, That although it ſo fell out that no man would regard it, neuertheleſſe, it might ſerue at Ilerda to wrap Salt-fiſh in.

Aut fugies Vticam, aut vnctus mittêris Ilerdam.

Oſca Victrix. Oſca, now called Hueſca, a towne likewiſe of Catalonia, in former time ſurnamed *Victrix*; where Sertorius kept the ſonnes of the Grandes of Spaine, as pledges of their loyaltie; vnder pretext of learning the Greeke and Latine tongue, which he had there cauſed to be taught, in forme of an Academie.

In

In this towne his hap was to be ſlaine by Perpenna, as Paterculus recordeth the ſtorie; *Tum M. Perpenna prætorius, è proſcriptis, generis clarioris quàm animi, Sertorium inter cœnam Aetoſcæ interemit; Romaniſque certâ victoriam, partibus ſuis excidium, ſibi turpiſſimam mortem, peſſimo auctorauit facinore:* Which Aetoſca, is by all men taken for this Oſca. Lib. 2.

The inhabitants boaſt of nothing more at this day, then that S. Laurence was a Cittizen of their towne.

Calaguris, now Calahorra, is ſeated vpon a hill on the bankes of Iberus; the people whereof are famous for their conſtancie, and faithfulneſſe to their Cõmaunders, and ſpecially to Sertorius: as appeareth by that of Valerius Maximus; *Quò perſeuerantius interempti Sertorij cineribus obſidionem Cn. Pompei fruſtrantes, fidem præſtarent, quia nullum iam aliud in vrbe eorum ſupererat animal, vxores ſuas, natoſque, ad vſum nefariæ dapis verterunt; quoque diutius armata iuuentus, viſcera ſua viſceribus ſuis aleret, infelices cadauerum reliquias ſalire non dubitauit.* Calaguris. Lib. 7. cap. 6.

Neuertheleſſe, Afranius tooke thẽ in the end, by continuall ſiege; amongſt whom that antiquitie of Bebricius is very remarkable, which is yet extant neere to Logronno.

DIIS. MANIBVS.
Q. SERTORII.
ME. BEBRICIVS. CALAGVRITANVS.
DEVOVI.
ARBITRATVS.
RELIGIONEM. ESSE.
EO. SVBLATO.
QVI. OMNIA.
CVM. DIIS. IMMORTALIBVS.
COMMVNIA. HABEBAT.
ME. INCOLVMEM.
RETINERE. ANIMAM.
VALE. VIATOR. QVI. HÆC. LEGIS.
ET. MEO. DISCE. EXEMPLO.
FIDEM. SERVARE.
IPSA. FIDES.
ETIAM. MORTVIS. PLACET.
CORPORE. HVMANO. EXVTIS.

In memorie of whoſe fidelitie, Auguſtus Cæſar tooke a band of theſe people for a guard to his perſon. In this towne was Quintilian the Rhetorician borne; and beeing brought from thence to Rome, in Nero his time, was the firſt that taught a publique Schoole for ſalarie: as witneſſeth Saint Hierome; *Quintilianus ex Hiſpania Calaguritanus primus Romæ publicam Scholam tenuit, et ſalario cohoneſtatus publico claruit.* Suetonius in Auguſto. Cohors Calagvritanorum. Ad Euſebij Chronicon.

Celtiberia was the Countrey lying along the Riuer Iberus, inhabited by people comming out of Gallia Celtica: where-vpon Lucan ſaith; Celtiberia.

Lib. 4.

——— profugique à Gente vetuſta
Gallorum Celtæ, miſcentes nomen Iberis.

Lib. 2. cap. 17. Lib. 2. ca. 6.

Florus calleth them *Hiſpaniæ Robur*. And Valerius Maximus affirmeth, That they were alwaies glad of warre, as beeing to end their life in happines and honour; and lamented their ill fortune to die in their beddes, as a miſerable and ſhamefull end.

Sil. Ital. Lib. 3.

His pugna cecidiſſe decus, corpúſque cremari
Tale nefas: cœlo credunt, ſuperiſque referri,
Impaſtus carpat ſi membra iacentia vultur.

Their Armes and weapons were of ſingular raritie: for, beſides the water of Bilbo, which gaue them an invincible temper; they had alſo a peculiar faſhion of working them, as witneſſeth Diodorus Siculus: hiding their plates of Iron in the earth, vntill the worſt and weakeſt part were eaten out with ruſt, and of that which remained, they made very hard ſwords.

Lib. 6. cap. 9.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſuddaine alterations of warre, are like the changings of mens mindes vpon ſmall accidents; which are ſo forceable to ſhake our reſolutions, as made a great Philoſopher, to deſcribe a man by the propertie of *mutabile Animal*. And is notablie ſeene in this; That Atranius, in the compaſſe of a few daies, triumphed of Cæſars ouerthrow, and fled away for feare of his power. Whence we may note the aduantage comming to a partie, when they ſhake off any eminent diſtreſſe: for, as the extreamitie thereof threatneth ruine and deſtruction, ſo the alteration bringeth with it an opinion of victorie. And ſurely, ſuch is the condition of all ſorts of Miſerie, that when the ſtorme is ouer, and the bitterneſs of the affliction alaid, good times come redoubled vpon the Patients; as though the viciſsitude of things, did inforce contrary effects. And therefore, a Commaunder, knowing the advantage of ſuch an opportunitie, muſt indeuour to improue the ſame, as may beſt ſerue to a ſpeedie end.

CHAP. XXI.

The Enemy ſetteth forward, and is ſtaied by Cæſar.

Cæſar.

THE Enemy, ther-vpon, thought it expedient for him to make the more haſte; and therfore leauing two Auxiliary cohorts for the ſafe keeping of Ilerda, hee tranſported all his forces ouer the Riuer Sicoris, and incamped himſelfe with the two legions, which formerly he had caried ouer. There remained nothing for Cæſar to doe, but with his Caualrie to impeache

and

and trouble the enemy in their march. And forasmuch as it was a great compasse about, to goe by the bridge (whereby it would come to passe, that the Enemy would get to Iber a farre neerer way) hee passed ouer his horsemen by the foord. About the third watch, as Petreius and Afranius had raised their Camp; vpon a suddaine, the Caualrie shewed themselues in the reare; and swarming about them in great multitudes, began to stay and hinder their passage. As soone as it beganne to bee day light; from the vpper ground where Cæsar lay incamped, it was perceiued, how the reareward of the enemy was hard laid to by our Caualrie, and how sometimes they turned head againe, and were neuertheless broken and rowted: sometimes their Ensignes stood suddenly still, and all their foote troopes charged our horse, and forc't them to giue way; and then turning backe, went on their way againe. The souldiers walking vp and down the Camp, were grieued that the enemy should so escape their handes, whereby the matter would consequently be spun out into a long warre: and went vnto the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, praying them to beseech Cæsar not to spare them for any danger or labour; for, they were ready and willing to passe the Riuer where the horse went ouer. Cæsar, mooued through their desire and importunity, albeit he feared to expose his Army to a riuer of that greatnes, yet he thought it expedient to put it to triall: and therefore commaunded, that the weakest souldiers of all the Centuries should bee taken out, whose courage or strength shewed a disabilitie to vnder-take that seruice: and these he left in the Campe, with one legion to defend the same, bringing out the other legions without carriage or burden; and hauing set a great number of horses & cattell both aboue and belowe in the riuer, hee transported his Army ouer. Some few of the souldiers, being caried away with the streame, were succoured and taken vp by the horsemen; insomuch as not one man perished.

The Army caried thus ouer in safetie, hee ranged them in order, and marched forward with a three-fold battell. Such was the endeuour of the souldiour, that albeit they had fet circuit of sixe miles to the foord, and had spent much time in passing the riuer; yet by the ninth houre, they did ouertake the enemie that rose about the third watch of the night. Three of the clock in the afternoone.

Assoone as Afranius and Petreius had discouered the legions afarre off (being terrified with the noueltie of that pursuit) they betooke themselues to the vpper ground, and there imbattelled their troopes. In the meane time, Cæsar refreshed his Armie in the fielde, and would not suffer them (beeing wearie) to giue battell: and as they tried againe to goe on in their march, he followed after and staied them; whereby the enemy was forced to incampe sooner then vvas purposed: for, there were hilles a little before them; and for fiue miles together, the passages were very difficult and narrow.

By which meanes (beeing aduaunced betweene the hilles) they hoped to bee free from Cæsars Caualrie; and by keeping the passages, to hinder the Armie frõ following after; to the end they themselues, might without perill or feare, put their forces ouer the riuer Iberus: which by all meanes was to bee effected. Neuertheless, beeing wearied with trauailing and fighting all day, they put off the businesse to the next morning.

Vaſa conclamari.

Cæſar alſo incamped himſelfe on the next hill; and about midnight, ſome of their partie being gone out from the Campe, ſome-what far off, to fetch water, were taken by the horſemen. By them, Cæſar was aduertiſed, that the Enemie with ſilence began to remoue, and to lead their troopes out of their Campe. Wherupon, he commaunded the ſigne of riſing to be giuen, and the cry (diſlodging and truſsing vp their baggage) to be taken vp, according to the diſcipline and vſe of ſouldiers.

The Enemy, hearing the cry, fearing leaſt they ſhould bee impeached in the night, and forced to fight with their burdens on their backs, or to be ſhutte vp in thoſe ſtraight paſſages by Cæſars horſemen, ſtaied their iourney, and kept their forces within their Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Hannibal, per ſuperiora Padi vada, exercitum traducens, elephantos in ordinem oppoſuit ad impetum fluminis ſuſtinendum. Liuie.

THis paſſage ouer Sicoris, was in the ſame manner as hee caried his Armie ouer the Riuer Loier, in the ſeauenth Commentarie of the warre of Gallia; *Vado per Equites invento, pro rei neceſsitate opportuno, vt Brachia modò atque Humeri, ad ſuſtinenda arma liberi ab aqua eſſe poſſent, diſpoſito equitatu, qui vim fluminis frangerent, incolumem exercitum tranſduxit.*

Ac ne quid Sicoris, repetitis audeat vndis, Spargitur in ſulcos, et ſciſſo gurgite riuis dat pœnas maioris aquæ. Lucan. l. 4

The horſe that ſtood aboue, brake the force of the water, & thoſe that were belowe, tooke vp ſuch as were ouercome with the ſtreame; and withall, gaue courage to the ſouldier to venture with better aſſurance, ſeeing the paſſage impaled in, on each ſide, to keepe them frō miſcarying. His attempt vpon Sicoris, to abate the ſwelling pride of that Riuer, by diuiding it into many ſtreames, was in imitation of the firſt Cyrus; who taking diſpleaſure at the Riuer Cyndes, next vnto Euphrates the greateſt Riuer of Aſsyria, drew it into three hundred and threeſcore chanels.

In the ſame maner Euphrates was diuided firſt by Semiramis, and afterward by Alexander. Herod. Iuſt. Lib. 2. cap. 7.

Crœſus, not finding the Riuer Halis paſſable by a foord, and hauing no meanes to make a bridge, ſunke a great trench behinde the Campe, from the vpper part of the Riuer, and ſo drew all the water behind his Armie.

Vegetius hath a particular diſcourſe of paſsing an Armie ouer a Riuer, whither it be by bridge or boate, or by wading, or ſwimming, or any other way: to which I referre the Reader.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Afranius ſeeketh to take the Straites betweene certaine Mountaines; but was preuented by Cæſar.

(·.·)

THE next day folowing, Petreius went out ſecretly with a few horſe, to diſcouer the Countrey; and for the ſame purpoſe, ſome went likewiſe out of Cæſars Campe. L. Decidius Saxo, was ſent with a ſmall troope to view the ſite of the Place, and either party returned with the ſame report: that for fiue miles, the way was open and champain, and afterwards, very rough and mountainous; and whoſoeuer firſt tooke thoſe ſtraights, might eaſily impeache the enemy from going further. The matter was diſputed in the Councell of warre, by Petreius and Afranius; the time of their ſetting forward, was debated: Moſt of them thought it fit to take their iourney in the night; for, by that means, they might com to thoſe ſtraights before it were perceiued. Others were of opinion, that it was not poſsible to ſteale out in the night; as appeared by the cry of riſing, taken vp the night before in Cæſars Campe, vpon their remouing: and Cæſars horſemen did ſo range abroad in the night, that all places and paſſages were kept & ſhut vp. Neither were they to giue occaſion of night fights, but to auoid the ſame by all the meanes they could; foraſmuch as in ciuill diſſenſion, the ordinary ſouldier would rather ſuffer himſelfe to bee ouer-maiſtered by feare, then continue firme in the allegeance which he had ſworne vnto: whereas, in the day time, euery man hath ſhame and dishonor before his eyes; together with the preſence of the Centurions and Tribunes: with which reſpects, a ſouldier is reſtrained, and kept within the bounds of duty. And therefore, the attempt was by all meanes to be vndertaken in the day time, although it fell out to ſome loſſe; yet neuertheleſſe, the body of the Armie might paſſe in ſafetie, and poſſeſſe that place which they ſought for.

Attollunt campo geminæ iuga ſaxea rupes, valle caua media: tellũs huic arduæ celſos continuat colles, tutæ quos inter opaco aufractu latuere viæ: quibus hoſte potito fauci-bus, emitti terrarum in deuia Martem, inque feras gentes Cæſar videt? Lucan. lib. 4.

This opinion preuailing in their conſultation, they determined by breake of day the next morning to ſette forward. Cæſar, hauing diligently viewed the Countrey; as ſoone as day began to appeare, drew all his forces out of his Campe, and marched forward in a great circuit, keeping no direct way. For, the waies which lead to Iberus and Octogeſa, were taken vp with the Enemies Campe; inſomuch as they were to paſſe ouer great and difficult valleis. And in many places broken Rocks and ſtones did ſo hinder them, that they were neceſsarilie to giue their weapons from hand to hand, the ſouldiers lifting vp one another, and ſo they paſsed moſt part of the way. Howſoeuer, no man thought much of the labour, for that they hoped to giue an end to all their trauell, if they could keep the enemy from paſsing ouer the Riuer Iberus, and cut off his victualls.

Ite ſine vllo ordine, ait, raptũque fuga cõvertite bellum, et faciem pugnæ vultuſq; inferte minaces. Lucan. lib. 4.

At

At the firſt, Afranius ſouldiers ranne ioyfully out of their Campe to ſee the Armie, caſting out words of deriſion & reproche, that for want of victuall, they fledde and returned to Ilerda; for, the way they held, was quite contrary to that they intended: whereby they ſeemed to goe backe againe: and the Commaunders themſelues, did much approoue their owne counſell, that they had kept their troopes within the Campe. For, that which confirmed thē in their opinion, was, that they perceiued they were come out without their cariages: whereby they hoped, neceſsity would not ſuffer them to continue long there. But when they ſaw the troopes by little and little to wind to the right hand; and that they perceiued, how thoſe that were in front, had fallē backward beyond their Camp, there was no man ſo dull, but thought it expedient preſently to march out, and make head againſt them. Whereupon, they cried to Arme; and all their forces, excepting ſome few cohorts which were left to keepe the Campe, went out, and marched directly towards Iberus.

The whole buſineſs conſiſted in ſpeed and celeritie, which of the two ſhould firſt take the ſtraights, and poſſeſſe the hilles. Cæſars Army was hindered by the difficultie of the way: and Afranius partie was retarded by Cæſars Caualry. The matter was come to that vpſhot, that if Afranius party did firſt get the hils, they might happely quit themſelues of danger; but the baggage of the whole Armie, and the cohorts left in the Campe could not be ſaued: for, beeing intercepted & ſecluded by Cæſars Armie, there was no meanes to relieue them.

It fell out, that Cæſar firſt attained the place; and beeing come out from among thoſe great Rocks into a plaine champaine, put his Army in order of battell againſt the enemy.

Afranius, ſeeing the enemy in front, and his reareward hardly charged by Cæſars Caualry, got the aduantage of a ſmal hill, & there made their ſtand: and from thence ſent 4 cohorts bearing round bucklers, vnto a Mountaine, which in all mens ſight was higher then the reſt; commaunding them to runne as faſt as they could, and poſſeſſe that hill, intending to follow after with all his forces; and altering his courſe, to gette along the ridges and toppes of the Mountaines to Octogeſa.

As the cohorts were aduaunced forward by an oblique circuit, Cæſars Caualrie perceiuing their intendement, ſette vpon them with ſuch violence, that they were not able any time to beare their charge, but were all cut in peeces in the ſight of both Armies.

Noctlurna prælia eſſe vitanda, quòd perterritus miles in ciuilis diſſenſione, timori magis quā religioni conſulere conſueuerit; at lucē multum per ſe pudorem, omnium oculis afferre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

PEtreius and Afranius, in their Councell of warre, reſolued by all meanes to ſhun night encounters, as a thing full of hazard and vncertaintie, and apt for looſeneſs and diſobedience: for, the night, beeing neither a diſcouerer of errours, nor yet a diſtinguiſher either of

of actions or perſons; but wrapping vp both the vertuous & the faultie in her Mantle of obſcuritie, doth not admit of directions, to follow an opportunitie, or to help a mistaking: but rather giuing way to Impunitie and licentious confuſion, leaueth no hope of what is wiſhed: VVhereas the light is a witneſs of euery mans demeanour, and hath both honour & rebuke to make dutie reſpected.

Neque in victoria decus, nec in fuga flagitium. Tacit. Hiſt. li. 2

For which cauſes, Curio (as it followeth in the next Commentarie) in his harange before that vntimely expedition againſt king Iuba, reiected their aduice that would haue had him ſet forward in the night; *At etiam vt media nocte proficiſcamur addunt: quò maiorem credo licentiam habeant qui peccare conantur: Namque huiuſmodi res aut pudore aut metu tenẽtur, quibus rebus nox maximè aduerſaria eſt.*

And, that the danger may appeare as well by effect as by diſcourſe, let the Reader take notice of that battell by night, between Antonius Primus, on the behalfe of Veſpaſian, and the Vitellian legions neere vnto Cremona. Whereof Tacitus hath this deſcription; *Prælium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rurſus illis, exitiabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem prouiſu iuuabant. &c.* And thus are all night workes condemned, wherein either order or honour are of anie moment. *2. Hiſtorie.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I Haue already noted, in the former Commentaries, the vſe of exact and particular diſcouerie of the Countrey, where a partie is ingaged: then which, nothing doth more aduantage a Commander to expedite the happie iſſue of a warre. For, by that meanes, he is not onely able to iudge of any motion which the enemy ſhall offer, and to giue ſure directions to fruſtrate and make voide the ſame; but alſo to diſpoſe himſelfe, according as ſhall ſeeme expedient for his ſafetie. VVherein, if a place of ſuch conſequence as is heere mentioned ſhall by deſsigne be aymed at, this hiſtorie ſheweth, how much it importeth either partie to obtaine it: and therefore Cæſar had reaſon to make his paſſage through Valleis and Rocks, rather then to loſe victorie, for want of labouring a little in an vneaſie way.

This Lucius Decidius Saxo, or Didius Saxo, imploied in this diſcouerie, was afterward aduaunced by Cæſar, to bee Tribune of the people; whereat Tullie was ſo much offended. How can I omit (ſaith he) this Decidius Saxo, a man brought from the furtheſt end of the world? whom we ſee Tribune of the people, before we euer ſaw him a Citizen. *Oratio. 13 Philip.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæſar refuſed to fight vpon an aduantage offered; *contrary to the opinion and deſire of* all men.

Cæſar.

THere was an opportunitie then offered of doing ſome thing to purpoſe; neither was Cæſar ignorant thereof. Such an ouerthrowe giuen before their faces, did conſequentlie ſo diſcourage them, that it was thought they would not indure a charge: eſpecially, beeing compaſſed about with the Caualrie, in an indifferent and open place, where the matter was to be decided by battell. Which was on all ſides inſtantly deſired at Cæſars hands: for, the Legates, Centurions, and Tribunes of the ſouldiers, came ioyntly vnto him, deſiring him to make no doubt of giuing battell; for, all the ſouldiers were very ready, and forward there-vnto: whereas the contrary partie had ſhewed many arguments of feare and diſcouragement.

Signes of feare in the Enemy.

Firſt, in that they did not ſuccour their fellowes. Secondly, in aſmuch as they had not bouged from the Hill, which they had tooke for a retreit. Neither had they withſtood the charge and incurſion of the Caualrie, but had thronged pell mell together, and confuſedly mingled their Enſignes one with another; no man either keeping his place, or his colours. And if they had feared the inequality and diſaduantage of the Place, they might haue taken ſome other of more indifferencie; for, certainly they could not long ſtay where they were, but muſt depart from thence for want of water.

Cæſar was in hope to end the matter, without either blowe or wound of his men; foraſmuch as he had cut off the enemy from victuall. And why then ſhould he loſe a man, although it were to gaine a victory? Why ſhould he ſuffer his valiant and well-deſeruing ſouldiers, to be ſo much as hurt or wounded? Or vvhy ſhould he put the matter to the hazard of Fortune? eſpecially, when it no leſſe concerned the honour and reputation of a Commaunder, to vanquiſh an enemie by direction and aduice, then to ſubdue them by force of Armes: being mooued, withall, with a tender commiſeration of ſuch Cittizens of Rome, as were conſequently to be hazarded or ſlaine in the fight; where-as hee deſired to worke out his owne Ends with their ſafety.

This opinion of Cæſars, was diſallowed by moſt men: and the ſouldiers would not ſticke to ſpeake plainely amongſt themſelues; foraſmuch as ſuch an occaſion of victorie was ouerſlipt, that when Cæſar would haue thē, they would not fight. Hee, notwithſtanding, continued firme in his opinion; and fell a little off from the enemy, to leſſen and abate their feare and amazement. Petreius and Afranius, vpon the opportunity giuen them, with-drew themſelues into their Camp. Cæſar, hauing poſſeſt the Hilles with guariſons of ſouldiers, and ſhut vp all the paſſages leading to Iberus, incamped himſelfe as neere as he could to the enemie.

The

The Commaunders of the aduerſe partie, beeing much afflicted that they had abſolutely loſt all meanes of prouiſion of victuall, and of gaining the Riuer Iberus, conſulted together of other courſes. There were two waies left open; the one to returne to Ilerda, and the other to Tarracon. And while they were conſidering of theſe things, it was told them, that ſuch as went out for water, were very much preſſed by our Caualrie. Where-vpon, they placed many courts of guard, as well of horſe, as Auxiliary footement, interlacing the legionary Cohorts amongſt them; and began alſo to raiſe a rampier from the Campe to the watering place, that the ſouldiers might ſafely, without feare, fetch water within the boundes of their fortification. Which worke, Petreius and Afranius diuided betweene themſelues; and for the perfecting of the ſame, had occaſion to goe farre off from the Campe: by meanes of whoſe abſence, the ſouldiers taking libertie of free ſpeech one with another, went out; and as any man had an acquaintance or neighbour in each others Campe, they ſought him out. And firſt, they all gaue thankes to all our party, that they had ſpared them when they were terrified and amazed the day beſore: in regard whereof, they acknowledged to hold their liues by their fauour: And afterwards, inquired how they might ſafely yeeld themſelues to their Generall, complaining that they had not done it in the beginning, and ſo haue ioyned their forces with their ancient friends and kinſmen.

Et quamuis nullo maculatus ſanguine miles, quæ potuit fecisſe, timet. Lucan. lib. 4.

And hauing proceeded thus farre in their communication, they require aſſurance for the liues of Afranius and Petreius; leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to conceiue miſchiefe againſt their Generalls, or betray them in ſeeking their owne ſafetie. Which things beeing agreed vpon, they promiſed to come with their Enſignes to Cæſars Campe; and ther-vpon, ſent to Cæſar ſome of the Centurions of the firſt Orders, as Deputies to treat of peace.

In the meane time, they inuited their friendes on either ſide into the Camps; inſomuch, as both their lodgings ſeemed but one Campe. Many of the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and Centurions, came to Cæſar, recommending themſelues to his fauour: and the like did the Grandes and chiefe Princes of Spaine; whō they had commaunded out, to take party in this warre, and to remaine with them as Hoſtages and Pledges. Theſe inquired after their old acquaintances & auncient hoſtes, by whom each man might haue acceſſe to Cæſar with ſome cōmendation. In like manner, Afranius his ſonne dealt with Cæſar, by the mediation of Sulpitius a Legate, touching his owne and his fathers life. All thinges ſounded of ioy, and mutuall congratulation, of them that had eſcaped ſuch eminent dangers: and of vs, that ſeemed to haue effected ſuch great matters without bloodſhed. Inſomuch as Cæſar (in all mens iudgement) reaped great fruit of his accuſtomed clemencie and mildneſs: and his counſell was generally approoued of all men.

Hoſpitis ille ciet nomen, vocat ille propinqui: admonet hunc ſtudijs conſors puerilibus ætas: nec Romanus erat qui non agnouerat hoſtem. Lucan. lib. 4.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

Neque enim tibi, maior in Armis Emathijs fortuna fuit. &c Lucan.

THis Chapter containeth a paſſage of that note and eminencie, as the like is not read in anie ſtorie. For, if we ſearch the recordes of all Nations, from the very birth of Bellona, vnto times of latter memorie, it will no where elſe appeare, that a Generall ſpared any aduantage to purchaſe a victorious name, by the bloodſhed and ruine of his enemie: and that contrary to the will and deſire of his Armie, that had vndergon ſuch difficulties and hazards, to giue an end to that warre. Contrary to his knowledge and late experience of the mutability and change of time and fortune. Contrary to the ſureſt rule of warre; *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoſte requirit?* And contrary to the vſe of Armes, which are alwaies bent againſt an enemie to ſubdue him.

Non minus eſt Imperatoris, cũſilio ſuperare, quàm gladio. Cæſar. Cõment. 6. bell. Gall. Terentius in Eunucho. Naturæ iniuriã facit et humanitatis legem violat, qui vltra victoriam iracundiæ indulget. Nicetas. De clementia. Lib. 1 cap. 26 Ingens victoriæ decus, citra domeſticũ ſanguinem bellanti. Tacit. in Agricola.

This is the fruit of that other part of Military knowledge, which men doe rather admire then attaine vnto, no leſſe concerning the honour of a Commaunder; *Conſilio, ſuperare quàm gladio*, and was a maine ſteppe to raiſe him to the Empire. For, howſoeuer the ſouldier (to preuent further labour) ſtood hard for blood, not reſpecting that of the Comick, *Omnia prius experiri verbis, quàm armis ſapientem decet*: yet if Cæſar had beene ſo iniurious to Nature, as to haue left them to their owne deſires, and ſuffered their furie to haue violated the law of humanitie, more then was requiſite for victorie; they would afterwards haue loathed themſelues, and curſed their ſwords for ſuch vnſeaſonable execution: and may be doubted, would haue reuenged it vpon his head, before the time came to ſtrike the fatall ſtroke of the euerſion of that State. Eſteeming it alſo a part of diuine power, to ſaue men by troopes, according to that of Seneca; *Hæc diuina potentia eſt, gregatim, ac publicè ſeruare*. And therefore, hee choſe rather to diſpleaſe the ſouldier for the preſent, then to loſe that honour which attendeth the ſparing of home-bred blood. Whereof forraine enemies are not altogether ſo capable.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Petreius breaketh off the Treatie, and new ſweareth the Souldiers to the Partie.

Cæſar.

AFranius, beeing aduertiſed of theſe paſſages, left the worke which hee had begunne, and with-drew himſelfe into the Campe; prepared (as it ſeemed) to take patiently whatſoeuer ſhould befall him. But Petreius was no way diſmaied thereat; for, hauing armed his houſhold familie, hee went flying with them, & a Pretorian cohort of Buckler-bearers, together

together with ſome few ſtipendarie horſe of the barbarous people, whom he was wont to keepe about him, as a guard to his perſon: and came ſuddainely and vnlooked for, to the Rampire; brake off the ſouldiers treaty; thruſt our men off frõ the Campe; killing ſuch as he could apprehend. The reſt got together, & affrighted at the ſuddaineneſs of the danger, wrapt their coates about their left armes, and with their ſwords drawne, defended themſelues from the Buckler-bearers and Horſemen: and truſting to the neereneſſe and propinquity of their Campe, they tooke courage and got ſafely thither, beeing protected by the Cohorts that had the guard at the Campe gates.

Iunctos amplexibus eiſe ſeparat, et multo diſiurbat ſanguine pacem. Luc.

This beeing done, Petreius went weeping about to the Maniples, calling the ſouldiers, and beſeeching thẽ not to leaue and forſake him, nor yet Pompey their Generall, that was abſent: nor to deliuer them ouer to the crueltie of their aduerſaries. Preſently there-vpon, a great concourſe of ſouldiers was about the Pratory, requiring that euery man might take an oath; not to abandon or betray the Army or their Generalls, nor yet to enter into priuate conſultation thereof without conſent of the reſt. He himſelfe firſt tooke an oath to this effect, & cauſed Afranius to take the ſame. The Tribunes of the Souldiers and Centurions, followed in order: and after them, the ſouldiers were brought out according to their Centuries, and were ſworne the ſame oath.

Interq́ menſaſque toroſque, quæ modo complexu ſouerunt pectora cædunt. Lucan. lib. 4.

They cauſed it alſo to be proclaimed, that whoſoeuer had any of Cæſars ſouldiers, ſhould cauſe them to be brought out; and beeing brought foorth, they ſlew them publiquely before the Prætorian Pauilion: But moſt men concealed ſuch as were with them, and in the night time, ſent them out ouer the Rampier. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the terrour where-with the Generalls had affrighted thẽ, the cruelty they had ſhewed in puniſhment, together with the vaine religion of the new oath, had taken away all hope of yeelding for the preſent: and quite changing the ſouldiers mindes, had reduced the matter to the former courſe of warre.

Hoc ſiquidẽ ſolo ciuilis crimine belli dux cauſæ melioribus eris. Lucan. lib. 4.

Cæſar, for his part, cauſed diligent inquiry to bee made, of ſuch ſouldiers as came into his Campe during the time of the treaty, and ſent them away in ſafety. But of the Tribunes of the ſouldiers and Centurions, many of their voluntarie accord remained with him: whom afterwards he held in great honour; and aduaunced the Centurions, and ſuch Romaine Knights as were of the better ranke, to the place and dignity of Tribunes.

The Afranians were ſorely laid vnto in their forraging, and watered likewiſe with great difficultie. Many of the legionarie ſouldiers had ſtore of Corne, beeing commaunded to take prouiſion with them from Ilerda for twenty two daies: But the Buckler-bearers, and Auxiliary forces, had none at all, hauing alſo but ſmall meanes to prouide and furniſh themſelues; for which cauſe, a great number fledde daily to Cæſar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THat euery man is the maker of his owne fortune, is euidently ſeene in the ſeuerall cariages of theſe two Generalls. For, Afranius gaue way to the ſouldiers treatie, and reſolued to ſuffer whatſoeuer that tranſaction ſhould caſt vpon him. But Petreius, oppoſing himſelfe to their deſires, raiſed new troubles, had further deſignes, and another fortune. Wherein, foraſmuch as the euent of things riſeth according as they are firſt directed, either by weake or ſtrong reſolutions; it better ſuteth the temper of a ſouldier (howſoeuer the ſucceſſe fall out with our deſires) rather to be ſtiffe in what he wiſheth; then to make his owne caſineſs, the ready meanes of his aduerſaries happineſs.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

VErtue at all times hath had this priuiledge in the difference & degrees of State and Condition, to make a Noble mans word, equall to a Common mans oath: but the integritie of former ages, had a more generall prerogatiue, auouching euery mans promiſe for the ſtrictneſſe of an oath. Hence it was, that the Romaines, vpon their inrollement for a war, gaue but their promiſe to the Tribune of the ſouldiers, to keepe ſuch ordinances as their *Militia* required: vntill at length, that the corruption of time (falſifying the ſimplicitie & truth of words) did inforce them to giue an oath, as the ſureſt bond of faith and obedience: as it is noted by Liuie at large; The ſouldiers (ſaith hee) which was neuer before that time practiſed, were ſworne by the Tribunes, to appeare vpon ſummons from the Conſuls, and not to depart without leaue. For, vntill then, there was nothing required of them but a ſolemne promiſe (which the horſemen made by their Decuries, and the foote troops by their Centuries) not to leaue their Colours by flight, or throgh feare, nor to forſake their rank, vnleſſe it were either to aſſault an enemie, to take vp an offenſiue weapon, or to ſaue a Cittizen; & being at firſt but the offer of a free mind, was now by the Tribunes required by obligation of an oath.

Anno Vrb. cõd. 538. Nullũ vinculũ ad aſtringendã fidẽ, iureiurando arctius eſſe poteſt. Lib. 22.

Lib. 16. cap. 4.

The forme of this oath was diuerſly varied, as appeareth by Aul. Gel. and more ſpecially in the times of the Emperours: for, Caligula made this addition to the ſouldiers oath; That they ſhould hold neither their liues nor their children, dearer vnto them then the Emperour Caius and his ſiſters. Concerning the reſpect had of this Militarie oath, that which Tully reporteth of Cato is of excellent note. * Popilius, hauing charge of the Prouince of Macedonia, had (amongſt other Romaine youthes) Catos ſon, a young ſouldier in his Armie; and being occaſioned to diſmiſs a legion, diſcharged likewiſe young Cato, being one of that legion: but he, deſirous to beare Armes in that war, continued ſtill in the Armie; wherevpon, Cato writ from Rome to Popilius, requiring him, that if he ſuffered his ſonne to remaine in that warre, hee would by any meanes ſweare him againe: for, beeing diſcharged of his firſt oath, hee could not lawfullie fight againſt the Enemy.

*Lib. 1. offic. * M. Pompilius.*

Euer

Euer ſince Conſtantine the great, the ſouldiers were ſworne by a Chriſtian oath, as Vegetius noteth, to obey all things the Emperour ſhould commaund them; not to leaue their warfare without licence, nor to ſhun death for the ſeruice of the Publique weale. And at this day, amongſt other Nations, an oath is giuen to the ſouldier vpon his inrolement, to this effect; Well and lawfully to ſerue the King, towards all men, and againſt all, without exception of perſons. And if they knowe any thing concerning his ſeruice, to reueale the ſame incontinentlie; not to leaue their Colours, without leaue either of the Generall, or his Lieutenant. *Lib. 2. cap. 5.*

The auncient Romaines did charge their ſolemne and publique oathes, with many ceremonies: as appeareth by that form which was vſed in ratifying Treaties & Tranſactions; Their Heralds killed a hog, and cried out withall, that the like would happen to him that firſt falſified his faith.

Polybius reporteth, that he that read the oath wherby the Romains & Carthaginians ſware their accord, had the haire of his head tied vp in an extraordinary manner: The parties invocating their Iupiter, to grant all proſperitie to him, that without fraud or deceit did enter into that agreement. But if (ſaid hee that tooke the oath) I ſhall either doe, or purpoſe otherwiſe; all the reſt beeing ſafe and ſound, let me alone (in the midſt of the lawes and iuſtice of my Countrey, in my owne habitation and dwelling, and within my proper Temples and Sepulchers) periſh moſt vnfortunatly, euen as this ſtone flieth out of my hand: and (as he ſpake thoſe words) caſt away a ſtone. *Lib. 3. Hiſto.*

I doe not find the vſe of a Military oath in our Nation. Howbeit, the cõmon forme of our oath, is as ceremonious and ſignificatiue as any other whatſoeuer: which may be obſerued by the three parts it containeth, as I haue ſeene them alligorized in ſome Antiquities. For, firſt, the booke beeing alwaies a part of holie writ, implieth a renunciation of all the promiſes therein contained. Secondly, the touching it with our handes, inferreth the like defiance of our works, neuer to be ſucceſſull or helping vnto vs. Thirdly, the kiſsing of the booke, importeth a vaine miſſpending of our vowes and praiers, if wee falſifie any thing thereby averred.

CHAP. XXV.

The endeuour which Afranius vſed to returne to *Ilerda*; *but failed in his deſigne.*

HE matter beeing in this extreamity; of two meanes which were left vnto them, it was thought the readier and more expedient, to returne to Ilerda. For, hauing left there behind thẽ a little Corne, they hoped to take ſome good courſe for the ſequell. Tarraco was further off, & thereby ſubiect to more caſualties concerning their paſſage. In regard whereof, they *Cæſar.*

reſolued of their former courſe, and ſo diſlodged themſelues.

Cæſar, hauing ſent his Caualrie before, to incumber and retard the reare-guard, followed after (himſelfe) with the legions. The hindmoſt troopes of their Armie, were conſtrained (without any intermiſsion of time) to fight with our horſemen. And their manner of fight was thus; Certaine expedite Cohorts, free of cariages, marched in the reare of their Army, and in open and champaine places, many of theſe Cohorts made a ſtand, to confront our Caualrie. If they were to aſcend vp a Hill, the nature of the place did eaſily repell the danger wherwith they were threatned; foraſmuch as ſuch as went before, might eaſily from the higher ground, protect them that followed after: but, when they came to a valley or deſcent, that thoſe that were in the former rankes, could not helpe them in the reare; the horſemen from the vpper ground, did caſt their weapons vvith great eaſe and facility vpon the Enemy. And then cõtinually they were in great hazard and danger: and ſtill as they approched neere vnto ſuch places, they called to the legions, and willed them to make a ſtand with their Enſignes, and ſo by great force and violence, expelled our Caualrie.

Who beeing retired backe, they would ſuddainly take a running, and get all downe into the valley. And preſently againe, beeing to aſcende into higher ground, they would there make a ſtand: for, they were ſo farre from hauing help of their owne Caualry (whereof they had great number) that they were gladde to take them beeweene their troopes, (being much affrighted with former incounters) and ſo to ſhelter and protect them: of whom, if any chaunced (vpon occaſion) to ſtray aſide out of the rout the Army held, they were preſently attached by Cæſars horſemen.

The fight continuing in this manner, they proceeded ſlowely on their way, and aduaunced forward but by little and little; and oftentimes, ſtood ſtill to ſuccour and relieue their party, as then it fell out. For, hauing gone but foure miles on their way (beeing very hardly laide to, and much preſſed by our Caualrie) they tooke to an exceeding high hill; and there putting themſelues into one front of a battell, fortified their Campe, keeping their cariages laden vpon their horſes. As ſoone as they perceiued that Cæſars Campe was ſette, and that the tents were vp, and their horſes put to graſſe; they roſe ſuddainly about mid-day, vpon hope of ſome reſpite, by reaſon of our horſe put out to feeding, and went on their iourney.

Which Cæſar perceiuing, roſe and followed after, leauing a fewe Cohorts to keepe the cariages: and about the tenth houre, commaunding the forragers and horſemen to be called backe, and to follow after; Inſtantly the Caualrie returned, and betooke themſelues to their accuſtomed charge.

The fight was very ſharpe in the reare, inſomuch as they were ready to turne their backes. Many ſouldiers, and ſome of the Centurions were ſlaine. Cæſars troopes preaced hard vpon them, and threatned the ouerthrowe of their vvhole Armie; inſomuch, as they had neither meanes to chooſe a fit place to incampe in, nor to proceede forward in their march. Whereby they were neceſſarilie inforced to make a ſtande, and to pitch their Campe farre from any vvater, in an vnequall and diſaduantageous place: but Cæſar forbare to meddle with them,

for

for the ſame reaſons that haue been formerly declared: and for that day, would not ſuffer the ſouldiers to ſet vp their Tents, that they might bee the readier to folow after, at what time ſoeuer by night or by day they ſhold offer to break away.

The Enemy, hauing obſerued the defect of our Campe, imploied all that night in aduaunncing their workes, and in caſting their Camp with an oppoſite front to our Armie. The like they did all the next day; but ſo it fell out, that by how much their Campe was brought further on, and the fortification grew neerer to finiſhing, by ſo much further off they were from water: and ſo remedied one euil with a worſe miſchiefe. The firſt night, none of them went out of their Camp to fetch water: and the next day, they led out all their troopes together to water, but ſent no man out to forrage. Whereby Cæſar, finding them oppreſſed with manie inconueniences, choſe rather to force them to a compoſition, then to fight with them.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN this troubleſome and confuſed retreit, which theſe Commaunders vndertooke, to regaine the aduantages that formerly they had quitted at Ilerda, we may obſerue the difficulties attending a weaker partie, when they would free themſelues from the preſſures of a ſtrong confronting enemie. For, the frailetie of humane fortune, is alwaies ſo yoaked with incomberances, and hath ſo many lets from the natiue weakneſſes of it owne indeuour; that if the oppoſition of forraine malice, ſhall therewithall vnhappilie concurre, to ſtoppe the current of our deſires, there is little hope of better ſucceſſe, then that which the ordinarie condition of extreamitie doth afford: which is, to hazard the perill of a wound, in ſeeking to auoide the ſmart of a rodde; and to fall into Scylla, vpon a deſire wee haue to ſhunne Charybdis, according as it befell this partie. Wherein let vs further note the aduantage which a Commaunder hath, either to take or leaue, when he is able to ouer-maiſter the Enemie in Caualrie: for, the horſmen, ſeruing an Armie Roiall, by making diſcoueries, by forraging, by giuing reſcue vpon a ſudden, by dooing execution, and retarding an Enemy in his march, if (ouer-awed by the Caualry of the Enemy) they cannot performe theſe ſeruices as is requiſite; the contrary partie is the ſtronger by ſo many aduantages.

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæſar went about to incloſe the Enemy, *and he to hinder Cæſar.*

Cæſar.

HOwbeit, Cæſar laboured to incloſe them about with a ditch and a rampier, to the end he might with better eaſe hinder their ſuddaine ſallies and eruptions, to which he thought the Enemy would neceſſarily betake themſelues.

The Enemy beeing ſtraightned for want of forrage, and to the end alſo they might be the readier to eſcape away, cauſed all their horſes of cariage to be killed: and in theſe workes and conſultations were two daies ſpent. The third day, a great part of Cæſars workes being already perfected, the enemy (to hinder the buſineſs intended, concerning the fortifications) about two of the clocke in the afternoone, made the Alarum, brought out the legions, and imbattelled themſelues vnder their Campe. Cæſar calleth back the legions from their worke; and commaunding all his horſe to troope together, putteth his Army in battell. For, hauing made ſuch a ſhew of vnwillingneſs to buckle with the enemy, againſt the will of the ſouldier and opinion of all men, he found himſelfe ſubiect therevpon to much inconuenience: howbeit, he was reſolued (for the reaſons already ſpecified) not to ſtrike a battell; and the rather at this time, for that the ſpace betweene his Campe and the enemies, was ſo little, that if he had put thē to flight, it could not haue much auailed him, for the gaining of a perfect and abſolute victorie. For, their Campes were not aboue 2000 foote aſunder; whereof the Armies tooke vp two parts, and the third was left for incurſion and aſſault. So that if hee had giuen battell in that neereneſs of the Campe, they would haue found a ſpeedy retreit vpon their ouerthrow. For which cauſe, hee reſolued to ſtand vpon his defence, and not to giue the onſet and charge them firſt.

Hora octaua, ſigno dato.

Tela tene iam miles, ait, ferrūque ruenti ſubtrahe, non vllo conſtet mihi ſanguine bellū vinctus haud gratis iugulo qui prouocat hoſtem Lucan. lib. 4.

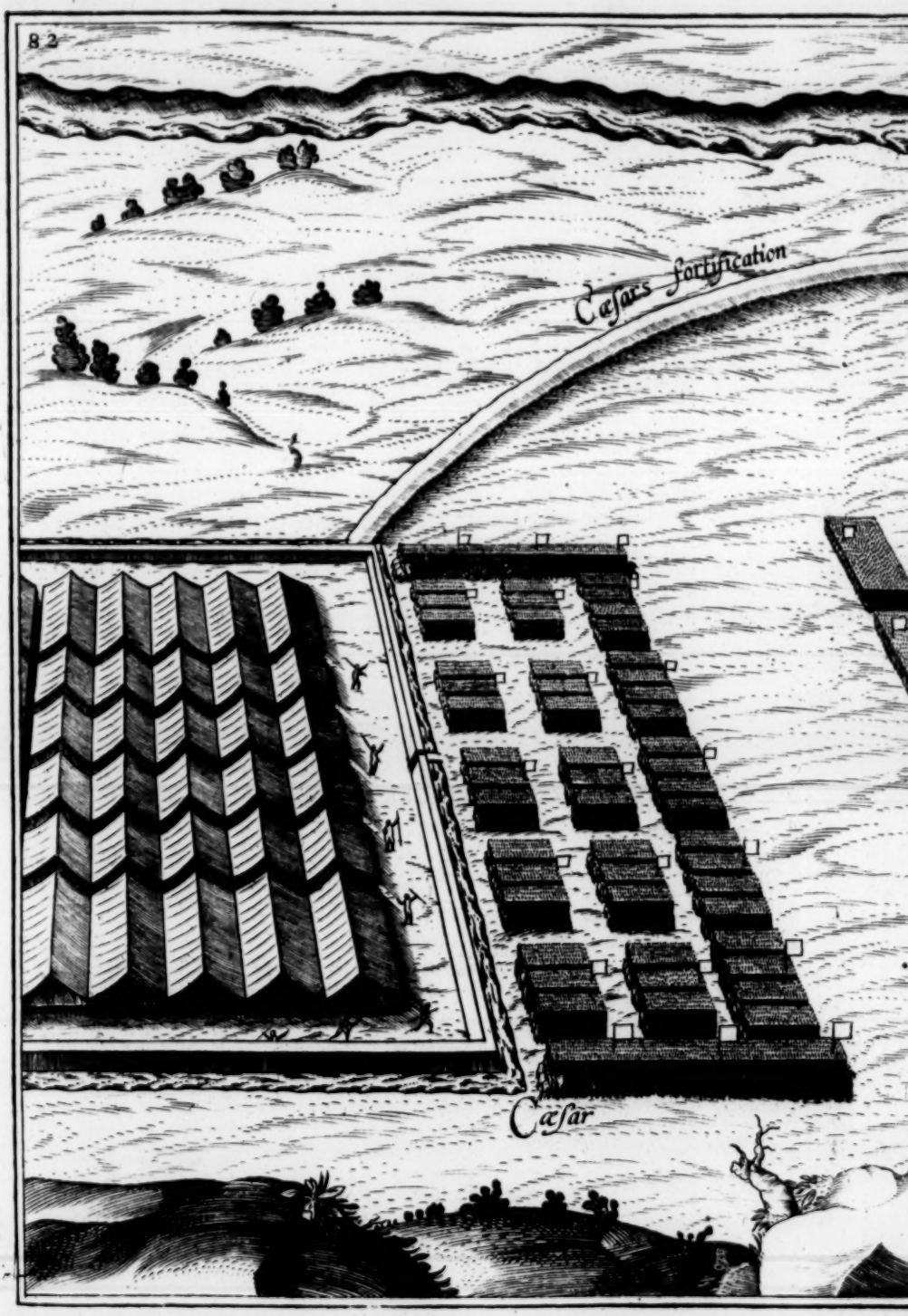
Afranius had put his Army in a double battell: the firſt, conſiſting of fiue legions; and the Auxiliary cohorts, which vſually ſerued in the winges, were now placed for ſuccours, and made the ſecond battell.

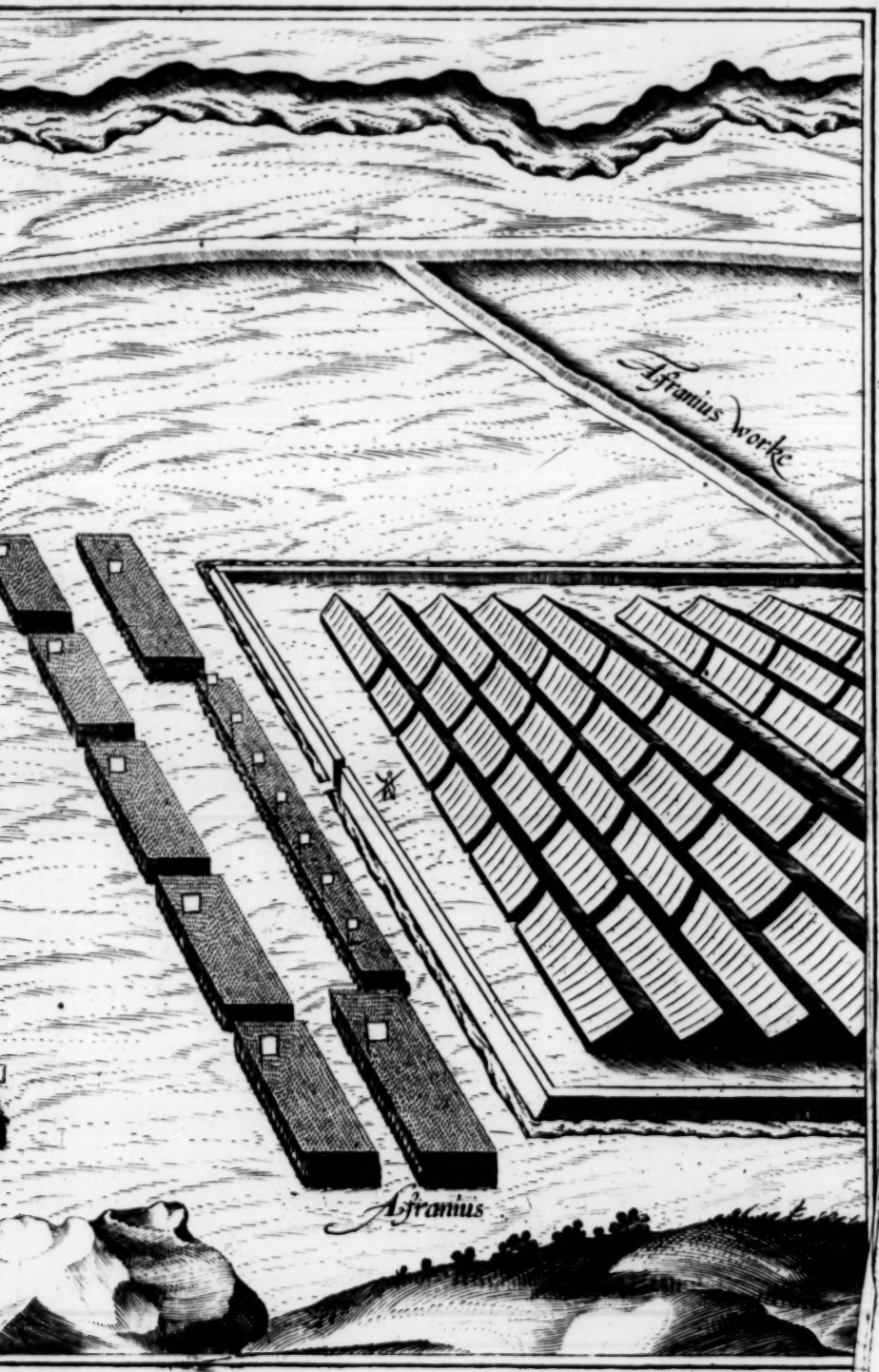
Cæſars Armie was ordered in a triple battell; the firſt was of foure cohorts, a peece of the fiue legions: the ſecond, of three; and the third againe of three of each legion, following in order. The Archers and Slingers were in the midſt, & the Caualrie on the ſides. Beeing thus both imbattelled, they ſeemed to obtaine their ſeuerall ends; Cæſar, not to fight vnleſſe he were forced to it: and the Enemy, to hinder Cæſars fortification. But the matter beeing drawen out in length, they ſtood imbattelled vntill ſunne ſetting: and then returned both into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Contra opinionem enim militum, famamque omnium videri prælio diffugiſſe, magnū detrimentū afferebat, ſaith the hiſtorie. Whence we may obſerue two points; Firſt, that a Commaunder in ſtriking a field, muſt partly be directed by his Armie: for, he may neither fight againſt the liking of the ſouldier, nor with-hold them frō fighting when they are willing to imbrace it, if other circumſtances doe indifferentlie concurre there-withall. For, when men are cōmaunded to doe what they would doe, the matter is throughlie vndertaken; and the iſſue is commonlie anſwerable to the readineſs of their deſires: but, being reſtrained in their affections, and put beſides their aptneſs of their voluntarie diſpoſition, there groweth ſuch

It is hard catching Hares with vnwilling houndes.


Cæsars fortification
Cæsar


Afranius worke
Afranius

ſuch a contrarietie betweene the Generalls order, and the ſouldiers obedience, as will hardly ſympathiſe to beget good fortune.

And if a Leader of that fame and opinion, and ſo well knowne to his Army as Cæſar was, grew into diſtaſte with his ſouldiers, vpon ſo good cauſes which he had to ſhunne a battell; what hazard that Commaunder runneth into, who ſildome or neuer gaue argument of his reſolution in this kind, may be conceiued by this paſſage. The ſecond thing which I note, is, that a Generall muſt learne eſpeciallie to diſguiſe his intendements, by making ſhew of that which he meaneth not. For, albeit the more iudicious ſort of men are not ſo well ſatisfied with pretences as with deedes: yet foraſmuch as the condition of Princes, contrary to the manner of priuate perſons, requireth ſuch a direction of buſineſs, as may rather ſute with fame and opinion, then with particular ends; it behoueth them to vſe ſuch gloſſes, as may take away all petulant and ſiniſter interpretations, howſoeuer their courſes may aime at other purpoſes. And certainely, the generalitie of people, are better paid with apparances then with truth; according as Machauell hath obſerued. But concerning Cæſar, that which Ephicrates ſaid of himſelf, hauing imbattelled his Army to fight; That he feared nothing more, then that his enemie knew not his valour: may more properlie be ſaid heere. For, there was nothing abuſed the Enemy more, or made them take vp ſo many Brauados, or vſe ſo much delay before they came to compoſition, but that they knew not Cæſar. For, as the Eagle is able to mount aloft, in all ſeaſons and temperatures of the ayre; ſo was his ſword ſteeled, to make way through all reſiſtance.

Cæteris mortalibus in eo ſtant conſilia quid ſibi conducere putent. Principum diuerſa ſors eſt, quibus præcipua rerum ad famã dirigenda. Tacit.

L'vniuerſale, de gli huomini ſi paſce, coſi di quello che paie, come di quello, che è anzi: molte volte ſi muouono piu per le coſe che paiono, che per quelle che ſono. Lib. 1. Sop. Tit. Liv. cap. 25.

Omnis aier Aquilæ penetrabilis.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Their manner of imbattelling

IN the next place, the manner of their imbattelling commeth to be obſerued: which generally in all Editions runneth thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in ſubſidijs locum alariæ cohortis obtinebat: Cæſaris triplex ſed primam aciem quaternæ cohortes ex V. legione tenebant. Has ſubſidiariæ, ternæ, et rurſus aliæ totidem ſuæ cuiuſque legionis ſubſequebantur: ſagittarij funditoreſq; mediacõtinebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat:* And needeth the helpe of ſome excellent Criticke, to make it haue anſwerable ſenſe to the other parts of this hiſtorie. For firſt, how ſhall we vnderſtand thoſe wordes, *Acies Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in ſubſidijs?* Shall we take the meaning to be, that the firſt legion ſtood in front, and the other ſtood for ſuccours behind? Or ſhall we take it with *Faernus*; *Acies Afraniana duplex: ex legione prima, et tertia, in ſubſidijs locum alariæ cohortes obtinebant?* But neither by the one, or by the other, is there found more then two legions: whereas there is expreſſe mention of fiue, beſides the cohorts of the Countrey. And therefore, as not knowing other more probable, I haue tranſlated it according to Lipſius correction, and made the text thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legionum quinque: et in ſubſidijs locum alariæ cohortes, obtinebant.*

Lib. 4. de militia Romana.

The

The firſt battell conſiſted of fiue legions; and the ſecond, of the Spaniſh and Auxiliarie forces. The like helpe muſt be ſent to Cæſar; for, otherwiſe, the text doth affoord him but few cohorts: ſtanding thus, *Primam aciem quaternæ cohortes, ex quinta legione, tenebant. Has ternæ, et rurſus aliæ &c.* For, vndoubtedly, Cæſar had fiue legions equall to Afranius; but, being farre inferior vnto him in Auxiliarie troopes, was driuen to a more artificiall diuiſion, to helpe his weakeneſs in that point. And therefore, as the ſame Critick hath mended it, we are to read, *Quaternæ cohortes ex quinque legionibus:* vvhich bringeth forth this ſenſe; In the firſt battell were fiue times foure cohorts; in the ſecond, fiue times three cohorts, and as many in the third battell. And by the addition of *ſuæ cuiuſque legionis*, it appeareth, that euery legion was ſo diuided into three parts, that it had foure cohorts in the firſt battell, three in the ſecond, and three in the laſt.

Concerning the ſpace which their Armies imbattelled tooke vp, it appeareth, that the whole diſtance betweene their Campes, contained two thouſand foote; whereof either Armie tooke vp one third, beeing *666* foote, 111 paſes, a little more then a furlong: but that altered more or leſſe, as place and occaſion required.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Treatie of Peace.

Cæſar.

THE next day, Cæſar went about to finiſh and end the fortification which he had begun; and the Enemy, to try whether they might find a foord in the Riuer Sicoris, and ſo get ouer. Which beeing perceiued, Cæſar caried ouer the light armed Germanes, and part of the Caualrie, and diſpoſed them in guard along the Riuer banke. At length, beeing beſieged & ſhut vp on all ſides, and hauing kept their horſes without meate foure daies together, beſides their extreame want of water, wood and corne, they required parlee: and that (if it might be) in ſome place out of the preſence of the ſouldier. Which Cæſar denied, vnleſſe it were in publique. Whereupon, Afranius his ſonne was giuen in hoſtage to Cæſar; and ſo they preſented themſelues in a place of Cæſars appointing.

And in the hearing of both the Armies, Afranius ſpake to this effect; That he was not to be offended, neither with them nor with the ſouldier, for beeing faithfull and obedient to the Generall Cn. Pompeius; but now, hauing made ſufficient proofe of their dutie, they had alſo throughly ſuffered for the ſame, hauing indured the extreamitie of want in all neceſſarie prouiſions: Inſomuch as now they were ſhut vp as women, kept from water, kept from going out, oppreſt with a greater waight of griefe in bodie, and of diſhonor in their reputation, then they were able to beare: and therefore did confeſſe themſelues to be vanquiſhed and

and ouercome: praying and beſeeching, that if there were any mercy left, they might not vndergoe the extreamity of Fortune. And this hee deliuered as humbly and demiſsiuely as was poſsible.

At nunc ſola mihi eſt orandæ cauſa ſalutis, dignũ donanda Cæſar te credere vita.

To which, Cæſar anſwered; That theſe tearmes of complaint and compaſsion, could be vſed to no man more vnproperly then himſelfe: for, where-as euery man elſe did his duty; he onely, vpon fit conditions of time and place, refuſed to fight with them, to the end all circumſtances might concurre to a peace: Albeit his Army had ſuffered much wrong, in the death and ſlaughter of their fellowes; yet he had kept and preſerued ſuch of their party as were in his power, and came of their owne accord to moue a peace. Wherein they thought, they went about to procure the ſafety of all their fellowes: ſo that the whole courſe of his proceeding with them, conſiſted of clemency. Howbeit, the Commaunders themſelues, abhorred the name of Peace, & had not kept the lawes either of treatie or truce: For, they had cauſed many ſimple men to be maſsacred and ſlaine, that were deceiued by a ſhew of treaty. And therefore it had befallen them, as it happeneth for the moſt part to peruerſe and arrogant perſons, to ſeeke and earneſtly to deſire that which a little before they had fooliſhly contemned.

Neither would he take the aduantage of this their ſubmiſsion, or of any other opportunitie of time, either to augment his power, or to ſtrengthen his partie: but he onely required, that thoſe Armies might be diſcharged, which for many yeeres together had been maintained againſt him. For, neither were thoſe ſixe Legions for any other cauſe ſent into Spaine, nor the ſeauenth inrolled there, nor ſo many and ſo great Nauies prepared, nor ſuch experienced and skilfull Commaunders ſelected and appointed (for none of theſe needed to keepe Spaine in quiet) nothing heereof was prepared for the vſe and behoofe of the Prouince, which (by reaſon of their long continuance of peace) needed not any ſuch aſsiſtance. All theſe thinges vvere long agoe prouided in a readineſse againſt him: Nevv formes of gouernment vvere made and ordained againſt him; That one and the ſame man, ſhould be reſiant at the gates of Rome, haue the vvhole ſuperintendencie and direction of the Cittie buſineſs: and yet notwithſtanding, hold two warlike Prouinces for ſo many yeeres together, being abſent from both of them.

Againſt him, and for his ruine, were changed the ancient Rights and Cuſtomes of Magiſtracie, in ſending men at the end of their Pretorſhip or Conſulſhip, to the gouernment of Prouinces, as was alwaies accuſtomed; but in lieu of them, were choſen ſome that were allowed & authoriſed by a few. Againſt him the prerogatiue of age did nothing preuaile: but, whoſoeuer they were that in former warres had made good proofe of their valour, were now called out to cõmaund Armies. To him onely was denied, that which was granted to all other Generalls; that when they had happily brought thinges to an end, they might diſmiſſe their Armie, and returne home with honour, or at the leaſt, vvithout dishonour.

All which things, hee notwithſtanding both had and would ſuffer patientlie; neither did he now goe about to take their Army from them, and retaine them in pay for himſelfe, which hee might eaſily doe: but that they ſhould not haue meanes

meanes to make head againſt him. And therefore, as it was ſaid before, they ſhould goe out of the Prouinces, and diſcharge their Army; if they did ſo, hee would hurt no man: But that was the onely and laſt meanes of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

Multa, quæ noſtra cauſa nunquã faceremus, facimus cauſa amicorum. Cicero Lælius.

THere is not any one vertue, that can chalenge a greater meaſure of honour, or hath more prerogatiue either amongſt friends or enemies, then fidelitie. For which cauſe it is, that men are more ſtrict in matters committed to their truſt, for the behoofe of others, then they can well be, if the ſame things concerned themſelues. And yet neuertheleſſe, there is a *Quatenus* in all indeuours, and ſeemeth to be limitted with ſuch apparencie, as true affection may make of a good meaning: & was the ground which Afranius tooke to moue Cæſar for a pardon; *Non eſſe aut ipſis aut militibus ſuccenſendum, quòd fidem erga Imperatorem Cn. Pompeium conſeruare voluerint; ſed ſatis iam feciſſe officio, ſatisque ſupplicij tuliſſe. &c.* which hee deliuered in a ſtile ſuting his fortune. For, as Cominæus hath obſerued; Men in feare, giue reuerent and humble words: and the tongue is euer conditioned to be the chiefeſt witneſs of our fortune.

Qui vincuntur victam habent linguam. Plu.

On the other ſide, Cæſar produced nothing for his part, but ſuch wrongs as might ſeeme valuable to make good thoſe courſes which he proſecuted: as firſt, iniuries done by them, and that in the higheſt degree of blame againſt his ſouldiers, that went but to ſeeke for peace. Iniuries done by their Generall, in ſuch a faſhion, as ſpared not to euert the fundamentall rights of the State, to bring him to ruine and confuſion. Whereby hee was moued to indeuour that, which Nature tieth euery man vnto, *Propellere iniuriam:* and hauing brought it to theſe tearmes wherein it now ſtood, he would giue aſſurance to the world, by the reuenge he there tooke, that hee entered into that warre for this onelie end, that he might liue in peace: and ſo required no more but that the Armie ſhould be diſmiſſed.

Belli ita ſuſcipiatur, vt nihil aliud, niſi pax, quæſita videatur. Cice. lib. 1. de offici.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The execution of the Articles agreed vpon.

THE conditions propounded, were moſt acceptable & pleaſing to the ſouldiers; as might appeare by them: for, beeing in the condition of vanquiſhed perſons, and thereupon expecting a hard meaſure of Fortune; to be rewarded vvith libertie, & exemption of Armes, was more then they could expect: inſomuch, as where there grew a controuerſie of the time and place of their diſmiſſion, they all generally ſtanding

ſtanding vpon the rampier, ſignified both by their ſpeeches and by their handes, that their deſire was it might be done inſtantly; for, it could not bee prouided by any aſſurance, that it would continue firme, if it were deferred vntill another time. After ſome diſpute on each ſide, the matter was in the end brought to this iſſue; that ſuch as had houſes & poſſeſsions in Spaine, ſhould be diſcharged preſently, and the reſt at the Riuer Varus. It was conditioned, that no man ſhould be iniuried, that no man ſhould be forced againſt his wil, to be ſworne vnder Cæſars commaund.

Varus fluuius. Hoc petimus, victos ne tecum vincere cogas. Luc.

Cæſar promiſed to furniſh thẽ with Corne, vntill they came to the riuer Varus: adding withal, that what ſoeuer any one had loſt in the time of the warre, which ſhold be found with any of his ſouldiers, ſhold be reſtored to ſuch as loſt it, or if it were not to be had, he paid the value therof in mony. If any cõtrouerſie afterward grew amongſt the ſouldiers, Petreius & Afranius of their owne accord brought the matter from time to time before Cæſar. As, when the Souldiers grew almoſt into a mutiny for want of pay, the Cõmaunders affirming the pay day was not yet come, it was required that Cæſar might vnderſtand the cauſe, and both parties were contented with his arbitrement.

A third part of the Army beeing diſmiſſed in thoſe two daies, hee commaunded two legions to march before their Army, and the reſt to follow after, and continually to incampe themſelues not farre from them: and appointed Q. Fuſius Calenus, a Legate, to take the charge of that buſineſs. This courſe beeing taken, they marched out of Spaine to the Riuer Varus, and there diſmiſſed the reſt of their Armie.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Riuer Varus diuideth Gallia Narbonenſis, from Italie; and was thought an indifferent place to diſcharge the Armie, wherby there might be an end made of that warre. Wherein if any man deſire to ſee a parallell drawne, betweene Cæſar and the other Leaders for matter of warre, it ſhall ſuffice to take the iſſue for a ſquare of their directions; beeing drawne to this head within fortie daies after Cæſar came within ſight of the Enemy, as Curio noteth in his ſpeech to the ſouldiers.

Rerum ab euentu, facta notanda putes. Lib. 2. Ciuil.

Cato, ſeeing the proſperous ſucceſſe of Cæſar againſt Pompey, ſaid there was a great vncertaintie in the gouernment of their Gods: Alluding peraduenture to that of Plato in his Politickes, where hee ſaith; that there are ages, wherein the Gods doe gouerne the world in their owne perſons: and there are other times, wherein they altogether neglect the ſame; theworld taking a courſe quite contrarie to that which the Gods directed. But Lucan ſpake from a ſurer ground, where hee ſaith;

Victrix cauſa Diis placuit; ſed victa Catoni.

And thus endeth the firſt Commentarie.

THE

THE SECOND COMMENTARIE of the Ciuill Warres.

(·.·)

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Commentarie hath three ſpeciall parts; The firſt, containing the ſiege of Marſelleis: the ſtrange vvorks, and extreame indeauours to take and to keepe the Towne. The ſecond expreſſeth the vaine labour which Varro, Pompeies Lieutenant, vndertooke, after that Afranius and Petreius were defeated, to keepe the Prouince of Andolozia out of Cæſars power and commaund. And the third part conſiſteth of the expedition Curio made into Affrica; and endeth with his ouerthrowe.

CHAP. I.

The preparations for the ſiege, aſwell within as *without the Towne*.

WHilſt theſe things were dooing in Spaine, C. Trebonius the Legate, beeing left to beſiege Marſelleis, had begunne in two places to raiſe Mounts, to make Mantilets and Towres againſt the Towne: One, next vnto the Port where the Shippes lay; and the other, in the vvay leading from Gallia and Spaine into the towne, iuſt vpon the creeke of the ſea, neere vnto the mouth of the Rhone. For, three parts of Marſelleis are in a manner waſhed with the ſea: and the fourth is that which giueth paſſage by land; whereof that part which belongeth to the Caſtle (by reaſon of the nature of the place, fortified with a deepe ditch) would require a long and difficult ſiege. For the perfecting of thoſe workes, Trebonius had cõmaunded out of all the Prouince, great ſtore of horſes for cariage, and a multitude of men; requiring them to bring rods to make Hurdles, and other materialls for the worke: which beeing prepared and brought together, hee raiſed a Mount of foureſcore foote high. Cæſar.

But ſuch was the prouiſion, which of ancient time they had ſtored vp in the towne, of all equipage and neceſſaries for the warre, with ſuch prouiſion of munition and engines, that no Hurdles made of roddes or Oſiers, were able to beare out the force thereof. For, out of their great Baliſtæ, they ſhot beames of twelue foote long, pointed with Iron, with ſuch force, as they would pearce through foure courſes of Hurdles, and ſticke in the earth. Whereby they were forced to roofe their Gallery, with timber of a foote ſquare, and to bring matter that way by hand. To make the Mount, a Teſtudo of ſixtie foote in length was alwaies caried before, for the leuelling of the ground, made of mighty ſtrong timber, couered and armed with all things which might defend it from ſtones, or what elſe ſhould be caſt vpon it. But the greatneſs of the worke, the height of the wall, together vvith the multitude of Engins, did retard and hinder the proceeding thereof.*

Porticus Agger Teſtudo.

Moreouer, the Albici did make often ſallies out of the towne, ſetting fire to the mounts and to the turrets; which were kept by our ſouldiers with great facilitie and eaſe, forcing ſuch as ſalied out to returne with great loſſe.

OBSERVATIONS.

HAuing deſcribed in the former Commentaries theſe Engines & workes heere mentioned, the Reader may pleaſe (for his better ſatisfaction) to review thoſe places; as alſo further to note, that the word Artilery, was brought downe to theſe ages from the vſe of ancient Engins, which conſiſted of thoſe two primitiues, *Arcum* and *Telum*. And, according as diuerſitie of Art & wit found meanes to fit theſe to vſe and occaſions, ſo had they ſeuerall and diſtinct names; wherof I find chiefely theſe, *Baliſtæ*, *Catapultæ*, *Tolenones*, *Scorpiones*, *Onagri:* Of each of which, there are diuers and ſeuerall ſorts; as firſt, of the *Baliſtæ*, ſome were called *Centenariæ:* others, *Talentariæ*, according to the weight of the bullet or weapon they ſhot. Of the rate and proportion whereof, Vitruuius, and his learned interpreter Daniel Barbarus, haue made accurate deſcription. Againe, ſome were made to ſhoote ſtones: as appeareth by that of Tacitus, *Magnitudine eximia, quartædecimæ legionis Baliſta ingentibus ſaxis hoſtilem aciem proruebat*; and others, to ſhoote dartes and piles of timber, headed with Iron; as is manifeſted by this place. Moreouer, the maner of bending of theſe Engines made a difference, ſome being drawne vp with a wrinch or ſcrue, and ſome with a wheele, ſome hauing long armes, and others hauing ſhort: but the ſtrings were generally either all of ſinowes or of womens haire, as ſtrongeſt & ſureſt of any other kind. Of theſe, Vegetius preferreth the *Baliſtæ*, and the *Onagri*, as vnreſiſtable when they were skilfully handled. The word *Onagri*, as Amianus Marcellinus noteth, was of a later ſtampe, and impoſed vpon thoſe Engines which former time called *Scorpiones*; and was taken from the nature of wilde Aſſes, that are ſaid to caſt ſtones backward with their feete at the Hunters, with ſuch violence, that oftentimes they daſhed out their braines.

Artilery deriued from *Arcus* and *Telum*

Lib. 10. ca. 17.

Lib. 3. Hiſto. Baliſtæ Petrariæ.

Lib. 4. cap. 29.

In

In the time of Barbariſme, all theſe Engines were generally called *Mangonella:* as appeareth by Viginierus, in his Annotations vpō Onoſander. Which is likewiſe ſhewed, by that which Maiſter Camden hath inſerted in the deſcription of Bedfordſhire, concerning the ſiege of Bedford Caſtle, in the time of Henry the third, out of an Authour that was preſent; *Ex parte orientali fuit vna Petraria, et duo Mangonella, quæ quotidiè turrim infeſtabant: et ex parte occidentis duo Mangonella, quæ turrim veterem contriuerunt, et vnum Mangonellum ex parte Auſtrali, &c.* But our powder hauing blowne all theſe out of vſe, it were to no purpoſe to inſiſt longer vpon them.

And of *Mangonellum*, a batterer or breaker, commeth our Engliſh word Mangle.

CHAP. II.

The Marſellians prepare themſelues *for a Sea-fight.*

IN the meane time, L. Naſidius beeing ſent by Cn. Pompeius with a Nauie of ſixteene ſhippes (amongſt which, ſome fewe had their beake-head of Iron) to the ſuccour and ſupply of L. Domitius and the Marſellians, he paſſed the ſtraights of Sicilie before Curio had intelligence thereof: and putting into Meſſana, by reaſon of the ſuddaine terrour of the principall men, and the Senate that tooke themſelues to flight, he ſurpriſed one Ship in the road and caried her away, and ſo held on his courſe to Marſellies. And, hauing ſent a ſmall Barke before, he certified Domitius and the reſt, of his comming; exhorting them by all meanes, that ioyning their forces with his ſupplies, they would once againe giue fight to Brutus Nauie.

Caſar.

Meſſina.

The Marſellians, ſince their former ouerthrowe, had taken the like number of ſhippes out of their Arcenall, and new rigged and trimmed them, and vvith great induſtrie furniſhed and manned them for that ſeruice: for, they vvanted neither Oare-men, Mariners, Sailers, nor Pilots, fit for that purpoſe. To theſe they added certaine Fiſher-boates, and fenced them with fights and couerings, that the Oare-men might be ſafe from caſting weapons; and theſe he filled vvith Archers and Engines. The Nauie beeing thus furniſhed and prepared, the Marſellians (incited and ſtirred vp with the prayers and teares of old men, vvomen and maides, to giue help and defence to their Cittie in time of extreame danger; and to fight with no leſſe courage and confidence then formerly they had accuſtomed) vvent all aboard with great courage, as it commeth to paſſe through the common fault of Nature; whereby we put more confidence in things vnſeene and vnknowne, or otherwiſe are more troubled thereat: according as it then happened. For, the comming of Naſidius had filled the Citty full of aſſured hope and courage: and thervpon, hauing a good wind, they left the Port, & came & found Naſidius at Taurenta (a Caſtle belonging to the Marſellians) & there fitted thẽſelues for a fight; incouraging each other againe, to a valiant cariage of that ſeruice, and conſulting how it might be beſt performed.

Tolous.

The right ſquadron vvas giuen to the Marſellians, and the left to Naſidius. And to the place repaired Brutus, hauing increaſed the number of his Shippes: for, thoſe ſixe which he tooke from the Marſellians, he had added vnto the other which Cæſar had cauſed to be made at Arleat æ, and had mended them ſince the laſt fight, and fitted them with all neceſſaries for men of vvarre. And thereupon, exhorting his ſouldiers to contemne the Enemy, as a vanquiſhed partie, hauing already foiled and ouerthrowne them when they were in their ſtrength, they ſet forward againſt them with great aſſurance.

Arles.

Out of the Campe of C. Trebonius, & from all thoſe higher places they might eaſily perceiue and ſee in the Cittie, how all the youth vvhich remained in the towne, and all the aged, with their wiues and children, did from the publique places of guard, and from the towne walles, ſtretch out their handes towards heauen: or otherwiſe runne to their Churches and Temples; and there proſtrating themſelues before their Images, did deſire victorie of their Gods. Neither was there any of them all that did not thinke, the euent of all their fortunes to conſiſt in that daies ſeruice: for, the chiefeſt of all their able men, and the beſt of all ſorts and degrees, were by name called out, and intreated to goe aboard, to the end if any diſaſter or miſchaunce ſhould happen, they might ſee nothing further to be indeauoured for their ſafetie; and if they ouercame, they might reſt in hope to ſaue their Cittie, either by their owne valour or by forraine helpe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Quod maximè volunt, id facilè credunt.

Communi fit vitio naturæ, vt inviſis, latitantibus, atque incognitis rebus, magis confidamus, vehementiúſque exterreamur, vt tum accidit. In caſes of hazard, things brought vnto vs by report, doe more abuſe our iudgement, either in conceiuing too great hopes, or yeelding too much to diſtruſt, then any matter preſent can mooue or inforce: for, theſe perturbations attending vpon our will, are inlarged more according to the qualitie of our deſires, then as they are directed by diſcourſe of reaſon; and ſo draw men either eaſily to beliefe what their wiſhes doe require, or otherwiſe to reiect all as vtterly loſt.

Virgil. lib. 2. Aenead.

The vncertaintie whereof, and the diſappointment enſuing thoſe deceiuable apprehenſions, hath brought the hope of this life into very ſlight account, beeing reckoned but as the dreame of him that is awake; and as *Pia fraus*, or a charitable deluſion, to ſupport vs through the hard chaunces of this world, and to keepe mans hart from breaking: for, euery mans helpe is hope; vvhich neuer affordeth preſent reliefe, but aſſwageth the bitterneſſe of extreamities, by *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fight, and the Marſellians ouerthrowe.

THE fight beeing begun, the Marſellians were wanting in no point of valour: but bearing in mind ſuch exhortation as a little before had beene giuen thē by their friends, they fought ſo reſolutely as though they meant not to fight againe; or as if any one ſhould chaunce to miſcarie in that battell, he ſhould make account that he did but anticipate for a ſmall moment of time, the fatall end of his fellow Cittizens, who vpon taking of the towne, were to vndergoe the ſame fortune of warre. Our Shippes putting on by little and little, were glad to giue way to the nimbleneſs and mobility of their ſhipping, which by the skill of their Pilots were well managed. And if it happened that our men had found meanes to grapple with any of their ſhippes, they preſently came on all ſides to their reskew. Neither did the Albici ſhew themſelues backward when the matter came to hands, or were they inferiour to our men in courage or valour. Moreouer, out of the leſſer Ships were caſt infinite numbers of darts, and other weapons, wher-with our men buſied in fight were ſuddainely wounded. Cæſar.

In this conflict, two of their Triremes, hauing ſpied Brutus ſhippe (which by her flagge might eaſily be diſcerned) came violently againſt him from two contrary parts: but the danger being foreſeene, Brutus did ſo preuaile through the ſwiftneſſe of his Ship, that he a little out-ſtript them; whereby they cōming with their full ſwinge, did ſo encounter one another, that they were very much ſhaken with the blowe: for, the Beake-head of one beeing broken off, the water was ready to come in on all ſides. Which beeing obſerued by ſome of Brutus partie that were neere about, they ſet vpon them (beeing thus diſtreſſed) and quicklie ſunke them both.

The Shippes that came with Naſidius, were found of no vſe; for, there was not offered there vnto them, either the ſight of their Countrey, or the exhortations and praiers of their kinsfolkes and allies, as motiues to hazard their liues in that quarrell: ſo that of them there was none wanting. Of the Ships that came out from Marſellies, fiue were ſunke, and foure taken. One eſcaped with Naſidius fleet, which made towards the hither Spaine. One of them that remained, was ſent before to Marſellies; who comming as a meſſenger before the reſt, and approching neere vnto the towne, all the multitude ran out to heare the newes: which beeing once knowne, there was ſuch a generall mourning and deſolation, as though the towne were inſtantly to be taken by the Enemy. Notwithſtanding, they left not off to make ready ſuch neceſſaries, as were requiſite for defence of the ſame.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis was the ſecond fight the Marſellians made, to keep the ſea open for the ayde and reliefe of the Towne; beeing otherwiſe ſtraightlie beſieged by land, and yet not ſo tenderly cared as their ſhutting vp by ſea: the free paſſage whereof, brought in all their profit in time of peace, and their ſuccours in times of warre; for which regard it was, that they commended to their gods, the ſucceſſe of that enterpriſe, with as much deuotion, as teares, vowes and prayers could expreſſe.

The benefit a Towne beſieged receiueth from an open inlet by ſea, cannot be better manifeſted, then by the ſiege of Oſtend; for, by that occaſion ſpecially, it indured the moſt famous ſiege that was in Chriſtendome theſe many yeeres. This L. Naſidius, was rather a conſtant friend to the cauſe, then a fortunate Admirall: for afterwards, he refuſed not to take the like ouerthrow for Pompey the ſonne, at Leucades, as hee did now for the father. And ſurely it falleth out (whither it be through the vncertainety of ſea-faring matters, or that men haue fairer pretences at ſea, to auoid occaſions of hazard, then are found at land; or that *Pauca digna naſcuntur in Mari*, according to the prouerbe, or for what other cauſe I knowe not) that there are few of thoſe which ſought honor in this kind, who haue attained the leaſt part of their deſires. And yet neuertheleſſe, ſome there are of famous memorie: as * Barbaruſa, a terrour of the Leuant ſeas: Andreas Auria, of Genua, renowned for his great exploits vpon the Turke: together with diuers of our owne Nation; as namelie, Sir Francis Drake, who for skill and fortune at ſea, is held matchable with anie other whatſoeuer: Beſides, M. Candiſh, for viages to the South, and Sir Martin Furbiſher, for diſcoueries to the North.

Dio Caſsius.

Nihil tam capax fortuitorũ quàm Mare. Tacit. 14. Annal.

* King of Algiers in the time of Soliman.

Howbeit, theſe latter times haue aduantage without compariſon of former ages, through the inuention of the Sea compaſs with the needle: which was not found out little more then three hundred yeres agoe, by one Flavus, borne in the kingdome of Naples; without which, no ſhippe can ſhape a courſe in the Ocean: and to which nothing can be added, more then to find a perfect & ready direction for longitudes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The workes which the legionarie Souldiers *made againſt the Towne.*

(***)

IT was obſerued by the legionarie ſouldiers, that had the charge of the right part of the work, that it would much aduantage them againſt the often eruptions and ſallies of the Enemy, if they built a towre of Bricke vnder the towne wall, inſtead of a Hold or receptacle: which at firſt they made lowe and little, onely for the repelling of ſuddaine aſſaults. Thither they vſually retreited: and from thence, if they were ouer-charged, they made defence, either by beating backe, or proſecuting an Enemie. This towre was thirtie foote ſquare, and the walles thereof fiue foote thicke: but afterwards (as vſe and experience is the maiſter of all things) it was found by inſight and induſtrie of men, that this towre might be of great vſe, if it were raiſed to any height, and was accordingly performed in this faſhion. Cæſar.

When it was raiſed to the height of a ſtorie, they ſo framed the floore, that the ends of the ioyſtes did not yttie out beyond the ſides of the towre; leaſt any thing might be thruſt out, on which the fire which the enemy ſhould caſt might take hold: and then paued that floore, with as much bricke as the Mantelets and Gabions would ſuffer to bee laid. Vpon this tarras thus made, they laide croſſe beames along the ſides, as a foundation to an vpper ſtorie, for the toppe and couering of the towre. And vpon theſe beames they raiſed croſſe timbers, thwarting each other for the ſides of the towre, and coupled them at the top with ſide beames.

Theſe croſſe timbers were longer, and bare further out, then the ſquare of the towre; that there might be meanes to faſten couerings and defences, againſt the blowes and dartes of the Enemy, whilſt the workemen were finiſhing the walles and ſides of that building. The toppe or vpper ſtorie of this towre, they likewiſe paued with bricke and clay, that no fire might faſten on it; and laid Mattereſſes on the toppe thereof, to the end the floore might not be broken, with any weapons ſhot out of Engines, nor the pauement ſhiuered in peeces with ſtones caſt out of Catapults.

Moreouer, they made three nettings or mats of Hawſers, equall in length to the ſides of the towre, and foure foote in breadth. And vpon thoſe three ſides which confronted the Enemie, they faſtened them vpon poles to hang before the towre: which kind of defence they had in other places tried to be of proofe, & not to be pearced with any weapon or engine. And as one part of the towre came to be couered, finiſhed, and fortified, againſt any violence of the enemy, they caried their

their Mantelets and defences to the reſt vnfiniſhed. The top of which towre, they framed vpon the firſt ſtorie, and then raiſed it vp with wrinches or ſcrues, as farre as the cloſe netting would ſerue them for a defence. And ſo couered vvith theſe ſhelters and ſafeguards, they built vp the ſides with bricke; and then againe ſcruing vp the toppe higher, they fitted the place to build the ſides higher: and as they came to the height of a ſtory, they laid the ioyſtes of the floore in ſuch ſort, as the ends thereof were hid and couered with the wall or ſides that were of brick; and ſo from that ſtory, they proceeded to another, by ſcruing vp the top, and raiſing their netting. By which meanes, they built very ſafely ſixe ſtories, vvithout any wound or other danger at all; and left windowes and loopeholes in the ſides, for the putting out of Engines in ſuch places as they thought conuenient. When by means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neere about it, they then made a Muſculum or mouſe of ſixtie foote in length, & of two foote timber ſquare, to connay them ſafely from this towre of Bricke, to another of the Enemies, and to the towne wall: wherof this was the forme; They cut two ſide groundſils of equall length, and made the ſpace betweene them to containe foure foote; vpon them they erected little columnes of fiue foote high, and ioyned them together, putting braces of an eaſie ſloping in ſuch diſtances, as the rafters were to be placed to beare vp the roofe: and vpon thoſe braces they laid rafters of two foote ſquare, faſtening them both at the ridge, and at the euings, with plates and bolts of Iron. They lathed the roofe with lath of foure fingers broad; and ſo the building beeing made with a gable ridge handſomly faſhioned, the top was laid all ouer with clay, to keepe the Mouſe from burning; and then couered with tiles, which were fenced with leather, to the end they might not be vvaſhed away with pipes or gutters of vvater, vvhich might bee laid to fall vpon them. And leaſt thoſe hides ſhould be ſpoiled, either with fire or great ſtones, they laid Mattereſſes vpon them.

This worke being whollie finiſhed neere vnto the towre, through the help and meanes of defenſiue mantelets and gabions; ſuddenly before the enemy was aware, with a ſhippe-engine and rolers put vnder it, they brought it ſo neere a towre of the enemies, that it ioyned to the vvall thereof. The towneſmen, beeing vpon a ſuddaine appalled thereat, brought the greateſt ſtones they could get, and vvith leavers, tumbled them dovvne from the vvall vpon the mouſe: but the ſtrength of the vvorke did not ſhrinke at the blowes, and vvhatſoeuer fell vpon it, ſlided downe the ſloping of the roofe. Which vvhen they perceiued, they altered their purpoſe, and got pots of Roſin and Pitch, and ſetting them on fire, threw them downe vpon the Mouſe; vvhich tumbling downe from the roofe, vvere remooued away vvith long hookes and poles. In the meane time, the ſouldiers that were vvithin the Mouſe, pulled out the lower ſtones that were in the foundation of the towre. This Mouſe or Mantilet, vvas defended by our men out of the bricke towre, vvith vveapons and engines: and by meanes thereof, the Enemy vvas put from the vvall and the turrets, ſo that they could not well defend the ſame. Many of the ſtones beeing ſapped out of the foundation of the towre, part thereof ſuddenly fell, & the reſt leaned, as though it would not ſtand long after.

OB-


Marſellies



OBSERVATIONS.

FOraſmuch as it requireth the labour of an induſtrious penne to ſhadow out the effects of Induſtrie; I will onely produce the euidence of theſe workes, to ſhew the power it hath in humane actions, rather then by any maimed or ſhallow diſcourſe, weaken the force of ſo great an Engine. VVherein, firſt it may be noted, how in theſe and the like attempting indeauours, one thing drawes on another, according as practiſe maketh ouerture to maiſteries: For, our vnderſtanding growing by degrees, hath no intuitiue facultie to diſcerne perfection, but by little and little worketh out exactneſs; making euery Morrow, yeſterdaies ſcholler, as reaſon findeth meanes of diſcourſe from cauſes to effects, or from effects to cauſes. *Diſcipulus prioris poſterior dies. Aulus Gellius.*

And ſo this Towre, made at firſt but for a retreit of defence, gaue occaſion to let them ſee the like, or better vſe thereof in the offenſiue part, if it were raiſed to a height conuenient for the ſame: vvhich they performed with as much Art as the wit of man could vſe in ſuch a worke. For, hauing made the firſt ſtorie, they then made the roofe, for the ſhelter and ſafetie of the ſouldier: and ſcruing it vp by little and little, they built the ſides, hauing fenced the open ſpace with netting, for auoiding of danger; arming it with bricke and clay againſt fire, and with Mattereſſes againſt ſtones and waights. And then againe they proceeded to the making of that Mantilet or Muſculum, which gaue them paſſage to the wall; building it with ſtrong or rather ſtrange timber, of two foote ſquare, framed ſo artificially with braces, and tidging rafters, and thoſe ſo fitted, as neither fire, water, weapon, nor weight, could preuaile againſt it. And thus they laboured to gaine their owne ends, and bought Fortune with immeaſurable indeauour.

CHAP. V.

The Marſellians got a truce of the Romaines, *and brake it deceitfully.*

THE Enemy, beeing then much appalled at the ſuddaine ruine and fall of the towre, and greatly perplexed at ſo vnexpected a miſchiefe; and withall, ſtrooke with a feare of the wrath and indignation of the Gods, and of the ſack & ſpoile of their Cittie, they came all vnarmed, thronging out of the gates, wearing holy attire vpon their heads, and ſtretching out their ſubmiſſiue hands to the Legates and the Armie. Vpon which noueltie, all hoſtility ceaſſed for the time, & the ſouldiers with drawing themſelues from the aſſault, were caried with a deſire of hearing and vnderſtanding what would paſſe at that time. *Caſar.* *Inermes cum infulis.*

When

When they came to the Legates & to the Army, they caſt themſelues all downe at their feete, praying and beſeeching that things might be ſuſpended vntill Cæſars arriuall. They ſaw plainely that their towne was already taken, their works were perfited, their owne towre demoliſhed; and therefore they deſiſted from making any further defence: there could be no let to hinder them from preſent ſpoile and ſacking, if vpon Cæſars arriuall they ſhould refuſe to obay his Mandates. They ſhewed further, that if their towre were abſolutely ouerthrowne, the ſouldiers could not be kept from entering the towne in hope of pillage, and would thereby bring it to a finall deſtruction.

Theſe, and many the like things, were vttered by them very mouingly (as men learned and eloquent) with great lamentation and much weeping: whereby the Legates (mooued with commiſeration) with-drew the ſouldiers from the fortifications, put off the aſſault, and left a ſmall guard to keepe the works. A kind of truce beeing through pitty and commiſeration thus made and concluded, Cæſars comming was expected; no weapon was caſt, either from the towne wall, or from our ſide: inſomuch, as euery man left off his care and diligence, as though all had been ended. For, Cæſar had by Letters giuen ſtraight charge to Trebonius, not to ſuffer the towne to bee taken by aſſault, leaſt the ſouldiers (mooued through their rebellion and contempt, together with the long trauell they had ſuſtained) ſhould put all aboue foureteene yeeres of age to the ſword: which they threatned to doe, and were then hardly kept from breaking into the towne; taking the matter very grieuouſly, that Trebonius ſeemed to hinder them from effecting their purpoſes. But the enemy, beeing people without faith, did onelie watch for time and opportunity, to put in practice their fraude and deceit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Veſtitus, vt tegit corpus, ita detegit animũ.

IT is a ſaying of an ancient Writer, that As our attire doth couer the bodie, ſo it doth vncouer the nakednes of the mind. Wherevpon it is, that men haue found meanes to ſute themſelues vpon occaſion, according to the diſpoſition of their inward affections, as they are either dilated with ioy, or contracted with ſorrow, lifted vp with weale, or hug'bled with affliction. And accordingly, theſe Marſellians, in token of their humilitie & ſubmiſsion, came out, wearing an attire here called *Infulæ*; which Seruius deſcribeth to be a kind of Coiſe, made after the forme of a Diademe, with two pendants on each ſide, called *Vittæ*.

11 *Aeneid.*

Thoſe which the Romains vſed of this kind, were faſhioned like a Pyramid: the point whereof, did ſignifie the * Elements, aſcending vpwards in ſuch a pointed faſhion; and by the two pendants or bands, were denoted the Water and the Earth; beeing made whollie of wooll, as Feſtus writeth; *Infulæ ſunt filamenta lanea, quibus Sacerdotes, hoſtiæ, et templa velabantur:* to ſhew humbleneſſe and ſimplicitie, wherof wooll is a Hirogliphick. For, no kind of beaſts haue more need of ayde and ſuccour then Sheepe: and there-vpon it was, that all Suppliants were attired with treſſes of wooll. Or otherwiſe, as ſome vvill haue

* The fire and the ayre.

haue it, That the habit of the Petitioner, might call to remembrance the flexible diſpoſition, which is well-beſeeming thoſe that haue power and meanes to giue helpe and reliefe: According to the vſe of Heathen ages; wherin their Images of their Idols, had their feete tied with cordes of wooll: to ſhew the mildneſs and eaſineſs which vpon deuote ſupplications was founde in diuine Powers; whereof wooll was a *Symbolum*.

Macrob. lib. 1. Saturnal. ca. 8.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Marſellians, beeing an ancient progeny of the Greekes, notwithſtanding the long deſcent of time, and alteration of aire, did keepe a touch of the naturall of that Nation, as well in ſuch ſtraines of eloquence, as were familiar vnto them aboue other people, as in ſubtiltie and duplicitie of dealing. Which paſſage of the Marſellians, is obſerued by Tully, as a matter enforcing the due praiſes of Eloquence, and the vſe it hath vpon all occaſions to draw conſent, with the ſweetneſs of a well tuned tongue, aboue that which may be attained either by Engines or a ſtrong hand. VVherein, if we ſhould goe about to compare the force of Armes, with the power of a graue diſcourſe, & ſet a ſouldier Parallell to an Orator, there might hence be taken diuers probable reaſons, to ſecond that ſaying, which hath been thought to ſauour more of vaine-glorie, then of true iudgement; *Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ:* Or at leaſt, to make a reſemblance of Plutarchs two Wraſtelers, of whom one beeing alwaies caſt, did neuertheleſſe perſwade the other that he caſt him; and ſo, howſoeuer he became foiled, yet left the place with an opinion of victorie: And is alwaies more eaſily effected, when it is attended with cunning and deceit, according to that of Valerius Maximus; *Efficaciſsimæ vires perfidiæ, mentiri et fallere.* But, as it is obſerued by Philip de Commines, The example of one ſole accident, is ſufficient to make manie men wiſe: ſo this may ſerue to teach ſucceeding times, not to truſt to words, whereof there is no hold; but to ratifie ſuch compoſitions with irreuocable performances.

Græca fide omnia agere. Oratio pro Flacco.

Æqualis eſt vtrorumque dignitas, niſi præſens neceſsitas vnius conditionē nobiliorē efficiat. Tum enim is præferēdus, quē præſentia magis exigunt, ſicut Valent: et Valens ſtatuerunt L. in ciuilibus 1. C. de offic. Vicar. Vt in ciuilibus cauſis vicarij comitibus militū anteferrentur, in militaribus negotijs comites vicarijs. En los caſos raros vn ſolo exēplo, haze experiençia. Anto. Peres.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, we may note, how farre the anger of a Romaine Armie was extended, vpon ſuch prouocations as are heere mentioned, viz. *Ad interficiendos pueros*, to the ſlaying of all the males aboue fourteene yeeres of age; for, from that ſtage of life, they accounted all in the ranke of men: According to the inſtitution of Tarquinius Priſcus; who in his triumph of the Sabines, made a ſpeciall Oration in the praiſe of his owne ſon, that had aſſaulted and ſtrooke the Enemy in thoſe warres, beeing then but 14 yeres of age: and ther-vpon, gaue him libertie to weare mans apparrell; which was that *Toga pretexta* (edged or faced with Purple) whereof their hiſtories make ſo often mention.

Macro. lib. 1. Satur. cap. 6.

But

But to define preciſely heereof, were to miſtake the furie of the ſouldier: for, howſoeuer the rule is certaine from the law of Nature, that no finite cauſe can be infinite in effect, or that a mortal hate ſhould haue a boundleſſe reuenge; yet occaſion made it variable, and as irregular as that of Alexander: who ſometimes ſaued all, & at other times (as at the taking of Tyre) ſaued none at all, but ſuch as had taken the protection of the Temple. The inhumane crueltie of the Turkes, exceedeth all former hoſtilitie in this kind; for, they neuer ſaue anie out of commiſeration, but for priuate vſe: and doe rather chuſe to deſtroy mankind, then ſuffer it to liue for any other purpoſe then their owne.

Quintus Cur. lib. 5.

CHAP. VI.

The Marſellians, taking aduantage of the Truce, *conſumed with fire all the Romaine workes: which* were afterwards reedified.

Cæſar.

AFter a few daies, when our men were growne remiſs & careleſſe, ſuddainly about high noone, as ſome were gone one way ſome another, and others wearied with continuall labour, had giuen themſelues to reſt, the weapons beeing caſed and laid vp; they ruſhed out of their gates, & comming with the wind that then blew hard, they ſet our workes on fire: which was ſo caried and diſperſed with the wind, that the Mount, the Mantilets, the Teſtudo, the Towre and the Engines, were all on fire at once, and were burned downe and conſumed before it could be knowne how it came.

Our men, aſtoniſhed at ſo ſuddaine and vnthought-of an accident, caught vp ſuch weapons as were next at hand; and others, running ſpeedily frō the Camp, ſet vpon the Enemy, but were hindered from following them as they fledde, by Engines and Arrowes from the towne wall. They, on the other ſide, beeing retired vnder the protection of the wall, did at their eaſe burne downe the Mouſe and the brick towre: and ſo, many moneths labour, was through the perfidiouſneſſe of the Enemy, and the force of the tempeſt; conſumed & brought to nothing in a moment of time. The Marſellians attempted the like the next day after, hauing opportunitie of the like tempeſt; and with greater confidence ſallied out, & threw much fire vpon the other mount and the towre. But as our men the day before (expecting nothing leſſe then to be ſurpriſed in that ſort) had neglected more then ordinary their vſuall guards, beeing now made wiſer by that vvhich had happened, they had made all things ready for defence: by which meanes, hauing ſlaine a great number, they draue the reſt backe into the towne, without effecting any thing.

Trebonius beganne againe to reedifie ſuch workes as were ruinated and conſumed with fire, and that with greater alacritie of the ſouldier then before.

For,

For, vvhen they ſaw their great labours and indeauours ſort to no better ſucceſſe, beeing ruined by the treacherie of the Enemy, it was a great gall vnto them to haue their valour thus derided. And, foraſmuch as there was nothing left in all the Countrey for the raiſing of a Mount, all the trees being already cut downe, and brought farre and neere to make the firſt Mount, they beganne a Mount of a ſtrange and vnheard-of faſhion, raiſed with two ſide-vvalles of bricke, beeing ſixe foote thicke apeece, and ioyned together with floores. The vvalls vvere of equall diſtance, to the latitude of the former Mount, which was all of ſolide matter: and where the ſpace betweene the walles, or the weakeneſſe of the work did require it, there were piles driuen betweene, and beames and plankes laid athwart for the ſtrengthening thereof. The ſloores, made betweene thoſe vvalles, were laid with Hurdles, and the Hurdles were couered with clay.

Eſt ita naturâ cõparatũ, vt hominesmaleſtè, ſupra quàm dici poſsit, ferant, ſi videant rerũ eventus virtuti non reſpondere. Pauſ. in Meſſe.

The ſouldiers beeing thus ſheltered, on both ſides with a wall, and defended in front by Mantilets and Gabions, did ſafely, without danger, bring what ſoeuer was neceſſary for that building; wherby the worke was caried on with great ſpeed: and the loſſe of their former continuall labour, was in a ſhort time recouered againe, through the admirable dexterity and valour of the ſouldier. To conclude, they left gates in the vvalles, in ſuch places as vvere fitteſt for ſallies.

Whẽ the enemy perceiued, that what they hoped could not be repaired againe in a long time, was with a few daies labour, reedified & finiſhed [vvherby there was no place left to practiſe deceit, or to ſallie out with aduantage; neither was there any meanes left by which they could preuaile, either by force of Armes, or by fire to conſume our vvorkes; and vnderſtanding likewiſe, that by the ſame manner of fortification, all that part of the towne, which had paſſage and acceſſe from the firme land, might be encompaſsed with a vvall and with towres; that their ſouldiers ſhould not be able to ſtand vpon their wõrkes; and perceiuing vvithall, that our army had raiſed a countermure, againſt the wall of their towne; and that vveapons might be caſt by hand vnto them; that the vſe of their Engines (vvherein they much truſted) vvas by the neereneſs of ſpace quite taken avvay; and laſtlie, that they vvere not able to confront our men (vpon equall tearmes) from their vvalles, and from their turrets] they deſcended to the ſame Articles of rendry and ſubmiſsion, as were formerly agreed vpon.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HEnce vvee may obſerue, that a Generall cannot bee too ſecure of an Enemie, that ſtandes vpon tearmes to render vp a place. For, the action beeing but voluntarie by conſtraint; if happelie the conſtraining force be remooued, then that doth ceaſe vvhich is voluntarie: and ſo it commeth by conſequent to a refuſall. As appeareth by this paſſage of the Marſellians; who being brought into hard tearmes, as vvell by their tvvo ouer-throwes at Sea (vvhence they

expected no further ſuccour) as alſo by the ſiege laid ſo cloſe by land (vvhere they were ſo violently aſſaulted, that their towers of defence made paſſage for the Romaines to enter vpon them) did neuertheleſſe (vpon ceſſation of thoſe inforcements) alter their purpoſe, and entertained new hopes: which maketh good that ſaying, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Voluntas ad laborem propenſa, cuncta vincere et ſuperare conſueuit. Polyænus Lib. 5. Iliad.

SEcondly, we may obſerue, that a will, forward to vndergoe labour, doth neuer ſticke at any difficultie, nor is at all diſmaied with the loſſe of anie paines: but is rather redoubled in courage and induſtrie; eſpecially beeing edged on with a deſire of reuenge. Which (if Homer may haue credit) doth alwaies adde a third part to a mans ſtrength; as appeared by Diomedes, beeing hurt in the ſhoulder with one of Pindarus arrowes: for reuenge whereof, hee exceeded himſelfe in a *ſeſquiterce* proportion of valour, and ſlew more Troianes by a third part then otherwiſe he could.

Nihil tam arduum, quod animi fortitudine ſuperari non poſſit. Appian. de bello Hiſpanico.

Howſoeuer, as there is nothing ſo hard, but is ſubiect to the endeauour of the minde: ſo there is nothing ſo eaſie, as to diſpoſſeſs our ſelues of that intent care, which is requiſite in theſe imployments. For, theſe Romaines, that through the greatneſs of their ſpirits had made ſuch firſt and ſecond workes, as the memorie thereof will laſt with the world, were ſurpriſed when they lay in the *Interim*, as it were vnbent, in as great remiſneſs and neglect (how-ſo-euer drawne vnto it by deceit) as if they had beene able to doe no ſuch matter as is heere reported. And therefore it behoueth a Commaunder, to keepe his Armie alwaies ſeaſoned with labour; foraſmuch as *Exercitus labore proficit, otio conſeneſcit.*

Vegetius.

CHAP. VII.

Varro raiſeth great troopes, to maintaine Pompeis partie in Spaine; but, to no purpoſe.

Cæſar.

MArcus Varro, in the further Prouince of Spaine, hauing from the beginning vnderſtood how things had paſſed in Italie, & diſtruſting how matters would ſucceed with Pompey, did oftentimes giue out very friendly ſpeeches of Cæſar; that Pompey had by way of preuention gained him to his party, & honoured him with a Lieutenancie, whereby hee was obliged in dutie to him: Howbeit, in his particular diſpoſition, he ſtood no leſs affected to Cæſar; neither was he ignorant of the duty of a Legat, to whoſe truſt and fidelitie, the gouernement of the Prouince was left, as in depoſito, *vpon*

Qui fiduciariâ operâ obtinebat.

vpon condition to be rendred vp at all times and ſeaſons, as hee that commaunded in chiefe ſhould require it: He likewiſe knew very well what his owne forces were, and what was the affection and diſpoſition of all the Countrey towards Cæſar.

This was the ſubiect of all his ſpeeches, without any ſhew of inclining either to the one or to the other. But afterwards, when he heard that Cæſar was ingaged at Marſelleis, that Petreius forces were ioyned with Afranius Armie, that great aides were come vnto them, that euery man was in great hope and expectation of good ſucceſſe; and that all the hither Prouince had agreed together, to vndertake Pompeis cauſe, as alſo what had after happened cõcerning the want of victualls at Ilerda (all which things were writ, with aduantage, vnto him by Afranius) he then vpon that alteration changed his mind according to the times, and leuied ſouldiers in all parts of the Prouince: and hauing raiſed two compleat legions, he added vnto them ſome thirty cohorts of the Countrey ſouldiers, to ſerue for wings to the Army; gathered together great quantity of Corne, as well for the ſupplie of the Marſellians, as for the prouiſion of Petreius and Afranius.

Moreouer, he commaunded them of Gades to build and prouide tenne Gallies; and ordered further, that many other ſhould be made at Hiſpalis. Hee tooke all the money and the ornaments out of Hercules temple, and brought the ſame into the towne of Gades, and in lieu thereof ſent ſixe Cohorts out of the Prouince to keepe the temple. He made Gaius Gallonius (a Romaine Knight and a familiar friend of Domitius, and ſent by him thither to recouer ſome matter of inheritance) Gouernour of the towne. All the Armes (as well priuate as publique) vvere brought into Gallions houſe. He himſelfe made many bitter inuectiues againſt Cæſar; affirming, that a great number of the ſouldiers were reuolted frõ him, and vvere come to Afranius: which hee knew to be true, by certaine and approoued Meſſengers.

The Romaine Cittizens, reſiding in that Prouince, beeing much perplexed & affrighted thereat, vvere therevpon conſtrained to promiſe him 190 thouſand Seſterces in ready money, for the ſeruice of the Common-weale, beſides twentie thouſand waight of ſiluer, together with one hundred and twentie thouſand buſhels of Wheate. Vpon thoſe Cities and States which fauoured Cæſars partie, he laid greater impoſitions: for, ſuch as had let fallen ſpeeches, or declared themſelues againſt the Common-weale, he confiſqueted all their goods, and put a Guarizon vpon them; giuing iudgement himſelfe vpon priuate perſons, & conſtraining all the Prouince, to ſweare allegeance to him and to Pompey.

And beeing in the end aduertiſed what had happened in the hither Prouince, he prepared for warre, with a purpoſe to diſpoſe thereof in this manner; His reſolution was to keepe two legions with him at Gades, vvith all the ſhipping and the Corne: for, knowing that the vvhole Prouince did intirely affect Cæſars Cauſe, he thought it beſt for him (hauing made good prouiſion of ſhipping and Corne) to keepe the Iland.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

OBſerue firſt, how dangerous it is, for ſuch as ſtand newtrall between two parties (bearing no affection but to their owne ends) to declare themſelues, vpon ſuch apparances as commonly happen in the flux and reflux of a warre: for, if their iudgement faile as Varros did, they are then forced to redeeme their errour, with more offices of partialitie then can afterwards be excuſed; and ſo runne into a further degree of emnitie, then the party for whom they ſuffer. And certainely, whether it bee that newtralitie refuſeth to take part with the right (which in matter of controuerſie muſt needes ſtand on one ſide) or whether it ſauoureth of an ill nature, to ſhew no ſympathiſing affections, with ſuch as otherwiſe haue correſpondence with them; or for what other cauſe I knowe not: but ſure it is, that Newtralls, attending nothing but their owne aduantage, are of no better eſteeme, then the bird whereof Leo Africus writeth; which when the King of Birds demaunded tribute, would alwaies ranke himſelfe amongſt the Fiſh: and when the King of Fiſhes required his ſeruice, would alwaies be with the Birds. Or then the Weather-cock, whereof there is no other vſe then *Indicare regnantem.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Iland of Gades, was knowne to the Romaines by the name of Tarteſſon;

Feſtus Anienus. *Hîc Gadis vrbs eſt dicta Tarteſſus prius.*

The towne of Gades was indowed, as Dion witneſſeth, by Iulius Cæſar, with the liberties and priuiledges of Rome. To which effect Plinie writeth; *Oppidum habet Ciuium Romanorũ, quod appellatur Auguſta vrbs Iulia Gaditana.* It was a towne of great fame: as appeareth by that of Iuba, king of Mauritania, who made ambitious ſute, to haue the title of *Duumviri*, or Two-men of the towne; as Feſtus noteth, in his Deſcription of the Sea-coaſt.

Liu. xli.

At vis in illis tanta, vel tantum decus
Aetate priſca, ſub fide rerum fuit:
Rex vt ſuperbus omniumque præpotens
Quos gens habebat fortè tum Mauruſia,
Octauiano principi acceptiſsimus
Et literarum ſemper in ſtudio Iuba,
Interfluoque ſeparatus Aequore
Illuſtriorem ſemet, vrbis iſtius
Duumviratu crederet.

In

In this Iland ſtoode Hercules temple; to which, as well Romaines, as other noble Aduenturers of all Nations, made often repaire, to performe their vowes vpon atchieuements of deedes of Armes: which ſolemnitie was not omitted by Hanniball, before his expedition into Italie.

Amongſt other Altars in this Temple, there was one dedicated to Penurie and Art: ſignifying that Art driueth away Penurie, as Hercules put to flight & ſubdued Monſters. Thoſe of Aſia, and the Mediterrane parts, tooke this Iland to be the furtheſt end of nauigation: for, the Atlanticke ſea admitted no further paſſage, for want of a load-ſtone to direct them in that vaſtneſs. And therefore Pindarus ſaith, That it is not lawfull for wiſe men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the ſtraight of Gebraltar, the way in the Ocean beeing 1000 leagues broad. In this towne of Gades, was borne L. Cornelius Balbus, who at his death gaue a legacie to the Romaine people, 25 pence *per Pole*; together with Iunius Brutus Columella, that writ ſo excellently *De re Ruſtica*.

Et mea quam generat Tarteſſi litore Gades.

It is now called Cales Males, and was ſacked by our Engliſh, 1596.

Iosephus Acoſta hath obſerued, that the ſea hath no part aboue one thouſand leagues from the land.

Hiſpalis, ſurnamed Romulenſis, from the Romaine Colonie that was planted there, is ſeated vpon the Riuer Beatis, in a very pleaſant and fertile Countrey, and eſpecially for oyles. The towne is now the Staple for the Weſt Indies, and a very Nurſerie of Marchants. Arias Montanus, that great Theologian, was borne in this Cittie.

Hiſpalis. Seuill.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

GOncerning theſe CXC thouſand Seſterces, the learned cannot ſatisfie themſelues with any congruent interpretation thereof. For, if we take them in the Newter, for vij pound x ſhillings apeece, it amounteth to 1492000 pound, which is thought too much: if in the Maſculine, it will riſe not to aboue 1400 pound, which is deemed too little. And therefore the Criticks do mend the place, and read *H-S centies nonagies*, which bringeth out 142500 pound: and is thought agreeable to the meaning of the Author.

CHAP. VIII.

The Prouince and the legions reuolt from Varro. *Cæſar ſettleth Spaine, and returneth* to Marſellies.

ALbeit Cæſar was called backe into Italie for many great and important cauſes, yet he was reſolued to leaue no ſparke or appearance of warre remaining behind him in Spaine; for that hee knew Pompeis deſerts to bee ſuch, as had gained him many followers and dependants in the hither Prouince. And therefore hauing ſent two legions into the further Spaine, vnder the

Cæſar.

conduct of Q. Caſsius, Tribune of the people, he himſelfe made forward by great iourneys, vvith ſixe hundred horſe; ſending an Edict before him, to ſummon the Magiſtrates, and chiefe men of the Cities and Townes, to appeare before him by a day at Corduba. Vpon publication of which Edict, there was no Cittie in all that Prouince, that ſent not ſome of their Senate by the day appointed, to Corduba: Neither was there any Romaine Cittizen of note, that preſented not himſelfe there at that time.

The Princes and States beeing aſſembled, of their owne accord they ſhut the gates againſt Varro, ſet watch and ward vpon the walls and in the towres, and retained with them two cohorts, called by the name of Colonicæ (which came thither by chaunce) for the ſafe keeping of the towne. At the ſelfe ſame time, the Inhabitants of Carmona (which is the ſtrongeſt towne of all the Prouince) caſt out the Cohorts that were by Varro put into their Citadell, and ſhut them out of their towne. Whereby, Varro was the rather moued to make haſte to Gades with his legions, leaſt hee ſhould bee hindered and cut off, either in the way, or in his paſſage ouer from the Continent: ſuch and ſo fauourable was the generall affection of the vvhole Prouince towards Cæſar. And being ſome-what aduanced on his iourney, he receiued Letters from Gades, that as ſoone as it was known there of the Edict which Cæſar had publiſhed, the chiefeſt of the Gaditans agreed with the Tribunes of the ſouldiers which were in Guarizon, to expell Gallion out of the towne, and to keepe the Cittie and the Iland for Cæſar. Which beeing reſolued vpon, they ſent him word to leaue the towne of his owne accord, vvhile hee might doe it without danger; and if he refuſed, they would then take ſuch further order as they ſhould find expedient. Gallonius, mooued with feare, diſlodged himſelfe and went out of Gades.

Theſe things beeing diuulged abroad, one of the two legions, knowne by the name of Vernacula, tooke vp their Enſignes, went out of Varros Campe (he himſelfe ſtanding by and looking on) and retired themſelues to Hiſpalis; and there ſate downe in the Market-place, and in common porches, vvithout hurting anie man. Which the Romaine Cittizens, there aſſembled, did ſo well like of, that euery man was very deſirous to entertaine them in their houſes. Whereat Varro, beeing much aſtoniſhed, altered his iourney, towards Ilipa Italica, as hee gaue it out; but ſoone after was aduertiſed by ſome of his friends, that the gates vvere ſhut againſt him. Whervpon, being circumvented and fore-cloſed from all other addreſſes, he ſent to Cæſar, to aduertiſe him that he was ready to deliuer vp the legion, to whomſoeuer he ſhould pleaſe to appoint. To which purpoſe, he ſent him Sex. Cæſar, commaunding the legion to be deliuered to him. *Ilipa Italica.*

Varro, hauing giuen vp his charge, came to Cæſar at Corduba, & there gaue him a true account of the cariage of his office. The moneys remaining in his hands he deliuered vp, and gaue an Inuentory of the Corne and ſhipping which were in any place prouided. Cæſar, by a publique Oration made at Corduba, gaue thanks generally to all men; as firſt, to the Romaine Cittizens, for the indeauour they vſed to be Maiſters of the towne. Secondly, to the Spaniards, for driuing out the Guarizons; to them of Gades, that they trauerſed and preuented the proiects of the aduerſaries, & had reſtored thẽſelues to libertie; to the Tribunes of the ſouldiers,

diers, & Centurions, that were come thither to keep the towne, for that by their valour & magnanimity, the reſolution of the townſmen was aſſured and confirmed. He remitted ſuch leuies of money, as the Romaine Cittizens had promiſed Varro for the publique ſeruice. He reſtored the goods confiſqueted, of ſuch as had ſpoken more freely then was pleaſing; and gaue diuers rewards, both publique and priuate: the reſt he ſatisfied with hope of good time for the future. And hauing ſtaied there two daies, he went to Gades: where he gaue order that the moneies and monuments, which were transferred frō Hercules temple to a priuate houſe, ſhould be caried backe againe to the Temple. Hee made Q. Caſsius Gouernour of the Prouince, & left with him foure legions. He himſelfe, in a few daies ſpace, with thoſe ships which M. Varro, and thoſe of Gades (by his commaundement) had made, came to Tarraco; for, there the Embaſſadours of almoſt all the hither Prouince, did attend his comming: and hauing receiued them with priuate and publique honour, in the ſame faſhion as formerly hee had vſed, hee left Tarraco, and came by land to Narbone, and from thence to Marſellies: where he receiued firſt aduertiſement of the law made at Rome, for creating of a Dictator; and that himſelfe was named thereunto, by M. Lepidus, Prætor.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is one of Cæſars peculiars, recorded by Suetonius, that hee neuer left behind him any ſparke or ſuſpicion of warre, leaſt it might be ſaid hee did not throughly conquer where hee came. For, hee that doth a buſineſs to halfe, hath as much more to doe before it bee done: and the remainder in matter of warre, groweth commonly to a greater head then that which firſt gaue occaſion of Armes; like fire, which is ſmothered for a time, to breake out afterwards with greater furie. And therfore, that he might not be thought to prouoke an Enemy rather then ſubdue him, hee neglected all occaſions how important ſoeuer, which might draw him into Italie; to the end he might ſettle Spaine in a peace, anſwerable to an abſolute victorie: Which he eaſily effected, hauing ouer-maiſtered the chiefeſt of the party, and turned their troopes out of the Countrey, as men altogether miſtaken in the matter. The fame whereof ſo preuailed with the reſt, that rather then they would ſtand out, they forſooke their Commaunders. And hauing thus remoued all occaſions of force, hee then proceeded to take away all doubtfulneſſe, which might accompanie a new reconcilement, by ſhewing ſuch reſpects as well beſeemed ancient deſert.

For, firſt, he made a publique acknowledgement of their generall loue and affection towards him; and then taking notice of particular ſeruices, ingaged them further, with honours and rewards; righted ſuch as were oppreſſed by the aduerſe partie; remitted all leuies and taxations (to ſhew the difference betweene his and the Enemies fauour) & filled all men with hope of goōd times; as knowing that faire words, accompanied with large promiſes, are powreful inſtruments to work out whatſoeuer is deſired. And ſo hee tooke a little more time

time to ſettle thoſe Prouinces without further trouble: as beleeuing in the proverbe; that, What is well done, is twice done.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

MArro heere mentioned, made more profeſsion of knowledge and Artes, then any other of his Nation, beeing thereupon ſtiled by the name of *Doctus*; & yet in the iudgement of learned Philoſophers, was fitter to perſwade then to teach. Tully, beeing depriued of publique offices, handled Philoſophy a little in his owne language: Pliny and Seneca, leſſe then Varro or Tully. But what are theſe to Ariſtotle or Plato? Or rather, what hath learning to doe with a Romaine Generall? whoſe knowledge conſiſted in their Militarie diſcipline, and in the powerfull meanes of victorious indeauour. Wherein Varro was as ignorant, as was Don Raymundus, the eleuenth King of Arragon, in managing of Armes; who taking his ſword in one hand, and his buckler in the other, held the horſe bridle in his teeth. Howbeit, if *Qui minus facit, minus peccat* were a good excuſe, it were fitting to make him blameleſſe, that deſerued ſo well of learning aboue all others of that Empire. But foraſmuch as his actions appeare ſo farre inferiour to that which is conceiued of his vnderſtanding, let that be acknowledged which is true, that *Conſideratè agere pluris eſt, quàm cogitare prudenter.*

Iamblic. cap. 4.

Cicero. lib. 1. de officijs.

Ilipa Italica.

This Ilipa Italica, was the chiefe towne of the Turditani in Andolozia; and is coniectured by the ruines yet remaining, to ſtand ouer againſt Seuill.

Tarraco, aliter Iulia victrix. Lib. 4. cap. 20.

Tarraco is that which is now called Arragon, a Colony of Scipio his planting, whereof the Prouince taketh appellation; which is extended (as Plinie witneſſeth) from Catalonia to Nauarre, and Caſtile, along the Alpes. Blaiſe de Vigenere reporteth, that in the yeere 516, there was a Councell held at Tarraco, by tenne Biſhops; wherein it was decreed, that Sunday ſhould alwaies beginne preſentlie after Euening prayer (or their Veſpers) on the Saturday. From whence it is, that the Spaniards doe not worke at all after that time, and doe eate vpon Saturdaies at ſupper, the head, the feet and the entralls of ſuch fleſh as is killed in the Shambles (together with other prettie bits which they call *Morſillas*) without prohibition or ſcruple of conſcience. In this towne of Tarraco, was borne Paulus Oſorius, that noble Orator.

Corduba.

Corduba, otherwiſe called Colonia Patricia, was held the next of worth & dignitie to Seuill, but for excellent wits, to be preferred aboue all the townes of Spaine; for, heere firſt were borne the two Senecas, the father the Rhetorician, and the ſonne the Philoſopher: together with their kinſman, Annæus Lucanus, the diuine Poet, of whom Martiall writeth;

Duoſque Senecas vnicúmque Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba.

Beſides, of later times, Auenzoar, Auicenna, and Auerrois, as excellent a Philoſopher, as the other was a Phyſition: of whoſe workes

Fama

Fama loquetur Anus.

And from hence come thole Cordouan skinnes, ſo much in requeſt.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

COncerning the office of a Dictator, whereunto Cæſar was named by the Prætor Lepidus, we are to obſerue, that the Dictatorſhippe was the greateſt place of dignitie in their gouernment, as Polibius noteth. The Conſuls, ſaith hee, hauing each of them but twelue Lictors apeece, that caried bundles of Rods before them, as enſignes of Magiſtracie, the Dictator had alwaies 24; to ſhew that the ſoueraine power diuided betweene the two Conſuls, was then reduced to one ſole commaund. The occaſions of eſtabliſhing a Dictator, were diuers; howbeit, it was commonlie to take order in ſome great matter of conſequence, which fell out to be extraordinarie, and required the commaund of one man. And as it is in the faſtes or records of the Capitoll; either *Reipub: regend: cauſa*, as was this firſt Dictatorſhip of Cæſars: or otherwiſe, *M. Fabius, Ambuſtus Dict: ſeditionis ſedandæ cauſa:* And at another time, *Cn: Quintius Varus Dictator, claui figendi cauſa:* which was one of the ſuperſtitions they vſed in time of peſtilence, and ſo diuers the like: of all which, there is this forme expreſſed by Tully; *Si quando duellũ grauius, diſcordiæue Ciuium creſcunt vnus ne amplius ſex menſes, niſi ſenatus creuerit, idem iuris quod duo Conſules teneto, iſque aue ſiniſtra dictus Magiſter Populi eſto.* *Lib. 3.* *De legibus.*

But, foraſmuch as *Magiſter Populi* was a harſh and odious name to the people, they called him by a more modeſt name, Dictator: whereof Varro giueth this reaſon; *Dictator quod à Conſule dicebatur, cuius dicto audientes omnes eſſent.* And as none could name a Dictator but the Conſull (for Cæſar was named by the Prætor in an extraordinarie time) ſo none could be named to that place, but ſuch as were or had been Conſulls; *Conſulares legere ita lex iubebat de Dictatore creando lata.* To which may bee added the circumſtance of time, which was alwaies in the night; *Nocte deinde ſilentio vt mos eſt Papyrium Dictatorem dixit.* The Dictator had ſoueraine power, but limited for a time: which was commonly ſixe Moneths; whereby they are ſpecially diſtinguiſhed from Monarkes: and thereupon, Cicero adiudgeth Sillas Dictatorſhip to be a meere tyranny, and ſo doth Plutarch Cæſars; becauſe both vvere prorogued beyond the time preſcribed by the law. Cæſar held this Dictators place but eleuen daies, and then left it off: but afterwards had it for his life, and ſo came to be ſtiled *Dictator perpetuus.* *Linie. lib. 2.* *1. Philip.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Marſellians giue vp the Towne.

Cæſar.

THE Marſellians beeing much oppreſt, and almoſt worne out vvith all ſorts of inconueniences, & brought to an extreame exigent of victuall, defeated and ouerthrowne in two fights at ſea, broken & cut in peeces oftentimes in their ſallies out, afflicted with a grieuous peſtilence through Gods appointment, and alteration of diet (for, they liued of nothing but

Vetere Panico.

of old Panick and muſtie Barly, which vvas long before laid vp in publique for this purpoſe) their towre beeing ouerthrowne, and a great part of their vvall downe; out of hope of any ſuccours frõ the Prouinces, or of other Armies, which they knew were come into the hands and power of Cæſar, they ſeriouſly determined (without fraude) to giue vp the towne. But a few daies before, L. Domitius, vnderſtanding their reſolution, hauing got three ſhippes (vvhereof two hee aſsigned to his familiar friends, the third he tooke himſelfe, and taking the opportunitie of a troubleſome ſtorme) put to ſea: vvhich beeing perceiued by the ſhippes that by Brutus commandement did continually guard the mouth of the Hauen, they vvaied their Ankers, & made after them. Notwithſtanding, that, vvherein Domitius was, held on her courſe, and by the helpe of the foule weather got out of ſight. The other two, beeing afraid of our ſhippes, returned back into the Hauen.

The Marſellians, according as was commaunded, brought their Armes and Engines out of the towne, drew forth their ſhipping, both out of their Hauen and their Arcenalls, and deliuered vp their publique treaſure: which things beeing accompliſhed and performed, Cæſar, willing to ſaue them, rather for the Nauie and antiquity of the towne, then for any merit of theirs, left two legions there for a Guarizon, and ſent the reſt into Italie. He himſelfe tooke his way towards Rome.

OBSERVATIONS.

Vltimũ et duriſſimum telum, neceſſitas.

HEnce wee may obſerue, that when men refuſe to be led by reaſon, as the beſt meanes to guide them to conuenient ends, they are commonly conſtrained by the commaunding warrant of Neceſsitie, to vnder-goe the ſame thing vpon harder conditions. As it happened to the Marſellians, who (not regarding the Armie then preſent, and ready to take a ſtrict account of their anſwers, which with good excuſe doth commaund a newtrall State) choſe rather to be ſhut vp

Omniũ maximè miſerabile, claudi obſidione. Egeſippus.

with a ſiege; that of all miſeries is accounted the worſt: and therein ſo caried themſelues, as they left no ſtone vnremooued to make good their refuſall; but for want of better helps, brought their Fraude to play a part, to their greater diſaduan-

diſaduantage. And if the Conquerour had not tooke all occaſions to ſhew his clemencie, they might happelie haue paid deare for their contempt. But where either deſert or other motiues wanted, there *nomen et vetuſtas* was ſufficient to make Cæſar conſtant to his owne ends: which, as neere as the courſe wherin he was ingaged would affoord him, were alwaies leuelled at the generall applauſe of his actions; taking that to be no little helpe to worke himſelfe into the ſoueraintie of the State: obſeruing it the rather in caſes of great and happie ſucceſſe; which are euer more reſtrained then leſſer fortunes. Howſoeuer, it cannot be denied, but that Clemencie is a propertie of excellent honour: which Cæſar ſhewed in ſauing the towne.

In maxima fortuna, minima licentia eſt. Saluſt.

Seruare proprium eſt excellentis fortunæ. Seneca de clemen. lib. 1

CHAP. X.

Curio tranſporteth two legions into *Affricke*.

ABout the ſame time, C. Curio ſet ſaile from Sicilie to paſſe into Affrick: and making no account at all of Atius Varus forces, he caried with him but two legions of the foure which vvere deliuered him by Cæſar, together with fiue hundred horſe. And after he had beene at Sea two daies and three nights, he arriued at a place called Aquilaria, diſtant twenty two miles from Clupea; vvhere there is a very commodious Roade for ſhippes in Sommer, ſheltered on each ſide vvith two large and eminent Promontories. L. Cæſar, the ſonne, attended his comming at Clupea, with tenne Gallies; vvhich being taken from the Pirats in the late vvarres, and laid aground at Vtica, vvere repaired and new trimmed by Varus: and beeing afraid of the great number of his ſhippes, forſooke the ſea, and ranne his Gallie on ſhore; and leauing her there, fled by land on foote to Adrumetum, a towne kept by Conſinius Longus, hauing one legion onely in guarizon.

Cæſar.

The reſt of Cæſars Nauie, ſeeing their Admirall flie away, put into Adrumetum. M. Rufus the Treaſurer, purſued him with twelue ſhippes, which Curio had brought with him out of Sicily, to vvaft the ſhippes of burthen; and finding the Gallie left vpon the ſand, he towed her off, and returned to Curio with his Nauie. Curio ſent Marcus before with the ſhippes, to Vtica: and he himſelfe ſet forvvard thither by land with the Armie, and in two daies iourney came to the Riuer Bragada; vvhere he left C. Caninius Rebilus, the Legate, with the legions, and vvent himſelfe before vvith the Caualry, to view a place called Cornelius Campe: vvhich was held very fit and conuenient to incampe in, beeing a direct ridge of a hill, ſhooting out into the Sea, ſteepe and broken on each ſide, and yet ſheluing by a little more gentle deſcent, on that ſide which was next Vtica; beeing diſtant from thence (if the neereſt vvay vvere taken) a little more then a mile. But in that ſhorteſt cut, there roſe a Spring, in that part which was furtheſt off

--- qua ſe Bragada lentus agit ſiccæ ſulcator arenæ. Luc. lib. 4.

off from the ſea, and ſo made a mariſh or bogge: vvhich whoſoeuer would auoid, muſt fetch a compaſs of ſixe miles to goe to the towne.

A view beeing taken of this place, Curio beheld afarre off, Varus Campe, ioyning to the towne wall, at the gate called Bellica; maruailouſly fortified through the ſtrong ſituation of the place, hauing the towne on the one ſide, and a Theater vvhich ſtood before the towne on the other: and by reaſon of the great circuit of building which it contained, made a narrow and difficult paſſage to the Campe. Hee obſerued, further, great ſtore of cariages, which by reaſon of this ſuddaine alarum, were brought out of the Countrey towards the towne: for the intercepting whereof, he ſent the Caualry. And at the ſame inſtant, Varus likevviſe had ſent out of the towne, DC. Numidian horſe, and CCC. foote, which King Iuba (a few daies before) had ſent to Vtica, for the ſtrengthening of that partie. This Prince had acquaintance vvith Pompey, by reaſon that his father lodged with him, and bare a ſpleene to Curio, for the law which he preferred when hee was Tribune of the people, for the confiſcation of Iuba his kingdome. The Caualrie on either ſide met together, and the Numidians were not able to abide the charge of our men; but ſome one hundred and twenty beeing ſlaine, the reſt betooke themſelues backe to the Campe at the towne.

In the meane time, vpon the arriuall of our Gallies, Curio commaunded it to be proclaimed, that ſuch Victuallers, and ſhippes of burthen, as were in the Bay at Vtica (beeing in number about two hundred) and would not preſently come to the Cornelian Campe, ſhould be held and taken for enemies. At which Proclamation, vpon an inſtant of time, they all waied anchor, and came to the place vvhither they were commaunded: vvhereby the Army abounded with all neceſsarie prouiſions. This beeing done, he returned to the Campe at Bragada; and, by the acclamation of the whole Army, was ſaluted by the name of Imperator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis Chapter beginneth with the third part of this booke, containing Curio his paſſage into Affrick: concerning whom, it is to bee obſerued, that in the beginning of theſe broiles, no man was more enemy to Cæſar, nor made more bitter inuectiues to the people againſt him, then he did in his Tribune-ſhip; but afterwards fell off, & was gained by the voluptuous inticements of M. Anthonie, together with a huge maſs of money which Cæſar ſent him. Whereupon, he plaied the turn-coate, and with might and maine aſsiſted that Partie; preuailing much with the Cõmunaltie, by his eloquent and perſwaſiue ſpeeches: the liuely force whereof, is able to ſtirre vp affection in ſtones. For which cauſe it is, that Velleius Patercul. noteth, That no man brought a more burning or dangerous fire-brand to the kindling of thoſe Ciuill warres, then did Curio; beeing a man of an excellent diſcourſe, audacious, prodigall of his owne and of other mens, ſubtile, ingenious, extreame vitious, and alwaies well ſpoken, to the ruine of the publique weale. Which ſweetneſſe of words came vnto him by inheritance, as

Eleganti oratione, capiuntur aud tores: ornata enim oratio vel lapidem mouere poſſet. Epict. Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Lib. 2.

as Plinie witneſſeth; *Vna familia Curionum, in qua, tres continua ſerie oratores extiterunt.* Of whoſe monſtrous prodigalitie, the ſame Authour hath made a very large account. And out of theſe ouer-weening humors it was, that he became ſo vnwarie as to diuide his Armie; neglecting the Enemy, and the variableneſs of warre; which altereth as the Moone, & keepeth no conſtant ſhape whereby it may be knowen. Concerning the diſmembering of an Armie, lightly, and vpon heedleſſe raſhneſs, Cyrus giueth graue aduice, in the beginning of the ſixt booke of Zenophon. To which (for the preſent) I refer the Reader.

Lib. 7. cap. 41. Lib. 36. cap. 15 Nimis confidens incautus eſt. Ioſeph. lib. 1. cap. 4. de bello Iudaico.

Clupea was a towne in Affrick, named by Plinie, *Oppidum liberum*, & ſited vpon the Promontorie of Mercury, in the territories of old Carthage: it vvas ſo called, becauſe it caried the forme of a Target retorted; and for the ſame cauſe it was called Aſpis:

In Clypei ſpeciem curuatis turribus Aſpis. *Sil. Ital.*

This Promontorie, which Curio choſe to incampe in, was famous for three things. Firſt, it was reputed the place where Antæus the Giant dwelt, vvhich Hercules ſlew, by ſtrangling him in his Armes: that hee might not touch the Earth, from whom it is ſaid, he receiued freſh ſtrength. Secondly, P. Cornelius Scipio, that ſubdued Affrick, made that place his chiefe Camp of ſtrength: and ſo it came to be called Cornelius Campe. And laſtly, for this expedition which Curio made, to loſe two legions, and himſelfe withall; as vnwilling to ſee the morow, after ſuch a loſſe: for, *Vitæ eſt auidus, quiſquis non vult, mũdo ſecum pereunte, mori.* *Seneca Trag.*

CHAP. XI.

Curio marcheth to *Vtica*: his Caualry put to flight *great troopes comming from king Iuba. His* Armie was ſtrangely poſſeſſed with an idle feare.

THE *next day, hee brought his Army to Vtica, and incamped himſelfe neere vnto the towne: but before the fortification of his Campe was finiſhed, the horſemen that ſtood Centinell, gaue notice of great forces of horſe and foote, cõming towards Vtica, from king Iuba: and at the ſame time, a great duſt was ſeene riſe in the aire, and preſently the firſt troopes began to come in ſight. Curio, aſtoniſhed at the nouelty of the thing, ſent his horſe before, to ſuſtaine the firſt ſhock, and to ſlay them: he himſelfe, calling the legions vvith all ſpeed from their worke, imbattelled his Army. The Caualry, incountering with the Enemy (before the legions could be well vnfolded and put in order) did put to flight all the Kings forces, that came marching without feare or order; and ſlew a great number of the foote troopes: but the horſe, making haſte, got almoſt* *Cæſar.*

all ſafe into the towne, by the way of the ſea-ſhore. The next night after, two Centurions, of the Nation of the Marſi, fledde from Curio, with twenty two of their ſouldiers, to Atius Varus.

Theſe Centurions, vvhether it were to pleaſe Varus, or otherwiſe ſpeaking as they thought (for, vvhat men wiſh, they eaſily belieue; and what they think, they hope others doe thinke the ſame) did confidently affirme, that the mindes of the whole Army, were altogether alienated from Curio; and that it was very expedient, that the Armies ſhould come in ſight, and find meanes to ſpeake together. Varus, beeing perſwaded to that opinion, the next day, earely in the morning, drew his legions out of the Campe: the like did Curio; either of them putting their forces in order, vpon a ſmall Valley vvhich lay betweene both their Armies.

There was in Varus Armie, one Sex. Quintilius Varus, who (as it is formerly declared) vvas at Corfinium; and beeing let goe by Cæſar, went into Affrick. It fortuned that Curio had caried ouer thoſe legions, vvhich Cæſar had formerly taken at Corfinium: ſo that a few Centurions beeing ſlaine, the Companies and Maniples remained the ſame. This occaſion beeing ſo fitly offered, Quintilius (going about Curio his Army) began to beſeech the ſouldiers, that they vvould not forget the firſt oath they had taken, to Domitian, and to him their Treaſurer: nor beare Armes againſt them, that had runne the ſame fortune, and indured the ſame ſiege; nor fight for thoſe, vvho (by vvay of reproche) had called them fugitiues. To theſe hee added ſome promiſes, to put them in hope of a good recompence, out of his owne liberality, if they vvould follow him and Atius.

Hauing deliuered this vnto them, Curio his Army ſtood mute, and declared not themſelues by any ſigne, either one way or other: notwithſtanding, Curio his Campe was afterwards poſſeſſed with a great feare and ſuſpicion: vvhich vvas quickly augmented, by diuers reports raiſed vpon the ſame. For, euery man forged opinions and conceits; and out of his owne feare, added ſome thing to that which hee had heard of another. Which when it was ſpred from one authour to many, and one had receiued it from another, it ſeemed there were many authors of the ſame thing. For, Ciuill warre is alwaies compounded of ſuch men, as hold it lawfull to doe and follow what and whom they pleaſe.

Nulla fides pietaſque viris qui caſtra ſequuntur, venaleſque manus: ibi fas, vbi maxima merces. Lucan.

Thoſe legions, which a little before were in the ſeruice of the Enemy, did willingly imbrace vvhat was offered them; for, old acquaintance, had made them forget vvhat benefites Cæſar had lately beſtowed on them: beeing alſo of diuers Countries and Nations; and not all of the Marſi or Peligni, as thoſe the night before, vvhich vvere their Cabin-mates and fellow ſouldiers: vvhere-vpon, they tooke occaſion, to publiſh abroad in worſe tearmes, that which others had vainelie giuen out; and ſome thinges vvere coined by thoſe, that would ſeeme moſt diligent in dooing their duty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

OBserue firſt, from the reuolt of theſe Centurions, that a fellow or two of ranke and faſhion, falling from a Partie, doe gaine eaſie credite to their aduertiſements, by averring any thing which the Enemy deſireth. Whence it is, that foraſmuch as fugitiues can little otherwiſe auaile (one man beeing but as no man) they ſeeke fauour and reputation with the Partie they flie vnto, by their aduiſe and diſcouerie; and conſequently, the remuneration of eſpiall, which according to the preſident made by Fabius to the Spies of Cluſine, is worth a mans labour. *Livie. lib. 10.*

And herein, Reuolters (ſpecially thoſe of iudgement) are very dangerous inſtruments; not onely in weakening or making fruſtrate ſuch deſignes as may be contriued againſt an Aduerſarie: but alſo in diſcouering the ſecrets of their owne Partie, and diſcloſing of that which is abſolute and well, vntill it be made knowen. For, there is no ſubſiſting thing ſo perfect, but hath alvvaies ſome part or other open, to giue an eaſie paſſage to deſtruction: according to that of the Poet;

Omnia ſunt hominum tenui pendentia filo.

And therefore, it is no ſmall meanes of preſeruing each thing in being, to make ſhew of ſtrength, and conceale weakeneſſes, as the regiſters of aſſured ruine: for which cauſe it is, that fidelitie is commended, as the foundation of humane ſocietie; and perfidious treachery, divulging the ſecrete imperfections thereof, is the plague and bane of the ſame. *Fides fundamẽtum ſocietatis humanæ: perfidia verò eiuſdẽ peſtis. Plato, l. 5. de legib.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AS there is nothing more dangerous in an Armie, then feare: ſo there is nothing ſooner bredde to diſturbe a multitude, then this paſsion; which metamorphoſeth a troope of men into a heard of Deere. For, hence it appeareth, that one Therſites is able to leuine a whole Army; & an idle conceit, bred in the weak thoughts of ſome Treſantas, begetteth oftentimes a maine cauſe of diſtruſt throughout all the Party: which, as it ſpreadeth abroad, is ſo deliuered from one to another, as the Reporter (not belieuing what he telleth) addeth alwaies ſome-what to make the hearer belieue, what he could not himſelfe. And ſo vveake mindes doe multiplie the vaine apprehenſion of idle humours, in ſuch a faſhion, as there is more hurt in fearing, then in the thing which is feared. The Spartanes called all cowards Treſantas. *Plutarch.* *Plus in metuendo eſt mali, quã in illo ipſo quod timetur. Cic. ad Torquatum.*

Epaminondas vvas more fortunate then all others in this kind: for, vvhile hee ledde the Thebanes as their Commaunder, they vvere neuer taken vvith any ſuddaine affrightment, nor poſſeſt with any Panick terror, to bereaue them of their ſenſes, or falſifie the truth of their vnderſtanding: *Plutarch.*

beeing all (as it ſeemed) of the ſame mind with the Generall; who accounted no death ſo honourable as that which came by warre. Howbeit, ſuch is the frailetie of humane nature, & ſo ſtrange are the conuulſions of the mind, that a Commaunder muſt expect to meet with times: wherein, his men will ſtand in danger of nothing ſo much as their owne infirmitie; beeing troubled rather with ſtrong apprehenſions, then for any danger of the thing feared.

Turbant homines, non res: ſed quas de rebus habẽt opiniones. Epict. Enchirid.

CHAP. XII.

Curio diſputeth the matter in a Councell of Warre.

Caſar.

FOR vvhich cauſes, a Councell of vvarre beeing called, they beganne to deliberate vvhat courſe vvas to be taken. There vvere ſome opinions vvhich thought, that it was very expedient to aſſault and take Varus Campe, for that there vvas nothing more dangerous then idleneſs, for the breeding and increaſe of ſuch imaginations as the ſouldiers had conceiued. Others ſaid, It vvere better to try the fortune of a battell, & to free themſelues by valorous indeauour, rather then to be forſaken and abandoned of their owne party, and left to vnder-goe moſt grieuous and extreame torments. There were others vvhich thought it fit, to returne about the third vvatch of the night to Cornelius Campe; that by interpoſing ſome reſpite of time, the ſouldiers might be better ſettled, and confirmed in their opinions: and if any miſchance further happened, they might (by reaſon of their ſtore of ſhipping) vvith more eaſe and ſafety, returne backe to Sicily.

Curio, miſliking both the one and the other, ſaid; That there wanted as much good reſolution in the one opinion, as it abounded in the other; for, theſe entered into a conſideration of a dishonourable and vnſeeming flight: and thoſe were of an opinion to fight, in an vnequall and diſaduantageous place. For, with vvhat hope (ſaith he) can vvee aſſault a Campe ſo fortified, both by Nature and Art? Or what haue we gained, if with great loſſe and damage, vvee ſhall goe away and giue it ouer? As though things well & happily atchieued, did not get to the Commaunder, great good will from the ſouldier; and things ill caried, as much hate. Concerning the remouing of our Campe, what doth it inferre but a ſhamefull retreit, a deſpaire in all men, and an alienation of the Army? For, it is not fit, to giue occaſion to the prudent and well-adviſed, to imagine that they are diſtruſted: nor on the other ſide, to the ill diſpoſed, that they are redoubted or feared; and the rather, becauſe feare in this kind, vvill giue them more liberty to do ill, and abate the indeauour of good men in well-deſeruing. And if (ſaith he) theſe things are well knowne vnto vs already, that are ſpoken of the reuolt and alienation of the Army (which, for mine owne part, I think either to be altogether falſe, or at leaſt, leſſe then in opinion they are thought to be) is it not better to diſſemble and hide them, then that they ſhould be ſtrengthened and confirmed by vs?

Tam boni quàm mali euentus cauſæ vulgò in Imperatores referri ſolent. Dio Halicar. lib. 8

Ought

Ought we not, as we doe hide the wounds of our bodies, to couer the inconueniences of an Armie, leaſt we ſhould miniſter hope or courage to the Aduerſarie? But ſome there are that aduiſe to ſet forward at midnight, to the end (as I imagine) that ſuch as are deſirous to offend, may performe it with more ſcope and licentiouſneſſe. For, ſuch diſorders are repreſſed and reformed, either vvith ſhame or feare: to both which the night is an enemy. And therefore, as I am not of that courage, to thinke without hope or meanes, that the Enemies Campe is to be aſſaulted; ſo on the other ſide, I am not ſo fearefull, as to be wanting in that vvhich is fitting: but am rather of opinion, that we try all things before vvee yeeld to that; and doe aſſure my ſelfe, that for the moſt part, wee are all of one mind concerning this point.

OBSERVATIONS.

AS in matter of Geometry, *Rectum eſt Index ſui, et obliqui*; beeing equall to all the parts of rectitude, and vnequall to obliquity: ſo is it in reaſon and diſcourſe. For, a direct and well grounded ſpeech, carieth ſuch a natiue equalitie with all it parts, as it doth not onely approue it ſelfe to be leueled at that which is moſt fitting, but ſheweth alſo what is indirect and crooked, concerning the ſame matter; and is of that conſequence in the varietie of projects and opinions, and ſo hardly hit vpon, in the lame diſcourſe of common reaſon, that Plato thought it a peece of diuine power, to direct a path free from the crookednes of errour, which might lead the ſtraight and ready way to happie ends. And the rather, foraſmuch as in matter of debate, there are no words ſo waighty, but do ſeeme balanced with others of equall conſideration: as heere it happened, frō thoſe that pointing at the cauſe of this diſtemperature, conuicted Idleneſſe for the Authour of their variable and vnſetled mindes: And, as Zenophon hath obſerued, very hard to be indured in one man, much worſe in a whole familie, but no way ſufferable in an Army; which the Romaines called *Exercitus ab exercitio*. For remedy whereof, they propounded labour without hope of gaine, & ſuch ſeruice as could bring forth nothing but loſſe. Others, preferring ſecuritie before all other courſes (as beleeuing with Liuie, that Captaines ſhould neuer truſt Fortune further then neceſsitie conſtrained them) perſwaded a retreit to a place of ſafetie, but vpon dishonourable tearmes. Which vneuenneſs of opinions, Curio made ſtraight by an excellent Maxime in this kind; thinking it conuenient to hold ſuch a courſe, as might neither giue honeſt men cauſe of diſtruſt, nor wicked men to thinke they were feared. For, ſo he ſhould be ſure (in good tearmes of honor) neither to diſcourage the better ſort, nor giue occaſion to the ill affected to doe worſe. And thus winding himſelfe out of the labyrinth of words (as knowing that to bee true of Annius the Prætor, that it more importeth occaſions to do then to ſay; being an eaſie matter to fit words to things vnfolded and reſolued vpon) he brake vp the Councell.

Conſiliū dare, eorum quæ inter homines diuiniſſimum.

Omni orationi oratio æqualis opponitur. Sext. Philoſ.

Variam ſemper dant otia mentē. Luc. lib. 4.

Lib. 1. Cyrope.

Duces nullo loco, niſi quantū neceſſitas cogit, ſe committere fortunæ debent. lib. 12.

Ad ſummā rerū pertinet, cogitare magis quid agendū quā quid loquendū: facile erit, explicatis conſilijs accōmodare rebus verba. Liv. 33.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio calleth a generall aſſembly of the ſouldiers; *and ſpeaketh vnto them, concerning their* feare, and retraction.

Cæſar.



HE Councell beeing riſen, he gaue order for a Conuocation of the Armie; and there called to remembrance vvhat they had done for Cæſar, at Corſinium: how by their fauour and furtherance, he had gained the greateſt part of Italie, to bee on his ſide. For, by you (ſaith hee) and by your indeauour, all the reſt of the Municipall townes, were drawne to follow Cæſar: and therefore, not vvithout iuſt cauſe did hee at that time repoſe great aſſurance in your affections towards him; and the aduerſe partie conceiued as great indignation and ſpight againſt you. For, Pompey was not forced away by any battell: but beeing preiudiced by your act hee quitted Italy. Cæſar hath recommended me, whom he held neer vnto himſelfe, together with the Prouinces of Sicily and Affrick (vvithout which he cannot defend the Citty and Italy) to your truſt and fidelitie. There are ſome which ſolicite and perſwade you to reuolt from my commaund: for, what can they wiſh or deſire more, then to make it but one worke, to bring vs both to ruine and ouerthrowe, and to ingage you in a moſt deteſtable vvickedneſs? Or what vvorſe opinion can they conceiue of you, then that you ſhould betray them, that profeſſe themſelues wholly yours? and that you might afterwards come into their power, vvho take themſelues vndone by your meanes?

Nemo ijs amicus eſſe poteſt, à quibus malum aliquod expectat. Demoſth.

Haue you not vnderſtood what Cæſar hath done in Spaine? two Armies beaten; two Generalls defeated; two Prouinces taken; and all within forty daies, after he came in view of the Enemy? Thoſe, vvhoſe forces vvere not able to make reſiſtance vvhen they were vvhole & entire, how is it poſsible they ſhould hold out, beeing beaten and diſcomfited? You that followed Cæſar when the victory ſtood doubtfull; now Fortune hath adiudged the Cauſe, and determined of the iſſue of the Warre, vvill you follow the vanquiſhed Partie? They gaue out, that they were forſaken and betraied by you, and doe remember you of the former oath you tooke: but did you forſake L. Domitius, or did he forſake you? Did not he thruſt you out, and expoſe you to all extreamity of fortune? Did hee not ſeeke to ſaue himſelfe by flight, without your knowledge or priuitie? Were you not preſerued and kept aliue by Cæſars clemencie, when you were abandoned & betraied by him?

How could he tie you vvith the oath of alleageance, vvhen (hauing caſt away his ſheafe of Rods, and laid downe his authority) he himſelfe was made a priuate perſon, and became captiuated to the commaund of another mans power? It vvere a ſtrange and new religion, that you ſhould neglect that oath, wherein you ſtand now ingaged; and reſpect the other, which vvas taken away by the rendry of

of your Generall, and the losse of your libertie. But I beleeue you thinke vvell of Cæsar, and are offended at Mee, that am not to preach of my merits towardes you; which as yet consist in my good will, and are vnworthy your expectation: & yet souldiers haue alwaies vsed to seeke reward vpon the shutting vp of a vvar; vvhich vvhat euent it will haue, make you no doubt. And why should I omit the diligence vvhich I haue already vsed, and how the businesse hath hitherto proceeded? Doth it offend you, that I transported the Armie ouer in safetie, vvithout losse of any one shippe? That at my comming, I beat and dispersed at the first onset the vvhole fleete of the Aduersaries? That twice, in two daies, I ouercame them onely vvith the Caualrie? That I drew two hundred Ships of burthen out of the Road and Port of the Enemy? and haue brought them to that extreamity, that they can be supplied by prouision, neither by sea nor by land? All this good fortune, and these Commaunders reiected and forsaken? which vvill rather imbrace the ignominie you receiued at Corfinium, or your flight out of Italy, or the rendering vp of Spaine, or the preiudiciall successe of the vvarre of Affricke. Truly, for mine owne part, I was desirous and content to be called Cæsars souldier: but you haue stiled me vvith the title of Imperator. Which if it repent you, I doe willingly quit my selfe of your grace, and returne it back vnto you: and doe you, in like manner, restore mee to my name againe; least you should seeme to giue me honour vvhich might turne to my reproche.*

* Capitis diminutione.

Diminutus capite appellatur, qui ciuitate mutatus est, aut ex familia in aliam adoptatus: et qui liber alteri mancipio datus est: et qui in hostium potestate venit: et cui aqua ignique interdictum. Liv.

In summo Imperatore quatuor hæ virtutes inesse debent: scientia rei militaris, virtus, authoritas, felicitas. Cicero pro leg. Manilia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the handling of this accident, the difference commeth to be obserued, betweene a Councell of warre, and a Concio, or conuocation of the souldiers. The first was more particular, consisting of some choice men, and those the most eminent in the partie; *Is qui non vniuersum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non comitia, sed cõcilium edicere debet.* Their convocation or preaching was more generall, the whole Armie beeing convented together, to bee fitted by perswasion and discourse, to follow the resolution taken by a Councell; and was properly called *Adlocutio*, and sometimes *Conuentus: Cicero perlectam Epistolam Cæsaris in conventu militum recitat.* The parties called to a Councell, were according as the Generall valued the occasion: for, some-times the Legates and Tribunes were onely consulted; and now and then the Centurions of the first Orders, together with the Captaines of horse, were called to their assistance: and often-times, all the Centurions. But howsoeuer, Curio resolued out of his owne iudgement, as great Commaunders commonly doe; and is specially obserued by Piere Matthien, of the French King: who euer loueth to heare the opinion of his Captaines, but alwaies findes his owne the best.

Aulus Gell. lib. 15. cap. 27.

Com. 5. b. ll. Galli.

Tom. 2. lib. 4.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AMongſt other ſtraines of this diſcourſe, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not ſtand without Sicilie; and the reaſon was, for the plentie of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by the Senate, as a place without which their Cittie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, vntill it be wet with water, and then dried in the ſhade, rather then in the ſunne: by meanes whereof, it yieldeth ſo exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any ponent Wheate; eſpecially, for that it will keepe long in their Vaults and Caues vnder the earth, and ſildome or neuer take heate, beeing of it ſelfe ſo hard and dry.

The gluttonous vſe of fleſh, hath made men ignorant of the vertue and ſtrength of Corne, which the Romaines better vnderſtood; for, their legions neuer fedde on fleſh, as long as they could get Corne. *Pecora, quod ſecundum poterat eſſe inopiæ ſubſidium*, ſaith Cæſar. And in another place; *Vt complures dies milites frumento caruerint, Pecore è longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem ſuſtentarent.* And in the ſame place, *Quo minor erat frumenti copia, Pecus imperabat.* And againe, *Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recuſabant. Pecus verò, cuius rei ſumma erat in Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant.*

Lib. 1. ciuil. bel.
Lib. 3.

By which places it appeareth, that they neuer fell to fleſh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doubtleſſe a firmer nutriment, leſſe excrementall, & of better ſtrength, then any other foode what-ſo-euer; as containing the prime ſubſtance of Meate, and the ſpirit of Wine: for, *Aqua vitæ*, is as well made of Wheat, as of the lees of Wine. Fleſh is good to make Wraſtlers of a groſſe and heauie conſtitution, as Plutarch noteth: but the Romaine ſouldier ſtood in need of an effectuall and ſinowy vigour, able to vndergoe cariages, fitter for a Mule then a Man; together with ſuch workes, as later ages doe rather heare then belieue, and was attained by feeding onely vpon bread.

Muli Mariani.

The Rabbines & Thalmudiſts doe write, That the Giants of the old world, firſt fell to the eating of fleſh; making no difference between a man & a beaſt, but grew ſo execrable, that they made women caſt their fruite before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tenderneſs and delicacie. Which is alſo ſaid to be practiſed by the Caniballs, vpon the firſt diſcouerie of the Indies. Viginere reporteth, that he knew ſome great Men in Fraunce, ſo friand, that they cauſed oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out aliue, to be made meate for monſtrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betweene the ſobrietie of the auncient Romaine ſouldier, and the gluttony of theſe times; farre exceeding that of Agamemnon, which Achilles noted with words of high reproach, calling him Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

Sobrietas, quæ ſine ebrietate.

Homer. Iliad. 1.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, from this elaboured and well-couched ſpeech, wee may note, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commaunders; beſides the vſe it hath, to leade a multitude to ſuch ends as is wiſhed: for, ſmooth words preuaile where force booteth not. According to that of Cicero, *Cùm populum perſuaderi poſſe diffidimus, cogi fas eſſe non arbitremur.*

Eloquẽtia principibus maximè ornamento eſt. C.c. 4. de finibus

Lib. 1. famil. Epiſt.

CHAP. XIIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth *Varus Army to flight.*

THE ſouldiers, *mooued vvith this Oration, did oftentimes interrupt him in his ſpeech; ſignifying vvith what griefe they did indure the ſuſpicion of infidelitie. And as hee departed from the Aſſembly, euery man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of giuing battell, or to make triall of their fidelitie and valour. By which meanes, the mindes and diſpoſition of all men beeing changed, Curio reſolued (out of a generall conſent) as ſoone as any occaſion was offered, to giue battell.*

Cæſar.

The next day, hauing brought out his forces, he made a ſtand, and imbattelled them in the ſame place where he ſtood in Armes the day before. And Varus likewiſe drew out his troopes, vvhether it were to ſolicite the ſouldier, or not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be affoorded in an indifferent place. There vvas a valley (as we haue formerly declared) betweene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult aſcent; and either of them expected who ſhould firſt come ouer it, to the end they might fight in a place of more aduantage: when vpon a ſuddaine, all Varus Caualry that ſtood in the left Cornet of the Armie, together vvith the light armed ſouldiers that ſtood mingled amongſt them, vvere ſeene deſcending into the Valley. To them Curio ſent his Caualrie, together with two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horſmen vvere not able to indure the firſt incounter of our men; but hauing loſt their horſes, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out vvith them, being left and forſaken, were all ſlaine by our men, in the view and ſight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebilius, Cæſars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experience in matter of vvarre, had brought with him out of Sicily) ſaid; Curio, thou ſeeſt the Enemy: why makeſt thou doubt to vſe the opportunitie of time? Curio, without making any other aunſwere, then vvilling the ſouldiers to remember vvhat they had aſſured vnto him the day before, commaunded them to follow him, & ran formoſt himſelfe. The Valley was ſo comberſome and difficult, that in gaining the

the aſcent of the hill, the formoſt could hardly get vp, vnleſſe they were lifted vp by the followers. Howbeit, the Enemy was ſo poſſeſſed vvith feare, for the flight & ſlaughter of their fellowes, that they did not ſo much as think of reſiſting; for, they tooke themſelues all to be already ſurpriſed by the Caualrie: ſo that before any vveapon could be caſt, or that our men could approche neere vnto them, all Varus Armie turned their backs, and fled into their Campe.

In this flight, Fabius Pelignus (a certaine ſouldier of one of the inferior Companies of Curio his Armie) hauing ouertaken the firſt troope of them that fledde, ſought for Varus, calling after him with a loude voice; as though hee had been one of his owne ſouldiers, and would either aduiſe him, or ſay ſome-thing elſe to him. And, as he, being often called, looked backe, and ſtood ſtill (inquiring vvho hee was, & what he would?) he made at Varus ſhoulder (which was vnarmed) with his ſword, and vvas very neere killing him; howbeit, he auoided the danger, by receiuing the blowe vpon his target. Fabius was inſtantly incloſed about, by ſuch ſouldiers as were neere at hand, and ſlaine.

In the meane time, the gates of the Campe vvere peſtered, and thronged, with multitudes and troopes of ſuch as fledde away; and the paſſage was ſo ſtopped, that more died in that place without blowe or wound, then periſhed either in the battell, or in the flight. Neither vvanted they much of taking the Campe; for, many left not running vntil they came to the towne. But the nature of the place, and the fortification of the Campe, did hinder their acceſſe: and Curio his men comming out (prepared onely for a battell) wanted ſuch neceſſaries as vvere of vſe for the taking of the Campe. And therfore Curio caried backe his Army, with the loſſe of no one man but Fabius. Of the Aduerſaries were ſlaine and wounded about ſixe hundred: who vpon Curio his departure, beſides many other that fained themſelues hurt, left the Campe for feare, and vvent into the towne. Which Varus perceiuing, and knowing alſo the aſtoniſhment of the Armie, leauing a Trumpeter in the Campe, and a fewe Tents for ſhew, about the third vvatch, he caried his Armie with ſilence out of the Campe into the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

Loco ſapientiæ eſt, alienâ ſtultitiam operiri.

IT is a part of wiſdome, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to attend the aduantage of an Enemies raſhneſs, and to ſee if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe. Whereof Curio made good vſe: for, he kept his Armie in the vpper ground, vntill the Caualrie of the Aduerſarie were looſely fallen into the Valley; and then ſet vpon them, and cut them all in peeces. The ſight whereof, maskered the whole Armie, & kept Curio in ſafetie, vpon the like diſaduantage, in the comberſome paſſage of the ſame Vale: by meanes whereof, he put to flight the whole forces of the Enemy, and made a great ſlaughter in the Party. Wherin I may not forget that tricke of a Romaine ſpirit, whereby the Authour commeth memorable to poſteritie, in calling after Varus by name, to make him the ſacrifice for both the Hoaſtes. Whence we may obſerue, that when a battell is ioyned pell-mell, no man

man can be aſſured in his owne valour, nor ſhare out his fortune by the length of his ſword; but is often-times ſubiect to weakneſſes of contempt, and vanquiſhed by ſuch as cannot be compared vnto him but in ſcorne.

I haue heard it reported, that at the battell of Euteux, *Maturine* (that knowen woman in France) tooke priſoner & diſarmed a Caualero of Spaine: Who beeing brought before the King, and by him demaunded whoſe priſoner he was, or whether he knew the partie that had forced him? Anſwered, no; but that he knew him to be a gallant man of Armes. Where-at the king ſmiled: and the Gentleman, vnderſtanding what fortune he had run, was as much diſmaied as a man poſsible could be, that conſidered, *Quòd ferrum æquat, in bello, robuſtioribus imbecilliores.* Zenoph. lib. 7. Cyropæ.

CHAP. XV.

Curio leaueth Vtica to meete with king *Iuba*: his *Cauatrie ouerthroweth the forces led by* Sabura; which led him on to his ouerthrowe.

THE next day, Curio prepared to beſiege Vtica, incloſing it about vvith a ditch and a rampier. There vvere in the towne, a multitude of people vnacquainted vvith vvarre, through the long peace they had inioyed: and the inhabitants ſtoode very affectionate to Cæſar, for many benefits they had receiued from him. The reſt of the multitude conſiſted of diuers ſorts of men, much terrified and affrighted by the former incounters: vvherevpon, euery man ſpake plainely of giuing vp the towne; and dealt with Pub. Atius, that their fortunes and liues might not come in danger, through his pertinacie and vvilfulneſs.

While theſe things were adooing, there came meſſengers from King Iuba, ſignifying the King was at hand with great forces, and vvilled them to keepe and defend the towne: vvhich newes, did much incourage and confirme the vvauering and affrighted mindes of the Enemy. The ſame vvas alſo reported to Curio: vvhere-vnto for a vvhile he gaue no credit; ſuch vvas his confidence in the ſucceſſe of things. And now withall, came Letters and Meſſengers into Affrick, of that vvhich Cæſar had ſo fortunately atchieued in Spaine: and being abſolutely aſſured vvith all theſe things, he was perſwaded the king durſt attempt nothing againſt him. But when he found by aſſured diſcouery, that his forces were within twenty fiue miles of Vtica, leauing his workes already begunne, he vvith-drew himſelfe into Cornelius Campe; and beganne there to fortifie his Campe, to get Corne and other prouiſions, and to furniſh it with all neceſſaries materiall for a defence: and ſent preſently a diſpatch into Sicily, that the two legions, and the reſt of the Caualry might be ſent vnto him.

The

The Campe vvherein he lay, was fitly accommodated to hold out the vvarre, as well by reaſon of the nature of the place, as the artificiall fortifying thereof, the neereneſs of the ſea, and the plenty of vvater and ſalt; vvhereof there vvas great quantitie brought thither, from the Salt-pittes neer adioyning. No ſtuffe could be wanting, through the great ſtore of vvood which was about the place, nor yet any Corne, for the plenty that was to be found in the cõfining fieldes: and there-vpon, by the aduice and approbation of all men, Curio reſolued to attend his other forces, and to draw out the warre in length.

Theſe things beeing thus diſpoſed, by the conſent & liking of all men, he heard by ſome that lately came out of the towne, that Iuba was called back, by occaſion of a vvarre happened vpon the confines: and that by reaſon of the controuerſies and diſſentions of the Leptitani, he was detained at home in his kingdome; but that Sabura his Lieutenant was ſent with ſome competent forces, and vvas not farre from Vtica. To vvhich reports, giuing too light and eaſie credit, he altered his purpoſe, and reſolued to put the matter to triall of battell: vvhere-vnto his youthfull heate, the greatneſs of his courage, the ſucceſſe of former time, & his confidence in the managing of that vvarre, did violently lead him. Being caried on with theſe inducements, he ſent the firſt night all the Caualry to the Riuer Bragada, vvhere the Enemy lay incamped vnder the commaund of Sabura: but the king followed after with all his forces, and lay continually within ſixe miles, or there-abouts.

Callicratides ciu Lacedemoniorũ Dux fuiſſet bello Peloponeſiaco, multaque egregiè feciſſet, vertit ad extremum omnia.

Cleombrotus, temerè cum Epaminonda conſligens, Lacedemoniorum opes corruerunt.

The horſemen ſent before, and making their iourney in the night, ſet vpon the Enemie at vnawares: and not thinking of their approche: for, the Numidians lodge, ſcattered here and there in a barbarous manner, without any gouernment or order. And ſurpriſing them thus, oppreſſed vvith ſleepe, and ſcattered vpon the ground, they ſlew a great number of them: the reſt, in great terror & amaſement, eſcaped by flight. Which ſeruice, beeing thus executed, the Caualrie returned to Curio, and brought the captiues vnto him. Curio was gone out, about the fourth watch of the night with all his forces, hauing left fiue cohorts for a guarizon to his Campe: and hauing marched ſixe miles, he met with the Caualrie, vnderſtood what was done, and inquired of the captiues, who was Generall of the Campe at Bragadum? They anſwered, Sabura. Omitting for haſte of his way to informe himſelfe of the reſt: but turning himſelfe to the next Enſignes, ſaid; You ſee ſouldiers that the confeſſion of the captiues doe agree, vvith that which was reported by the fugitiues. For, the king is not come, but hath ſent ſome ſmall forces, which cannot make their partie good with a fevv horſemen: and therefore, haſten to take the ſpoile vvith honour and renowne; that we may now at length, begin to thinke of rewarding your merits.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is obſerued by Marcellinus, that when misfortune commeth vpon a man, his ſpirit groweth ſo dull and benummed, as his ſenſes ſeeme to be diſmiſſed of their charges. Which appeared heere in Curio: who, hauing taken a prouident and ſure courſe, ſuch as was approoued in euery mans iudgement, and beſeemed well the wiſedome of a Commaunder, did neuertheleſſe, contrarie to all ſenſe and diſcretion, forgoe the ſame; and caſt himſelfe vpon the hazard of that which fugitiues had vainely reported. Concerning which, as it is noted, that Incredulitie is hurtfull onely to the vnbeleuer; ſo this paſſage proueth, that for a Commaunder to bee too light of beliefe, is a danger to the whole Partie, and bringeth many to ruine, that had no part in that Creede. Cæſar, in the relation heereof, noteth three ſpeciall things in Curio, that caried him head-long to this diſaſter, and may ſerue as markes to auoid the like Syrtes.

Fidemus ipſi quotidie, manus iniicientibus ſatis, hebetari ſenſus hominum et obtundi. Amm. Marcell.

Solis incredulis noxia res incredulitas. Philo. de v.t. Moſis.

The firſt, was *Iuuenilis ardor*, his youthfull courage and heate: which is alwaies attended with ſtrong affections, ſuting the qualitie and temperature of the bodie, being then in the prime height of ſtrength, & accordingly ledde on with violent motions; where-as age goeth ſlowely and coldly forward, and is alwaies ſurer in vndertaking, then hot-ſpurre youth. And albeit, no man in cold bloud could better aduize then Curio, or fore-ſee with better prouidence: yet his youthfull boldneſſe, ouer-ſwaied his diſcourſe; and drew all to a miſchiefe, in deſpight of his wiſedome.

Hebetiores quã acutiores vt plurimũ melius reipub. adminiſtrant. Thucidides.

The ſecond, was *Superioris temporis prouentus*, the happy iſſue of former proceedings: which of all other conditions, is to be ſuſpected, and needeth Gods aſsiſtance more then any other fortune; for that no man ſooner erreth, or is more vncaple of order, then ſuch as are in proſperitie. And therfore, Plato refuſed to make lawes for them of Syrene; as a matter of great difficulty, to giue ordinances to men that were in happineſſe. And doubtleſs, ſuch is the exorbitancie of our nature, that nothing better informeth it then croſſes; which are as inſtructions and warnings, for the preuenting of ruining calamities. Wherein, Curio was not beholding to Fortune at all; that dandled him in her lap for a while, to caſt him out at length, head-long to his ruine. It had been much better, ſhe had exchanged a frowne with a fauour, rather then to haue giuen him much good together, and reſerue an irrecouerable diſgrace for the vp-ſhot.

Rebus ſecundis maximè deus implorandus. Lib. 1. Cyrop.

Felicitatis et moderationis diuidaũ contubernium. Sen.

--quem blanda futuris,
Deceptura malis belli fortuna recepit. Luc. lib. 4.

The third, was *Fiducia rei bene gerendæ*: which ſauoureth more of follie then any of the former; beeing alwaies an argument of an imprudent man, to aſſure himſelfe of good fortune: for, Preſumption, beeing euer accompanied with Negligence, is ſubiect to as many caſualties, as thoſe that goe vnarmed vpon extreamitie of danger. And theſe were the three things that miſcaried Curio. Out of which we may obſerue with Xenophon, that *Ingens et arduum opus eſt rectè imperare.*

Imprudentium fiducia eſt ſortunam ſibi ſpondere. Seneca de beneficijs.

Incauta ſemper nimia præſumptio et ſui negligens. Egeſip. Lib. 1. de Inſti Cyri.

CHAP. XVI.

Curio purſueth the Enemy, with more *haſte then good ſucceſſe.*

Cæſar.

THat vvhich the Caualrie had exploited, was certainelie a matter of great ſeruice; eſpecially the ſmall number of them, beeing compared with the great multitude of the Numidians: & yet notwithſtanding, they ſpake of theſe things, with greater oſtentation then the truth would beare; as men are vvilling to divulge their owne praiſes. Beſides, they ſhewed much ſpoile which they had taken: Captiues and horſes were brought out, that whatſoeuer time was omitted, ſeemed to be a let and hinderance to the victory; by which meanes, the deſires and indeauours of the Souldiers, vvere no vvay ſhort of the hope vvhich Curio had conceiued. Who, commaunding the Caualry to follow him, marched forward with as much haſte as he could; to the end he might find the Enemy diſtracted and aſtoniſhed, at the flight and ouerthrowe of their fellowes: but the horſemen, hauing trauelled all night, could by no meanes follow after. Whereby it happened, that ſome ſtaied in one place, ſome in another: yet this did not hinder or diſcourage Curio in his hopes.

Iuba, beeing aduertiſed by Sabura of the conflict in the night, ſent inſtantlie two thouſand Spaniſh and French horſe, which he kept about him for the ſafetie of his Perſon, and ſuch of the foote-troopes as he moſt truſted to ſuccour and relieue him: hee himſelfe, vvith the reſt of the forces, & forty Elephants, followed ſoftly after. Sabura, ſuſpecting by the horſemen comming before, that Curio himſelfe was at hand, imbattelled all his forces; commaunding them, that vnder a pretence of counterfait feare, they ſhould retreit by little and little: himſelfe, when occaſion ſerued, would giue them the ſigne of battell; vvith ſuch other directions as ſhould be expedient.

Curio was ſtrengthened in his former hope, with the opinion of the preſent occaſion. For, ſuppoſing the Enemy had fled, hee drew his forces from the vpper ground into the Plaine; vvherein, after he had marched a good ſpace (the Army hauing trauailed ſixteene mile) hee made a ſtand. Sabura gaue the ſigne to his men of beginning the battell, ledde on his Army, vvent about his troopes, to exhort and courage his ſouldiers: Howbeit, he vſed his foot-men onely for a ſhew a farre off, and ſent the Caualrie to giue the charge. Curio vvas not vvanting to his men; but wiſhed them to ſet all their confidence in their valour. The ſouldiers, howſoeuer harried and wearied, and the horſemen (although but a verie few, and thoſe ſpent with trauell) yet wanted no courage or deſire to fight. But theſe beeing but two hundred in number (for, the reſt ſtaied by the way) vvhat part of the Army ſoeuer they charged, they forced the Enemy to giue way: but they could neither follow them farre as they fledde, nor put their horſes to anie round or long cariere.

At length, the Caualrie of the Enemy, beganne from both the wings to circumuent our Army, and to mall them downe behind: and, as our Cohorts issued out from the battell, towards them, the Numidians (through their nimblenesse) did easily auoid the shocke; and againe, as they turned backe to their rankes, inclosed them about, and cut them off from the battell: so that it neither seemed safe to keepe their order and place, or to aduance themselues out, and vnder-goe the hazard of aduenture.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Principles and Maximes of VVarre, are alwaies to bee held firme, when they are taken with their due circumstances: for, euerie Rule hath a qualified state, and consisteth more in cautions and exceptions, then in authoritie of precept. It is true, that nothing doth more aduantage a victorie, then the counsell of Lamachus, the third Duke of the Athenians; which was, to set vpon an Enemy, when he is affrighted and distracted: for, so there is nothing to be expected (on his behalfe) but despaire and confusion. But, either to be mistaken therein, or otherwise to make such haste to obserue this rule of warre (as Curio did) that the best part of the Armie shall lie by the way, and the rest that goe on, shal be so spent with labour, as they are altogether vnfitte for seruice, and yet (to make the matter worse) to bring them into a place of disaduantage, to incounter a strong and fresh Enemy, is to make the circumstances ouer-sway the Rule, and by a Maxime of VVarre, to be directed to an ouerthrowe: Neglecting altogether that which is obserued by Sextus Aurelius Victor; *Satis celeriter fit, quicquid commodè geritur.* *Thucid. lib. 7.*

CHAP. XVII.

Curio defeated and slaine; Some few of the Armie get passage to Sicily: the rest, yeeld themselues to Varus.

THE Enemy was oftentimes renforced by succours from the King: our men had spent their strength, and fainted through wearinesse: such as were wounded, could neither leaue the battel, nor be conuaied into a place of safetie. The whole Army, beeing incompassed about with the Caualrie of the Enemy (whereby despairing of their safety, as men commonly do, when their life drawes towards an end) they either lamented their owne death, or recõmended their friends to good fortune, if it were possible that any might escape out of that danger: all parts were filled with feare and lamentation. *Cæsar.*

Curio, when he perceiued the ſouldiers to be ſo affrighted, that they gaue eare neither to his exhortations nor intreaties, he commanded them (as the laſt hope they had of ſafety) that they ſhould all flie vnto the next hills, and thither hee commaunded the Enſignes to be caried. But the Caualrie, ſent by Sabura, had alſo preoccupated that place; whereby our men began to fall into vtter deſpaire, and partly were ſlaine as they fled by the horſemen, or fell downe without wounding. Cn. Domitius, Generall of the horſe, ſtanding with a few horſemen about him, perſwaded Curio to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and to get the Campe; promiſing not to leaue or forſake him: but Curio confidently replied, that hee would neuer come in Cæſars ſight, hauing loſt the Army committed vnto him; and thereupon, fighting valiantly, vvas ſlaine.

A fevv horſemen ſaued themſelues from the furie of the battell; but ſuch of the Rereward, as ſtaied by the way to refreſh their horſes, perceiuing afarre off, the rout and flight of the vvhole Army, returned ſafe into the Campe. The footmen vvere all ſlaine, to a man. M. Rufus the Treaſurer, beeing left by Curio in the Campe, exhorted his men not to be diſcouraged. They praied and beſought him, they might be tranſported into Sicily. Hee promiſed thē they ſhould; and to that end gaue order to the Maiſters of ſhippes, that the next euening they ſhould bring all the Skiffes to the ſhore. But ſuch was the aſtoniſhment and terrour of all men, that ſome gaue out, that Iuba his forces were already come: Others, that Varus was at hand vvith the legions; and that they ſaw the duſt of the Army marching towards them: whereas there was no ſuch matter at all. Others, ſuſpected the Enemies Nauie would ſpeedily make to them; inſomuch as euery man ſhifted for himſelfe: ſuch as vvere already on ſhip-board, made haſte to be gone. Their departure, gaue occaſion to the ſhips of burthen to follow after.

A few ſmall Barks vvere obedient to the commaund: but the ſhore beeing thronged vvith ſouldiers, ſuch vvas the contention, which of all that multitude ſhould get aboard, that ſome of the Barkes vvere ſunke with preace of people, & the reſt, for feare of the like caſualtie, durſt not come neere them. Wherby it happened, that a few ſouldiers, and Maiſters of families (that through fauour or pitty preuailed, or could ſwim vnto the ſhippes) were caried backe, ſafe, into Sicily. The reſt of the forces, ſending by night ſome of the Centurions as Embaſſadours to Varus, rendered themſelues vnto him.

The next day after, Iuba ſeeing the Cohorts of theſe ſouldiers before the towne, cried out preſently, that they were part of his booty: and thereupon gaue order, that a great number of thē ſhould be ſlaine; and, ſelecting a few out of the reſt, ſent them into his kingdome: Varus complaining in the meane vvhile, that his faith and promiſe was violated, and yet durſt not reſiſt it. The King rode into the towne, attended with many Senators, amongſt whō was Ser. Sulpitius, & L. Damaſippus: and remaining there a few daies, gaue ſuch order for things, as he thought fit, and then returned to his kingdome, with all his forces.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

AND this was the period which Diuine power made, to the hopefull beginning of Curio's deſsigne vpon Affrick; & happened ſo ſuddenlie, as they were loſt ere they were aware: Like a tempeſt at Sea; that ſwalloweth vp veſſels in the ſame place, where a little before they ſwam moſt proudly, and in the like irrecouerable manner. For, vvarre is not capable of a ſecond errour; one fault beeing enough to ruine an Armie, and to diſable Curio for euer dooing the like: of whom Lucan hath left this memoriall;

Haud aliam tanta Ciuem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta ſequenti,
Perdita nunc primum nocuerunt ſecula, poſt quam
Ambitus, et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,
Tranſuerſo mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
Momentúmque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus ſpolijs et Cæſaris Auro.

Lætis hunc numina rebus creſcendi poſuere modum. Lucan. Eodem vbi luſerunt nauigia ſorbentur. Seneca Epiſt. 4. Non eſt in bello bis peccare. Plutarch.

His bodie lay vnburied, as a witneſs of Numidian hate (which is alwaies extreame, like the heat of the Countrey) and of Iuba's particular reuenge, for tendering an Edict to the people, to confiſquet his kingdome.

Nullo contectus Curio buſto.

To conclude this Commentary; The loſſe either Partie ſuſtained vnto this ſtage of the Warre, was in theſe particulars: Pompey was driuen out of Italie, loſt Marſelleis, and both the Prouinces of Spaine; Cæſar receiued this loſſe in Affrick, beſides that in the Adriatick ſea, where Antonius miſcaried, whereof he maketh no mention in theſe Cõmentaries. And as when Iupiter weighed the fortune of the Greekes, and the Troians, in a paire of Ballance, it fell out the Greekes had more ill lucke then the Troians; ſo the fortune of theſe Parties beeing weighed, by the relation made thereof, it falleth plainely out, that Pompey had the worſe.

Homer. Iliad. 8.

And thus endeth the ſecond Commentarie.

THE THIRD COMMENTARY of the Ciuill VVarres.

(···)

THE ARGVMENT.

THE former Bookes, containe the drifts and deſignes which theſe famous Cheefes attempted, and proſecuted, while they were aſunder. And now commeth their buckling at hand to be related; together with the iudgement which the VVarre gaue of the Cauſe in queſtion, on Cæſars behalfe.

CHAP. I.

Cæſar giueth order at Rome, for matter of Credit *and Vſury, and other things.*

CAESAR *the Dictator, holding the aſſembly for election of Magiſtrates; Iulius Cæſar, and Pub. Seruilius vvere created Conſulls: for, in that yeere he was capable by law to be choſen there-vnto. Theſe things beeing ended, foraſmuch as hee found that credit vvas very ſcant throughout all Italy, and that money lent vpon truſt, vvas not paid; he gaue order that Arbitrators ſhould be appointed, to make an eſtimation of poſſeſsions & goods, according as they vvere valued before the vvarre: and that the Creditors ſhould take them at that rate for their moneys. For, this courſe he thought to be fitteſt, and moſt expedient; as vvell for the taking away of any feare of compoſition, or new aſſurances, for the quitting and aboliſhing of all debts (which do commonly fall out vpon vvarres and ciuill broiles) as alſo for the keeping and preſeruing of the Debtors credit.* Cæſar.

In like manner, he reſtored the ancient courſe of Appeale, made by the Prætors and Tribunes, to the people; as alſo certaine courſes vſed, in ſuing for Magiſtracie (which were taken away, by a law made in Pompeis time, when hee kept the legions about him in the Cittie) and likewiſe reformed ſuch iudgements in ſutes and trialls of law, as vvere giuen in Caſes, vvhen the matter in controuerſie was heard by one Iudge, and the ſentence pronounced the ſame day by another Iudge. Laſt of all, vvhere-as diuers ſtood condemned, for offering their ſeruice vnto him in the beginning of the Ciuill vvarre, if he ſhould thinke it fit to accept

thereof: and holding himſelfe as much obliged vnto them, as if he had vſed it; he thought it beſt expedient for thē, to be acquitted by the people, rather then by his commandement & authority: leaſt hee ſhould either ſeeme vngratefull, in not acknowledging their deſerts; or arrogant, in aſſuming to himſelfe that, which belonged to the people.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CAeſar, as he was Dictator holding the aſſembly for the choice of Magiſtrates; himſelfe, with P. Seruilius Iſcauricus, were made Conſuls, in the yeere of Rome 705: which was iuſt tenne yeeres after his firſt Conſulſhippe: whereby he became capable thereof, by the law publiſhed by Sylla; wherein it was prouided, That no man ſhould be choſen to an office, within tenne yeeres after he had ſupplied the ſame. In this yeere, happened all theſe things, which are contained in this third Commentarie: as Paterculus noteth in theſe words;

C. Cæſar, and P. Seruilius beeing Conſulls, Pompey was miſerably maſſacred, after three Conſulſhips, and three Triumphes; and was ſlaine, the day before his birth day, beeing aged 58 yeeres. The Choice day, was regularlie the firſt of Ianuary: and the Aſſembly was called *Comitium Centuriatum.*

Touching the difference of theſe Aſſemblies, the parties preſent thereat, the manner of the choice, and other circumſtances appertaining, the Reader may receiue information at large, by Roſsius. Onely it is to be remembred, that *Comitia Centuriata* were neuer holden without conſent of the Senate. And foraſmuch as the cheefe part of them were with Pompey, Lucan taketh exception at this Creation.

Lib. 6. de Comitijs.

Lib. 5.

——— *mœrentia tecta*
Cæſar habet, vacuáſque domos, legéſque ſilentes:
Clauſaque inſtitio triſti fora. Curia ſolos
Illa videt Patres, plena quos vrbe fugauit.

The Perſons, that were ſuters for the Conſulſhippe, were called *Candidati*; who oftentimes vſed extraordinarie meanes to attaine the ſame: which moued Pompey to make a law, That no man ſhould ſue for publique offices, by bribes, or other corrupt courſes, and was called *Lex de Ambitu*; which indeed was but renewed: for, the ſame was ſet on foote, *Anno Vrb.* 395, by Petilius, Tribune of the people: and renewed againe, by Pub. Cornelius Cethegus, *Anno* 572: and within a while after, made capitall, as farre as baniſhment concerned the partie. Coponius was ſo condemned, hauing bought a voice, with an * Amphora of Wine. The law, which Pompey now made, was very ſtrict, as Dio noteth: for, it was ordained, That vpon producing of witneſſes, the Proceſs ſhould end in a day, giuing the Accuſer two houres, to lay open the matter; and the Defender three, to make aunſwere: and the Iudgement inſtantlie followed. The rigour of which law, Cæſar here reformed.

Anno Vrb. 701

Liv. lib. 7.
Liv. lib. 9.

*Foure gallons and a halfe.
Plin. li. 35. c. 12
Lib. 39.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſecond thing I obſerue, is the difficultie of taking vp money vpon credit, in time of trouble or warres: which Cæſar expreſſeth in theſe tearmes; *Cùm fides tota Italia eſſet anguſtior.* The word *Fides*, hath euer been taken for a reall performance of any promiſe or agreement; which Tully calleth the foundation of Iuſtice, and the very prop of a Common-weale: taking the Etymon to growe, *quia fiat quod dictum.* According to that of Nonius Marcellus; *Fides nomen ipſum videtur habere cùm fit, quod dicitur.* And for that Men commonly are couenant keepers, not ſo much by the perfection of their nature, as out of ſtrictneſs of law, it falleth out, that where there are no lawes, there is no performance; and conſequentlie, little or no credit either giuen or kept in time of Warre, becauſe *Silent leges inter arma.*

Lib. 1. offic. Nec enim vlla res vehementius rempub. cõtinet quam fides. Lib. 2. offic.

Cæſar, to prouide for this inconuenience, appointed Commiſsioners to rate euery mans lands and poſſeſsions, as they were valued before the warres, and to ſatisfie the Creditors with the ſame. Which Plutarch explaineth in this manner; That the Creditors ſhould take, yeerely, two parts of the reuenewe of their Debtors, vntill ſuch time as they had paid themſelues: and that the Debtors ſhould haue the other third, to liue withall. Whereof it ſeemed he had ſome light, by a preſident in the Conſulſhippe of Valerius Publicola, which is extant in Liuie; *Noui Conſules fœnebrem quoque rem leuare aggreſsi, ſolutionem æris alieni, in publicam curam verterant, quinque viris creatis, quos menſarios, ab diſpenſatione pecuniæ appellarunt.*

In the life of Iulius Cæſar.

Lib. 7.

This generall acquittance for debts, the Romaines called *Nouæ Tabulæ*: In this reſpect, as Celius Rodiginus hath it, *Quòd cùm pecuniæ creditæ oberratis condonantur, nouæ mox cooriuntur Tabulæ, quibus nomina continentur noua*: and is nothing elſe, then what is ordinarie amongſt our Bankerupts, compoũding for ſo much in the pound with their Creditors, vpon new aſſurance, and other ſecuritie, vvhich they called *Nouæ Tabulæ*; agreeing to that of Tullie: *Tabulæ verò nouæ quid habent argumenti, niſi vt emas mea pecunia fundum, eum tu habeas, ergo non habeam pecuniam.*

Lib. 7.

2. Offic.

Concerning matter of Vſurie, which was the ground of this miſchiefe, Tacitus noteth it, as an old and deadly diſeaſe, and the cauſe of many ſeditions in that Empire; and is neuer better likened, then to the biting of a Serpent, called an Aſpicke: which, vpon the infuſion of her venom, putteth the Patient into a heauie ſlumber; and in a ſhort time, bringeth all a mans ſubſtance to death and deſtruction. And there-vpon, it is called *Fœnus à fœtu*, from the fertile and ample increaſe of money. For, as Baſill noteth, The Labourer loſeth the ſeed, and contenteth himſelfe with the fruit or increaſe: but the Vſurer, will haue the fruit, and yet not loſe the ſeede. Whereby there muſt needes growe great increaſe. The law of the twelue Tables, was, *Ne quis vnciario fœnore amplius exerceto.*

Vetus vrbi fœnebre malum, et ſeditionum diſcordiarumque vberrima cauſa. Annal. 6.

And is vnderſtood for one in the hundred. The higheſt rate was *Centeſima Vſura*; when the hundred part of the principall was paid euery month to the Credi-

Creditor, and was twelue *per Cent*. The next was *Vſura deunx*, when the Debtor paid eleuen in the hundred for a yeere. The third *Dextans*, which was x. *per Cent*. *Dodrans* ix. *Bes* viij. *Septunx* vſura, vij. *Semis* vi. *Quincunce* v. *Triens* iiij. *Quadrans* iij. *Sextans* ij. *Vnciaria*, one in the hundred. Howbeit, Cato condemned all kind of vſury: for, being demaunded, *Quid maximè in re familiari expediret? reſpondit bene paſcere: quid ſecundum? ſatis bene paſcere? quid tertium? bene veſtire: quid quartũ? arare: et cum ille qui quaſierat dixiſſet, Quid fœnerari? Quid hominẽ inquit occidere?* Allowing (as it ſeemeth) no meanes of getting mony, but thoſe which Ariſtotle tooke to be moſt agreeing to Nature: which is from the fruites of the earth, and the increaſe of our cattell; with ſuch other courſes as are aunſwerable thereunto.

Tull. 2. offic.

Pecuniæ quærendæ ratio, naturæ conſentanea omnibus eſt, à fructibus et animalibus. de repub. lib. 1. cap. 10.

CHAP. II.

A particular view of Pompeis forces.

Cæſar.

IN the accompliſhing of theſe things, as alſo celebrating the Latine Holidaies, and holding the Aſſemblies of the people, hauing ſpent eleuen daies, he gaue ouer his Dictatorſhip, left the Cittie, and came to Brunduſium. For, he had commanded ſeauen legions, and all his Caualrie to repaire thither: howbeit, he found no more ſhipping ready, then would hardly tranſport fifteene thouſand legionary ſouldiers, and fiue hundred horſe; the vvant whereof, ſeemed to hinder him from bringing the vvarre to a ſpeedy end. Moreouer, thoſe forces vvhich were ſhipped, were but weak; in regard that many of them were loſt in the vvarres of Galia, and leſſened likewiſe by their long iourney out of Spaine: beſides that, the vnwholſome Autumne in Apulia, and about Brunduſium, had made the whole Army ill diſpoſed; beeing newly come out of the ſweet aire of Gallia and Spaine.

Pompey, hauing had a yeeres ſpace to prouide himſelfe of men and munition, and neither warre nor enemy to trouble him, had got together a great Nauy out of Aſia, from the Cyclad Iles, Coreyra, Athens, Pontus, Bythinia, Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Egypt; and had cauſed another as great a fleet to bee built in all places fit for that purpoſe; had raiſed great ſummes of money out of Aſia, and Syria, and of all the Kings, Dinaſtes, Tetrarches, and free States of Achaia; and had likewiſe compelled the Corporations of thoſe Prouinces to cõtribute the like ſum. He had inrolled nine legions of Romaine Cittizens, fiue which he had tranſported out of Italy, one old legion out of Sicily (which beeing compounded and made of two, he called the Twin) one out of Creet and Macedonia, old ſouldiers, who beeing diſcharged by former Generalls, had reſided in thoſe Prouinces; two out of Aſia, which Lentulus the Conſull had cauſed to be inrolled: beſides, he had diſtributed amongſt thoſe legions, vnder the name of a ſupply, a great number of Theſſaly, Bœotia, Achaia, and Epyrus.

Gemella.

Amongſt

Amongst theſe, he had mingled Anthonies ſouldiers: and beſides theſe, he expected to be brought by Scipio, out of Syria, two legions. Of Archers out of Creta, Lacedemon, Pontus, and Syria, and the reſt of the Cities, he had three thouſand; ſixe cohorts of Slingers; two Mercenary, & ſeauen thouſand horſe. Whereof Deiotarus had brought ſixe hundred Galls; Ariobarzenes fiue hundred out of Cappadocia; Cotus out of Thracia had ſent the like number, vnder the leading of his ſonne Saſalis. From Macedonia came two hundred, commaunded by Raſcipolis; a Captaine of great fame and vertue. From Alexandria came fiue hundred, part Galls, & part Germaines; which A. Gabinius had left there with King Ptolomy, to defend the Towne. Pompey, the ſonne, had brought vvith the Nauie, eight hundred of his ſhepheards and ſeruaunts. Tarcondarius, Caſtor, & Donilaus, had ſent three hundred out of Gallogræcia; of whom, one came himſelfe, and the other ſent his ſonne. Two hundred vvere ſent out of Syria, by Comagenus of Antioch, whom Pompey had preſented vvith great gifts: moſt of vvhich were Arbaleſtriers on horſebacke.

To theſe vvere added Dardanes, Beſsi; partly for pay and entertainement, and partly got by commaund or fauour; beſides Macedonians, Theſſalians, & diuers other Nations and Cities: inſomuch as he filled vp the number formerly ſpoken of. He prouided great quantity of Corne out of Theſſaly, Aſia, Creta, Cyrenia, & the reſt of thoſe Regions. He determined to winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, & all the maritimate townes, to keepe Cæſar from paſsing the Sea: and to that end, he had laid and diſpoſed his Nauie all along the Sea-coaſt. Pompey, the ſon, vvas Admirall of the Egyptian ſhippes; and Lelius Triarius, of thoſe that came out of Aſia. Caſsius commaunded them of Syria, and C. Marcellus, with Pomponius, the ſhippes of Rhodes. Scribonius Libo, and M. Octauius, had charge of the Achaian Nauie: Howbeit, M. Bibulus commaunded in chiefe in all ſea cauſes; and to him was left the ſuperintendencie of the Admiraltie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

COncerning theſe *Latinæ Feriæ*, it is to be noted, that the Romaines had two ſorts of *Feriæ*, or Holy-daies; the one called *Annales*, which came alwaies to be kept on a certaine day: and there-vpon were called *Anniuerſarij*. The other, *Conceptiuæ*; which were arbitrarie, and ſolemnized vpon ſuch daies, as the Magiſtrates & Prieſts thought moſt expedient, whereof theſe *Latinæ Feriæ* were chiefe; and were kept on Mount Albane, to Iupiter Latior, for the health and preſeruation of all the Latine people, in league and confederacie with the people of Rome, and vvere ſolemnized in remembrance of the truce betweene thoſe two Nations: during which feaſt, the Romaines held it vnlawfull to make any warre. The ſacrifice was a white Bull, kild and offered by the Conſulls, and the fleſh diſtributed to the inhabitants of Latinum: according to an ancient Treatie of alliance between them; engrauen for a perpetuall memory, in a Columne of braſſe. The particulars whereof, are expreſſed at large, by Dioniſius Halicarnaſſeus.

Latinæ Feriæ.

Lib. 4. de Antiqui. Roma.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſecond thing comming to be noted, is the view taken of Pompeys forces; which are nine compleat legions, beſides the ſupplies heere particularly mentioned, ſent from ſuch as bare affection to that Party: and, by indifferent calculation, might amount in all, neere about three-ſcore thouſand men, together with the fauour of the Countrey, where the triall was to be made by the ſtroke of Warre.

In which Muſter, were the ſouldiers of C. Antonius; whoſe misfortune theſe Commentaries haue either willingly forgot, or ſome other chance hath wip't it cleane out. Howbeit, Florus hath it recorded, that Cæſar hauing ſent Dolabella and Antonius to ſeize vpon the Straights, and entrance of the Adriatick-ſea, the one tooke hold of the coaſt of Slauonia, and the other neere vnto Corfew: when vpon a ſuddaine came Octauius and Libo, Pompeys Lieutenants, and with great forces (they had aboard their ſhippes) ſurprized both the one and the other; whereby Antonius was conſtrained to yeeld vp fifteene Companies, which were theſe ſouldiers of Antonius heere mentioned.

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

Raſcipolis, or Raſcupolis, was a Thracian of great fame, that followed Pompey; and his brother Raſcus tooke himſelfe to Cæſar, vpon an appointment made betweene themſelues: for, finding in the Countrey where they dwelt, two great Factions in oppoſition, & doubting which Partie to take, they diuided themſelues; as the beſt approued part of Newtralitie: And held likewiſe the ſame courſe, in the warre betweene Brutus and Octauius, continuing vnto the battell of Philippi. Vpon the iſſue whereof, Raſcus demaunded no other reward for his ſeruice, then the life of his brother: which vvas eaſilie graunted.

Appian. lib. 4.

This Bibulus, Pompeis high Admirall, was fellow Conſull with Cæſar, in the yeer of Rome 694: but Cæſar ſo out-ſtript him in the managing of things, that he much ſuſpected himſelfe, as inſufficient for the place: which made him keepe his houſe all that yeere. Whereupon came this Diſtich;

Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, ſed Cæſare factum:
Nam Bibulo fieri Conſule nil memini.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar paſſeth ouer into Greece, returneth his ſhipping to *Brunduſium*. *Octauius* beſiegeth Salones.

Cæſar.

CAeſar, vpon his arriuall at Brunduſium, called the ſouldiers together; and ſhewed them, that foraſmuch as they vvere almoſt come to an end of all their labours and dangers, they would now be content to leaue vvillingly behind them their ſeruants and cariages in Italy, and goe aboard, cleere of thoſe incomberments; to the

the end, the greater number of ſouldiers might be taken in; and that they ſhould expect the ſupplie of all theſe things, from victorie, & his liberality. Euery man cried out, That he ſhould commaund what he would, and they would vvillinglie obay it.

The ſecond of the Nones of Ianuary, he waied Anchor, hauing (as is formerly ſhewed) ſhipped ſeauen legions. The next day, he came to land at the Promontorie of Ceraunium, hauing got a quiet roade amongſt the Rocks, and places of danger. For, doubting how he might ſafely venture vpon any of the knowne Ports of that Coaſt (vvhich he ſuſpected to be kept by the Enemy) he made choice of that place, which is called Phraſalus: and there arriuing in ſafetie vvith all his ſhips, he landed his ſouldiers.

At the ſame time, Lucrecius Viſpillo, and Minutus Rufus (by order from Lælius) vvere at Orick, with eighteene ſhippes of Aſia: and M. Bibulus, was likewiſe at Corfew, with one hundred and tenne ſhippes. But neither of theſe two durſt come out of the Port, although Cæſar had not in all aboue twelue ſhippes of vvarre, to waſt him ouer; amongſt which, he himſelfe was imbarked. Neither could Bibulus come ſoone enough, his ſhippes beeing vnready, and his Mariners aſhore; for that Cæſar was deſcried neere the Continent, before there vvas any bruite of his comming in all thoſe Regions. The ſouldiers beeing landed, hee ſent backe the ſame night the ſhipping to Brunduſium; that the other legions, and the Caualrie, might be brought ouer.

Fuſius Calenus, the Legat, had the charge of this ſeruice, and was to vſe all celeritie in tranſporting ouer the legions: but, ſetting out late, and omitting the opportunity of the night wind, they failed of their purpoſe, & ſo returned back. For, Bibulus beeing certified at Corfew of Cæſars arriuall, and hoping to meete with ſome of the ſhippes of burthen, met with the emptie ſhippes, going backe to Brunduſium: and hauing taken thirty of them, he wreaked his anger (conceiued through griefe and omiſsion) and ſet them all on fire, conſuming therein, both the Maiſters, and the Mariners; hoping by the rigour of that puniſhment, to terrifie the reſt.

This beeing done, hee poſſeſt all the Coaſt, from Salones to Orick, with ſhippes and Men of vvarre; appointing guardes with more ailigence then formerly hath been vſed. He himſelfe, in the depth of Winter, kept watch a ſhip-board, not refuſing any labour or duetie, nor expecting any ſuccour, if he happened to meet with Cæſar. But after the departure of the Liburnian Gallies from Illiricum, M. Octauius, with ſuch ſhippes as he had with him, came to Salones; and there hauing incited the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew Iſca from Cæſars partie. And finding that he could not moue them of Salones, neither with promiſe nor threatnings, he reſolued to beſiege the Towne. The Place was ſtrong by nature, through the aduantage of a Hill; and the Romaine Cittizens (there inhabiting) had made towres of vvood to fortifie it vvithin: but finding themſelues too vveake to make reſiſtance (beeing vvearied out and ſpent vvith vvoundes) they fell at length to the laſt refuge of all: vvhich vvas, to enfranchize all their bond-ſlaues, aboue the age of fourteene yeeres; and cutting their womens haire, made Engines thereof.

Their reſolution beeing knowen, Octauius incompaſſed the towne about with fiue Campes: and at one inſtant of time, beganne to force them by ſiege, and by aſſault. They, beeing reſolued to vnder-goe all extreamities, were much preſſed through vvant of Corne; and there-vpon, ſending Meſſengers to Cæſar, ſought helpe of him: other inconueniences, they indured as they might.

And after a long time, vvhen the continuance of the ſiege, had made the Octauians remiſſe and negligent (taking the opportunitie of the noone time, when the Enemy vvas retired aſide, and placing their children and women on the vvall, that nothing might ſeeme omitted of that vvhich was vſuall) they themſelues, together vvith ſuch as they had lately infranchized, brake into the next Campe vnto the Towne. Which beeing taken, with the ſame violence they ſet vpon another, and then vpon the third, and ſo vpon the fourth, and in the end, vpon the fift; driuing the Enemy out of all the Campes: and, hauing ſlaine a great number, they forced Octauius, and the reſt remaining, to betake them to their ſhips; and ſo the ſiege ended. For, Octauius, deſpairing to take the Towne, the Winter approaching, and hauing receiued ſuch loſſes, retired to Pompey at Dyrrachium.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT hath beene generally conceiued, that there is little or no vſe of women in times of vvarre, but that they are a burthen to ſuch as ſeek honour by deedes of Armes; and doe better ſute the licentiouſneſſe of peace, then the dangers of warfare. Whereof Andromache is made an inſtance; from that which Homer reporteth of her teares, ſighes, & praiers, to with-draw Hector from thoſe valorous exploits, which hee vndertooke for the defence of Troy: and therefore, are by Ouid, wiſhed to handle the diſtaffe and the ſpindle; and leaue the warre, as fitter for men, then the weakeneſſe of their Sex.

Iliad. 6.

12 Metamor.

——— colúmque
Ícape cum calathis, et ſtamina pollice torque:
Bella relinque viris.

Neuertheleſſe, it cannot be denied, that howſoeuer the tenderneſſe of women, doth require a paſsiue courſe of life, vnder the ſhelter of a ſafe rooſe, rather then in the bleake ſtormes of actiue indeauour; yet there haue been ſome Viragos, that haue ouer-topped the pride of men in points of war: amongſt whom, Semiramis may leade the reſt; together with Tomyris, Cyrus Miſtreſſe by conqueſt. As alſo Zenobia, that ſubdued the Perſians; and Helena, Queene of the Ruſſes.

Inſt. lib. 1. Herodot. lib. 2 Trebell. Pola. Sigiſm. Bar. in Muſcou.

Beſides other noble ſpirits, that could anſwere ſuch as told them newes of the death of their ſonnes in battell; That they had brought them into the world for that onely purpoſe. Which do proue, as well a reall as a potentiall aptneſs of that Sex, to the vſe and practice of Armes.

And

And if any man (as vnwilling to affoord them ſo much worth) will knowe wherein they auaile the fortune of a Warre, he may take notice, that euen in expeditions (wherein they are moſt ſubiect to exceptions) they alwaies giue acceptable aſsiſtances to their Husbands, both in their prouiſions, and otherwiſe; and are ſuch Companions, as can hardly be left at home, without danger of greater hazard.

Quod honeſtius quã vxoriũ lamentum? Tac. l. 3. Annal. Vix præſenti cuſtodia manere illæſa coniugia. eodem.

But in places beſieged, vvomen doe not onely affoord haire to make ropes, if need require (as it fell out in this ſiege) but are able to caſt peeces of Millſtones vpon the Enemie, with better fortune ſome-times then any other man: and haue thereby ſlaine the Generall, to the raiſing of the ſiege, and ſauing of the Cittie.

Iudg. 9.

But to take inſtances of later times: it is not to bee forgotten, that when the Arch-Duke Mathias (after the death of Count Mansfield) commaunded the Chriſtian Armie, at the ſiege of Strigonium; while the Turkes, within the Caſtle, were making works for a retreit, the women (in the meane time) made good the breaches; and there beſtowed ſuch ſtore of Wild-fire, that the Italian Squadrons (commaunded by Aldobrandine) beeing ioyned poldron to poldron, to preace into the breach, ſeemed all of a fire at once, and were forced to fall off with great terrour and confuſion.

Anno 1595.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

A Towne aſſaulted by a warlike Enemie, is not kept or freed with Charmes or Spells; or as the Inhabitants of Tomby, in the Eaſt Indies, draue away the Portugalls, with Hiues of Bees, when they were poſſeſſed of the walls: but with ſuch valour as may ouer-maiſter the Enemy, and extend it ſelfe to the taking of fiue Campes, if need require; which was performed by theſe Inhabitants of Salones.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar ſendeth to Pompey, touching a Peace; *taketh in Oricum, Apolonia, and* other places.

IT is before declared, that Vibullius Rufus (one of Pompeis Lieutenants) vvas twice taken by Cæſar, and diſmiſſed; once at Corfinium, and a ſecond time in Spaine. Him did Cæſar deeme (in regarde of the fauours vvhich he had ſhewed him) to bee a fitte perſon, to bee ſent vvith a Meſſage to *Cæſar.*

Pompey; and the rather, for that hee vnderſtood, that hee vvas in good account and credite vvith him.

Qui ſapiunt, bellũ abſolvunt celeriter; pace fruuntur quàm poſſunt diutiſſime. Appian.

The ſumme of his Commiſsion was, to tell him, That it beſeemed them both, to giue an end to their vvilfulneſſe, to lay downe their Armes, and not to tempt Fortune any longer; either ſide had beene ſufficiently afflicted with loſſe and dammages: vvhich might ſerue for inſtruction and example to auoide other inconueniences. Hee, for his part, vvas driuen out of Italy, vvith the loſſe of Sicily, Sardinia, vvith the two Prouinces of Spaine, as alſo of the Cohorts of Italie, together with one hundred & thirty cohorts of Romaine Cittizens in Spaine; Himſelfe, vvith the death of Curio, with the loſſe of the Affricane Armie, and vvith the rendry of the ſouldiers at Corfew: and therefore they ſhould haue regard of themſelues, and of the Common-wealth.

They had good experience by their owne loſſes, what Fortune could do in war. This was the onely time to treat of peace, whilſt either Party ſtood confident in his owne ſtrength, and ſeemed of equall might & power. But, if Fortune ſhould chaunce to ſway to one ſide, he that thought hee had the better end of the ſtaffe, would neuer harken to any conditions of peace, nor content himſelfe with a reaſonable part, becauſe his hope would giue him all.

Concerning the Articles of Treatie, foraſmuch as they could not agree thereof themſelues, they ought to ſeeke them from the Senate and people of Rome. In the meane vvhile, it vvas fitte that the Common-vvealth and themſelues ſhould reſt ſatisfied, if (without further delay) both of them did take an oath in the preſence of their Armies, to diſmiſſe their forces vvithin three daies next following: and ſend avvay their Auxiliarie troopes, vvherein they ſo relied; and conſequently, to depend vpon the iudgement and decree of the people of Rome. For aſſurance whereof, on his behalfe, hee vvould preſently diſcharge as well his forces in the field, as thoſe in guarizon.

Vibullius, hauing receiued theſe inſtructions from Cæſar (thinking it no leſſe requiſite to aduertiſe Pompey of Cæſars arriuall, that hee might conſult of that, before he deliuered vvhat hee had in charge) poſted night and day, taking at euery ſtage freſh horſe; that hee might certifie Pompey, that Cæſar was at hand vvith all his forces.

Pompey was at that time in Caudania, and vvent out of Macedonia, to Winter in Apolonia, and at Dyrrachium. But, being troubled at the newes, he made towards Apolonia by great iourneyes, leaſt Cæſar ſhould poſſeſſe himſelfe of the maritimate Citties.

Cæſar, hauing landed his forces, vvent the next day to Oricum. Vpon his approach, L. Torquatus, who commaunded the towne vnder Pompey, & had there a guarizon of Parthins, ſhutting the gates, vvent about to defend the place, commaunded the Grecians to take Armes, and make good the vvalles. But they, refuſing to fight againſt the power and authoritie of the people of Rome, and the townſmen indeauouring of their owne accord to receiue him in; hee opened the gates, deſpairing of all other ſuccours, and gaue vp both himſelfe and the towne to Cæſar, and was entertained by him in ſafetie. Oricum beeing taken-in by Cæſar, without any further delay he went to Apolonia.

His

His comming beeing heard of, L. Straberius, the Gouernour, began to carie vvater into the Citadell, to fortifie it, and to require pledges of the inhabitants. They, on the other ſide, denied to giue any, or to ſhutte their gates againſt the Conſull, or of themſelues to take a reſolution, contrary to that which all Italy & the people of Rome had thought conuenient. Their affections beeing knowen, he ſecretly conuaied himſelfe away. The Apolonians ſent Commiſsioners to Cæſar, and receiued him into the towne. The Beldinenſes followed their example; and the Amatines, together with the reſt of the confining Citties. And to conclude, all Epirus ſent vnto Cæſar, promiſing to doe what he commaunded. But Pompey, vnderſtanding of theſe things, which were done at Oricum and Apolonia, fearing Dyrrachium, poſted thither night and day. Howbeit, vpon the report of Cæſars approche, the Armie was ſo aſtoniſhed, that for haſte on their way, they left their Enſignes in Epirus, and the confining Regions: and many of them (caſting away their Armes) ſeemed rather to flie, then to march as ſouldiers.

As they came neere to Dyrrachium, Pompey made a ſtand, and cauſed the Campe to be intrenched, when-as yet the Army was ſo affrighted, that Labienus ſtood out firſt, and tooke a ſolemne oath, Neuer to forſake Pompey, but to vndergoe what chance ſoeuer Fortune had allotted him. The ſame oath tooke the Legates; beeing likewiſe ſeconded by the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and Centurions, and by all the Army, that tooke the like oath.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Num eſt tempus (ſaith Cæſar) *de pace agendi, dum vterque ſibi confidit, et pares ambo videntur.* Which may ſerue for an excellent Rule, to point out the fitteſt & ſeaſonableſt time, for compoſition betweene two oppoſite Parties. For, as in quantities, equality begetteth equalitie, and diſparitie, a like vneuenneſſe of nature: ſo, in other things: as namely, in Treaties of Agreement, the conditions doe commonly riſe to either Partie, according as they ſtand ballanced in the ſcale of Equalitie; or otherwiſe, as the difference of their meanes ſhall allot thē. For, if that be true in the extreamitie, which Curtius hath, That Lawes are giuen by Conquerers, and accepted vpon all conditions, by them that are ſubdued; it doth conſequently follow in the Meane, that men find dealing proportionable to their fortune. To which purpoſe is that of Plato, where he ſaith, That Peace and Quietneſs conſiſt in equalitie; as Trouble and Motion are alwaies in inequalitie.

Leges à victoribus dicuntur; accipiuntur à victis. lib. 4. Quietem, in æquabilitate; motū, in inæqualitate, ſemper cōſtituimus. in Timæo.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Ex rei quæ venerit exemplo, rem intellegere haud difficile. Plato 3 de legi.

IT appeareth heere, by the fright and aſtoniſhment of Pompeis Armie, that the courſe he tooke to abandon Italie, was out of no good aduice or direction. For, where he might with farre more honour, and no leſſe hope of ſucceſſe, haue conteſted with Cæſar, in the place where the warre brake out, and kept him to a taske which ſhould haue held him from the conqueſt of Spaine, or ſuch other atchieuements as he eaſilie wrought in the abſence of his Aduerſaries: it fell out, that his departure into Greece, ſorted to no other end, then by time to abate the edge of the forwardeſt courages, and to ſuffer a numerous Armie, to be daunted with noiſe and clamors of continuall victories, gotten vpon a part of themſelues; and then to giue occaſion to the Conquerour to come in the taile of Fame, and take them diſarmed of expectation, to their great amazement.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar tooke vp his lodging for Winter. Bibulus, *diſtreſſed at Sea for vvant of prouiſions, ſeemed deſirous* of a Treatie: which, being caried on the other ſide with good caution, brake off againe.

Cæſar.

CAeſar, vnderſtanding that his paſſage to Dyrrachium vvas thus intercepted, did forbeare his haſte, and incamped himſelfe vpon the Riuer Apſus, in the confines of the Apollonians; that by the meanes of his Guards and Forts, ſuch Cities as had well deſerued of him, might be in ſafety: & there determined to winter, in Tents of skinne, and to attend the comming of his other legions out of Italy. The like did Pompey, pitching his Campe on the other ſide of the Riuer Apſus; and there aſſembled all his troopes and forraine aydes. Calenus, hauing (according to Cæſars directions) imbarked the legions, and Caualrie at Brunduſium, and taken-in as many as his ſhipping would containe, he ſet ſaile: but beeing gone a little out of the Port, hee receiued Letters of aduice from Cæſar, that all the Hauens and the Sea-coaſt vvas kept with the Enemies fleet. Where-vpon, hee made againe into the Hauen, and called backe all the ſhippes: onely one, holding on her courſe, without regard of the commaund, carying no ſouldiers, but belonging to priuate men, arriued at Oricum, and there was taken by Bibulus; who ſpared neither bond nor free, of as many as were of age, but put all to the ſword. Whereby it happened, that in a moment of time, by great chaunce the whole Army was ſaued.

Bibulus, as is before declared, lay at Oricum with his Nauie. And as hee kept the

the Sea and the Ports from Cæsar; so was hee kept from landing in any of those Countries: for, all the Sea-coast was kept by Guardes and Watches, set along the shore, that he could neither vvater, get vvood, nor bring his shippes to land vpon any occasion: Insomuch as hee was brought into great straightnes and exigent, for want of all necessaries; and vvas constrained (besides all other prouisions) to fetch his vvater and vvood from Corfew. And one time amongst the rest, it happened, that the weather beeing foule, they were forced to relieue themselues, vvith the deaw vvhich in the night time fell vpon the skinnes, that couered the Decks of the shippes. All which extreamities they patiently indured; and would by no meanes be brought to leaue the Ports, or abandon the Sea-coast.

But as they were in these difficulties, and that Libo, and Bibulus were come together, they both of them spake from a-ship-board, to M. Acilius, and Statius Marco, Legates (of whom one was Gouenour of the Towne, & the other had the charge of such Guardes as were along the shore) signifying, that they would willingly talke with Cæsar, of matters of great cõsequence, if they might haue leaue. For a better shew and assurance whereof, they intimated some thing concerning a Composition. In the meane time, they earnestly desired there might be a truce: for, the thing they propounded, imported matter of great weight, vvhich they knew Cæsar exceedingly affected; and it was thought that Bibulus vvas able to worke some-what to that purpose.

Cæsar, at that time, was gone vvith one legion to take-in some townes further off, and to set a course for prouision of Corne, which vvas brought sparingly vnto him; and was then at Buthrot, opposite to Corfew. Beeing certified there by Letters from Acilius and Murco, of that which Libo and Bibulus had required, he left the legion, and returned himselfe to Oricum. At his arriuall thither, they vvere called out to treat. Libo came forth, and excused Bibulus, for that he was exceeding cholericke, and had besides conceiued a great anger at Cæsar, about the Aedilitie and Prætorship: and in regard of that, he did shun the Conference, least a matter of that vtility and importance, should be disturbed by his intemperate cariage. Pompey is, and was euer desirous, that matters might be accorded, and that Armes might be laid aside; but they, of themselues, could doe nothing therein; forasmuch as by the generall resolution of a Councell, the superintendency of the vvarre, and the disposition of all things, vvere referred to Pompey: Howbeit, when they vnderstood what Cæsar required, they would send instantly a dispatch vnto Pompey, and be a meanes that he should accomplish all things with good satisfaction. In the meane time, let there be a truce; and vntill an aunswere might be returned from him, let neither Partie offend one another. To this he added some-what concerning the Cause in question. To vvhich, Cæsar did not thinke it fit at that time to make any aunswere: nor doe we thinke there is cause now to make mention thereof.

Cæsar required, that it might bee lawfull for him, to send Embassadours to Pompey vvithout danger; and that they would vndertake, that such as he sent, might be well intreated, or take them into their charge, and bring them safely to Pompey. Concerning the Truce, the course of the vvarre fell out to be so caried, that they, with their Nauie, did keepe his shipps and succours from comming vnto him;

him; and he, on the other ſide, did prohibite them frō landing, or taking in freſh vvater: and if they would haue that graunted vnto them, let them ceaſe guarding of the Coaſt; but if they would continue that, then would he continue the other. Notwithſtanding, hee thought the Treatie of accord might goe on, albeit theſe were not omitted; for, he tooke them to be no impediment therevnto. They vvould neither receiue Cæſars Embaſſadours, nor vndertake for their ſafetie; but referred the whole matter to Pompey: onely they inſtanced, and very vehemently vrged the Truce. But Cæſar, perceiuing that all this ſpeech tended onely to auoid the preſent danger, and to ſupply themſelues of ſuch vvants vvherewith they vvere ſtraightned, and that there was no condition of peace to be expected, he began to thinke of proſecuting the vvarre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Timendū ne ſub pacis nomine involutum bellum. Cicero. Phil. 7.

AS in contracting with a Partie, it is duly to be cared, that War be not ſhrowded vnder the faire name of Peace; ſo a Truce demaunded by an Enemy, is to be handled ſparingly & with ſuſpicion: as a thing neuer commonly required, but when neceſsity doth moue them therevnto; and not to be granted, but as it may inferre the like aduantage. But to yeeld to a ſuſpenſion of Armes, aduantageous to an Enemy, & no way gainefull to them that conſent vnto it, is neither allowable by reaſon, nor Cæſars example. And if occaſion proue it requiſite, it muſt be but for a little time: for, a Prince armed in the field, that ſhall entertaine a Truce for any long ſeaſon, ſhall ſee his Armie conſumed both in courage, and in the parts thereof, which will fall aſunder of themſelues; and was the meanes by which Lewis, the eleuenth, put-by Edward the fourth, king of England, from going on with a warre that might haue giuen him the poſſeſsion of the Crowne of France. Whence it is, that ſuch as ſeeke a Peace, deſire no more then a ceſſation of Armes, for ſome reaſonable time, as an introduction inforcing the ſame.

Fœdus Pacis.

Concerning leagues, we are to note that there are found three differences. The firſt, is a league of Peace: which by the Apoſtles rule, ſhould extend to all men, *Habete pacem cum omnibus*: and by example of holy Patriarches (Iſack with Abimelech, Iacob with Laban) may lawfully bee made with Heathen Princes; beeing as the golden chaine, that tieth all the Nations of the earth in peaceable communitie.

Fœdus Cōmercij.

The ſecond, is a league of Entercourſe, or Cōmerce; which is likewiſe by the ſame Patriach, ſending for Corne into Egypt, and Salomons entercourſe, with Hiram king of Tyre, together with diuers other examples, allowable with Infidels. For, Nature, being rich in variety of commodities, doth therefore diuide her workes amongſt the kingdomes of the earth, that there might be a mutuall entercourſe of exchange, betweene the partes of the ſame.

Fœdus mutui Auxilij. 1. Reg. 22.

The third, is a league of mutuall Aſsiſtance; ſuch as Iehoſophat made with Achab: & is hardly ſafe with any Prince; but no way allowable with Infidels.

Touching

Touching the Persons to be offered in a Treatie, it is to bee obserued from Bibulus, that no man, whose presence may either giue offence, or whose intemperance may any way interrupt a course sorting to a happy issue, is fit for any such imploiment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THere were, in Rome, certaine Officers called *Aediles, ab Aedibus*; as hauing the care of houses & buildings, both publique and priuate, that they might be built and maintained in such manner as was agreeable to the ordinances of that State, together with other things whereof they had the charge. *Nunc sum designatus Aedilis* (saith Cicero) *habeo rationem quod à populo Romano acceperim, mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cerimonia, Cereri Liberoque faciendos. Mihi Floram Matrẽ populo plebique Romanæ, ludorum celebritate placandam: mihi ludos antiquissimos qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Ioui, Iunoni, Mineruæque esse faciendos. Mihi sacrarum Aedium procurationem; mihi totã vrbem tuendam esse commissam, ob earum rerum laborem et solicitudinẽ fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiæ dicendæ locum. Togam pretextam, cellam curulem, ius imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatémque prodendam.* Wherein it is to be noted, that these shewes and Plaies, were alwaies made and set forth at the charge and costs of the Aediles: and thence it was, that the allowing or disallowing of all Play-bookes belonged vnto them. Moreouer, they had the charge of all the publique buildings and works of the Cittie, together with the prouision of victuall and Corne. And, for the missing of this office, was Bibulus angry with Cæsar; and would not be regained vpon anie condition.

In Verrem.

The publication of their secular Plaies, was cried in these words; *Conuenite ad ludos spectandos, quos neque spectauit quisquam, nec spectaturus est. Sueto. in Claudio.*

Nolentẽ amicũ capere, difficile. Xenop. de factis et dict. Socratis.

CHAP. VI.

Bibulus dieth. Cæsar vseth meanes to procure *a Treaty of Peace; but preuaileth not.*

Bibulus, beeing kept from landing many daies together, and fallen into a grieuous sickenesse, through cold and extreame labour (and hauing no meanes of help, nor yet vvilling to forgoe his charge) could no longer withstand the violence of the disease. Hee beeing dead, there was none appointed to take his charge: but euery man commaunded his owne fleete. The hurly burly beeing quieted, vvhich Cæsars suddaine arriuall had mooued, Vibullius, with the assistance of Libo, together with L. Lucceius, and Theophanes, to whom

Cæsar.

whom Pompey was wont to communicate matters of greateſt importance, reſolued to deliuer what Cæſar had recommended vnto him: & entering into the relation thereof, vvas interrupted by Pompey, forbidding him to ſpeake any further of that matter. What vſe or neede haue I (ſaith he) either of my life, or of the Citty, when I ſhall be thought to enioy it by Cæſars fauour? neither can the opinion thereof be remoued, vntill the warre be ended; that of my ſelfe I returne backe into Italy, from whence I am come.

Cæſar vnderſtood this, from thoſe that were preſent when hee ſpake it: and yet notwithſtanding, hee indeauoured by other meanes, to procure a Parlee of peace. For, the two Campes of Pompey and Cæſar, were onely ſeparated by the Riuer Apſus, that ranne betweene them; where the ſouldiers had often Colloquies, & by agreement amongſt themſelues, threw no vveapon during the time of their treatie. Where-vpon, he ſent P. Vatinius, a Legat, to the Riuer banke, to vtter ſuch things as did chiefely concerne a Peace; and to aske oftentimes with a loud voice, Whether it were not lawfull for Cittizens, to ſend to Cittizens, touching a treaty of peace? being a thing permitted to the Thieues of the Pyreneian Mountaines: or at leaſt, to moue that Cittizens ſhould not in Armes contend with Cittizens? And hauing ſpoken much very reſpectfully, as well concerning his owne well-fare, as the ſafetie of all the reſt, he was heard with ſilence, by the Souldiers on both ſides.

At length, it was aunſwered from the other Party, that A. Varro did offer himſelfe for a conference the next day; ſo that the Commiſsioners on both ſides, might come and goe in ſafety, and deliuer freely their opinions: for vvhich, a certaine time was then appointed. The next day, great multitudes of either ſide, preſented themſelues at the place aſsigned; and great was the expectation therof, euery man ſeeming to incline to peace. Out of vvhich troope ſtept foorth T. Labienus, and ſpake ſoftly touching the peace: and at laſt, entered into altercation with Vatinius. In the middle of their ſpeech, were vveapons ſuddenlie caſt from all parts: which hee auoided, beeing couered and defended with Armes. Notwithſtanding, many were vvounded; and amongſt others, Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtus, Centurions, beſides many other ſouldiers. Then ſaid Labienus, Leaue off, therefore, to ſpeake of any compoſition: for, vnleſſe Cæſars head be brought, there can be no peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis ſmall peece of the Storie, containeth diuers notable paſſages of extreamitie, in the cariage of Pompey, and others of his Partizans. As firſt (to take them as they lie) that of vvilfulneſſe in Bibulus: whō neither ſickneſſe, nor deſpaire of helpe, could moue to intermit the taske he had vndertaken; but choſe rather to ſuffer vnto death, in approuing his zeale to the Cauſe, then to giue himſelfe a breathing time for the ſauing of his life: and may ſerue to admoniſh any other Bibulus, to value his life aboue that, which a ſtiffe and wilfull opinion may leade him vnto, beyond the meaſure of honorable

honourable indeauour, or what elſe may any way be iuſtly expected; leaſt in ſtriuing to doe much, hee happen to doe nothing: for, that cannot be vnderſtood to bee vvell done in an other mans behalfe, that is not well done in his owne. *Fruſtra ſapit, qui ſibi non ſapit.*

The ſecond, is Pompeis reſolution; beeing ſo extreame, as no compoſition, or other thing whatſoeuer, could giue him ſatisfaction, but onely a victorious end of that warre. Our prouerbe ſaith, Better a leane agreement, then a fat remedie. And the caſualties of warre, may moue an experienced Commaunder, to imbrace a ſafe and quiet peace; as knowing, that he that goeth about to vex another, ſhall haue his turne of ſuffering the like miſeaſes: and as warre beginneth, when one partie liſteth, ſo it endeth, when the other ſide pleaſeth.

——facilis deſcenſus Auerni:
Sed reuocare gradum, ſuperáſque euadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor eſt. *Aenead. 6.*

And therefore, let no Commaunder, how great ſoeuer, refuſe all peace, but that which is bought by extreamitie of warre; leaſt the euent (whereof there can be no aſſurance) fall out as it happened to Pompey: but rather with the vſe, let him learne the end of Armes: which is, to make ſtraight that which is crooked; and out of diſcord and diſſenſion, to draw meanes of a happie peace.

To which may be added, that other of Labienus, as farre in extreamitie as either of the former; whom nothing would ſatisfie but Cæſars head. It cannot be denied, but that he ſtrooke at the roote; for, his head, was the head of that warre. But to ſay it, rather then to doe it, was no argument of Labienus worthineſſe. For, as Polybius noteth; It is common to moſt men to magnifie themſelues, with words full of wind: yea, and more then that, to follow their deſsignes with impetuous violence. But, to direct their vndertakings to a ſucceſsfull iſſue, and to remoue by induſtrie, or prouidence, ſuch hinderances as happen to trauerſe their hopes, is granted but to a few; and now denied to Labienus, notwithſtanding this Brauado. And therefore, let ſuch Commaunders, as are in good opinion and eſteeme with their Generall, bee well wary of imbarking their partie in any cauſe, further then may beſeeme the wiſdome and experience of iudicious Leaders; as beliewing in that of Metellus to king Bocchus: *Omne bellum ſumi facilè, cæterum acerrimè deſinere: non in eiuſdem poteſtate initium eius et finem eſſe: incipere cuiuis etiam ignauo licere; deponi, cùm victores velint.* *Lib. 16.* *Succeſſum ſortuna, experientiam laus ſequitur Varro, ex Gellio.* *Saluſt.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Cælius Rufus, moueth ſedition in Italie, *and is ſlaine.*

Cæſar.

AT the ſame time, M. Cælius Rufus, the Prætor at Rome, vndertaking the buſineſs of debts, in the beginning of his Magiſtracie, placed his ſeate by the Chaire of C. Trebonius, Prætor of the towne; promiſing to be aſsiſting to any man, that vvould appeale vnto him, concerning valuation and paiment to be performed by Arbitrators, according as Cæſar had ordained. But it came to paſſe, as well through the equity and indifferencie of the Decree, as through the lenitie of Trebonius (who was of opinion, that thoſe times required an eaſie and milde execution of iuſtice) that none vvere found, from vvhom the beginning of the Appeale might growe, for to pretend pouertie, or to complaine of particular misfortune, and of the calamity of thoſe times; or otherwiſe, to propound the difficulties of ſelling their goods by an out-rope, was euery mans practice: but for any man to acknowledge himſelfe to bee in debt, and yet to keepe his poſſeſsions whole and vntouched, was held a very ſtrange impudencie: ſo that there was no man found that would require it.

Moreouer, Cælius caried a very hard hand, to ſuch as ſhould haue receiued benefite thereby. And hauing made this enterance (to the end he might not ſeeme to haue vndertooke a ſhamefull or diſhoneſt cauſe) he publiſhed a law, That there ſhould be no Intereſt paid, for any Monies let out vpon conſideration, for thirtie ſixe daies of the time agreed on. But when he perceiued, that Seruilius the Conſull, and the reſt of the Magiſtrates did oppoſe themſelues againſt him, therein, and finding it not to ſort with his expectation (to the end hee might incite and ſtirre vp the humours and ſpirits of men) hee abrogated that law, and in ſteede thereof, made two others. The one, which cut off the yeerely rents that Tenants vvere accuſtomed to pay their Land-lords, for the houſes they dwelt in: and the other, Touching new aſſurances, and the aboliſhing of old debts. Where vpon, the multitude ranne violently vpon him, and (hauing hurt diuers that ſtood about him) pulled him out of his Chaire.

Of theſe things, Seruilius the Conſull made relation to the Senate: who thervpon decreed, That Cælius ſhould be remoued frõ his Prætorſhip. And by meanes of that Arreſt, the Conſull interdicted him the Senate, and alſo drew him from the * Speaking Place, as he vvent about to make a ſpeech to the people. Cælius, mooued with ſhame and deſpight, made as though hee would goe to Cæſar; but ſent Meſſengers ſecretly to Milo, condemned to banishment for killing Clodius. And hauing recalled him into Italy, that by great gifts and revvards had gained to his party the remainder of the Company of Fencers, hee ioyned himſelfe with him: and then ſent him before to Thurin, to excite and ſtirre vp the Shepheards to ſedition; he himſelfe going to Caſſeline.

* Roſtra.

At the ſame inſtant, his Enſignes and Armes beeing ſtaied at Capua, beſides his family ſuſpected at Naples, and their attempt againſt the towne, perceiued; their other deſsignes beeing diſcouered, and their Partizans ſhut out of Capua: fearing ſome danger, foraſmuch as the inhabitants had tooke Armes, and held him as an Enemy, hee let fall his former determination, and brake off his iourney.

In the meane vvhile, Milo, hauing ſent Letters to the Municipall townes, that vvhat he did, was by the authority and commaundement of Pompey, according as he receiued it from Bibulus, he applied himſelfe, and ſolicited ſuch as vvere in debt: vvith whom preuailing nothing, hee brake vp diuers priſons, and began to aſſault Coſa in Thurin: & there he was ſlaine by Q. Pedius the Prætor, with a ſtone which he caſt from the vvall.

Cælius, going on (as he gaue out) towards Cæſar, hee came to Tury, vvhere, vvhen he had mooued diuers of the Inhabitants, and promiſed money to the French and Spaniſh Caualrie, which Cæſar had put there for a Guarizon, he was in the end ſlaine by them. And ſo the beginning of great Matters, which put all Italy in feare and trouble, by the indirect practiſes of the Magiſtrates, and the iniquitie of the times, had a ſpeedy and eaſie end.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is to be noted, for the better vnderſtanding theſe Paſſages, that of thoſe which were choſen Prætors, the two chiefeſt remained at Rome; the one, to adminiſter iuſtice to the Cittizens, which was called *Prætor Vrbanus*, who in the abſence of the Conſull, had the ſuperintendencie of the affaires of the State, aſſembled the Senate, receiued Packets, made Diſpatches, and gaue order in all things: which place was now ſupplied by Trebonius. The other was called *Prætor Peregrinus:* whoſe office was, to order the cauſes and ſutes of forrainers and ſtrangers; where-vnto Cælius was choſen: and, beeing of a turbulent and vnquiet ſpirit, tooke occaſion vpon this rent in the State, to raiſe new garboiles, fit for his owne purpoſes; as hauing learned, what Ariſtotle teacheth, That all things which are already ſtirred, are more eaſily mooued, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. And there-vpon, hauing power by his office, to decide cauſes of Controuerſie, hee remoued his Tribunall, and placed it hard-by where Trebonius ſate, to the end he might oppoſe the Decrees he made, for the priſing of goods, to ſatisfie Creditors, and draw the people to appeale vnto him; publiſhing with-all, certaine dangerous Edicts, on the behalfe of thoſe that were in debt.

Omnia commota facilius quàm quieſcentia mouentur. De Mechanicis.

This Cælius was Ciceros ſcholler, for Oratorie; and in the opinion of Quintilian, was thought worthy to haue liued longer, if he had been of a ſtaied and ſettled cariage; but now muſt ſtand for an example of a wilfull Magiſtrate.

Touching *Roſtra*, which I haue tranſlated the Speaking-place, it vvas a part of their *Forum*, vvhere the Conſulls, and other Magiſtrates, ſpake vnto the people, wherein was built a Chaire or Pulpit, of the beake-heads of ſhips, which

Liuie, lib. 8.

Liuie. li. 8. Plutarch.

which the Romaines tooke from the *Antiatij*, and there-vpon tooke the name of *Roſtra*; memorable amongſt other things, for-that Antonie ſette Tullies head betweene his two hands, in the Chaire, where he had often ſpoken moſt eloquently, and with as many good words, as were euer found in humane Oratorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Libo taketh an Iland right ouer-againſt the Hauen *of Brunduſium*; *and is beaten off* by a ſtratagem.

Cæſar.

Libo, departing from Oricum, with his fleete of fifty ſhippes, came to Brunduſium, and tooke an Iland, which lieth ouer-againſt the Hauen, as a place of great importance, by which our Army muſt neceſſarily come forth: & ſhutting in all the Ports, and parts of that ſhore, as alſo ſurpriſing by his ſuddaine comming, certaine ſhippes of burthen, hee ſette all on fire, ſauing one laden vvith Corne, vvhich hee tooke along vvith him. Whereby he put our men into a great feare; and landing certaine ſouldiers and horſemen in the night time, hee diſlodged the Caualrie that vvere there in Guariſon: and ſo preuailed, through the aduantage of the Place, as hee vvrit to Pompey, that he might draw the other ſhipping on ſhore, and new trimme them; for, hee vvould vnder-take, with his fleet alone, to hinder thoſe forces from comming to Cæſar.

Antonius vvas then at Brunduſium: and truſting to the valour of the ſouldiers, armed out threeſcore Skiffes, belonging to great Shippes; and fencing them vvith hurdles and planks, put certaine choice ſouldiers in them, diſpoſing them in ſeuerall places along the ſhore: and further cõmaunded two Triremes (which hee had cauſed to bee made at Brunduſium, for the exerciſe of the ſouldiers in rowing) to goe out to the mouth of the Hauen.

Libo, perceiuing theſe to come out ſome-what looſely, and hoping to intercept them, ſent out fiue Quadriremes to attack them: which vvere no ſooner come neere vnto our ſhippes, but the old ſouldiers that were aboard, fledde backe into the Port.

The Enemy, caried on vvith a deſire of taking them, preaced after ſomewhat raſhly, and vnaduiſedly: vvhen at length, vpon a ſignall giuen, the Skiffes came ſuddainely out from all parts, ſette vpon them, and at the firſt ſhock tooke one of the Quadriremes, vvith all the oare-men and ſouldiers in her; the reſt, they compelled to flie away ſhamefully. To vvhich loſſe, this vvas further added, that they vvere kept from vvater, by the Caualry vvhich Antonius had diſpoſed along the Coaſt: through neceſsity vvherof (as alſo by reaſon of the ignominie receiued) Libo departed from Brunduſium, and gaue ouer the ſiege.

Many

Many moneths vvere now paſt, and the Winter came hard on, and yet neyther the ſhipping nor the legions, came from Brunduſium to Cæſar. And ſome opportunities ſeemed to be omitted, for that the wind was good of tẽtimes; which Cæſar thought they would haue taken. And the longer they ſtaied there, the ſtraighter was all the Coaſt guarded and kept, by ſuch as commaunded the fleet; beeing now in great hope to hinder their paſſage. Which they did the rather indeauour, becauſe they vvere oftentimes reproued by Letters from Pompey, for that they did not impeach Cæſars comming at firſt: which hee did to make them the more carefull, to hinder thoſe ſupplies. And, in attending ſo from day to day an opportunity of paſſage, it vvould wexe worſe & worſe, the winds growing more eaſie and gentle.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY how much eaſier it is to keepe the out-let of one Port, then to guard the Coaſt of a large Country: by ſo much was Libo more likely to preuaile, in ſeeking to ſhut vp the Hauen of Brunduſium, to hinder theſe ſupplies from cõming vnto Cæſar; then the other, that went about to guard all the Maritimate parts of Epirus, to keepe them from landing, after they were at Sea.

But ſuch is the vncertaintie of enterpriſes of vvarre, that albeit our courſe be rightly ſhapen, yet it doth often faile of leading vs to that which is deſired. For, howſoeuer hee was poſſeſſed of this Iland, that lay thwart the mouth of the Hauen, and had thruſt out the guard of horſemen, and ſo became confident of blocking vp the Port: yet there was means found by the aduerſe Partie, to giue him ſuch an affront, as made him quit the place with more diſhonour, then could be recompenced by any thing he got. *Incertæ ſunt res bellicæ. Thucid.*

CHAP. IX.

Cæſars ſupplies paſſe ouer into Greece, *and take landing.*

Cæſar.

CAeſar, troubled at theſe things, vvrit very ſharply to them at Brunduſium, not to omit the opportunity of the next good vvind, but to put to Sea, and to ſhape their courſe to Oricum, or to the Coaſt of Apolonia; becauſe there they might runne their ſhips on ground: & theſe places were freeſt from Guardes, by reaſon they could not ride farre from the Ports. They, according to their accuſtomed courage and valour (Marcus Antonius, and Fuſius Calenus directing the buſineſſe, and the Souldiours themſelues beeing forvvard there-vnto, as refuſing no danger for Cæſars ſake) hauing

got a South vvind, waied Anchor, and the next day, paſſed by Apolonia and Dyrrachium: but beeing diſcouered from the Continent, Quintus Coponius, Admirall of the Rhodian Nauie, lying at Dyrrachium, brought his ſhippes out of the Hauen. And as he had almoſt (vpon a ſlack wind) ouer-taken our men, the ſame South wind began at length to blowe ſtiffe, by which meanes they eſcaped: yet did not he deſiſt from purſuing them; but was in hope, by the labour & induſtrie of the Mariners, to ouer-way the force of the tempeſt, and followed them, notwithſtanding they were paſt Dyrrachium, with a large wind. Our men vſing the fauour of Fortune, were neuertheleſſe afraid of the Enemies Nauie, if the wind ſhould chance to ſlacke: & hauing got the Port called Nimphæum, three miles beyond Liſſus, they put in with their ſhippes.

This Port lay ſheltered from the South-weſt vvind, but was not ſafe from a South vvind: howſoeuer; they accounted an ill roade leſſe dangerous then the Enemies fleete: & yet they were no ſooner put in, but the wind (which had blown ſoutherly for two daies together) did now moſt happily come about to the South-weſt.

And heere a man may ſee the ſuddaine alteration of Fortune; for, they which of late ſtood in feare of a dangerous Roade, were now by that occaſion, receiued into a ſafe harbour: and thoſe which threatned danger to them, vvere forced to bethinke themſelues of their owne ſafetie. So that the time thus changing, ſaued our Partie, and ſunke theirs. Inſomuch, as ſixteene of the Rhodian ſhippes were all ſhaken in peeces, and periſhed with ſhipwrack; and of the great number of oare-men and ſouldiers, part were daſhed againſt the Rocks & ſlaine, and part were taken vp by our men: all which, Cæſar ſent home in ſafetie. Two of our ſhippes comming ſhort, and ouer-taken with the night, and not knowing where the reſt had taken ſhore, ſtoode at an Anchor, right ouer againſt Liſſus. Them did Otacilius Craſſus, Gouernour of Liſſus, goe about to take with Skiffes, and other little ſhippes, which he had prepared for that purpoſe; & withall, treated with them, of yeelding themſelues, promiſing life and ſafety, vpon that condition.

One of the ſhippes carried two hundred and twentie men, of the legion made of young ſouldiers; in the other, vvere leſſe then two hundred old Souldiers. And heere a man may ſee, vvhat aſſurance and ſafety conſiſteth in courage and valour of mind; for, the new made ſouldiers, terrified with the multitude of ſhippes that came againſt them, and ſpent vvith Sea-ſickneſſe, vpon oath made not to receiue any hurt, did yield themſelues to Otacilius: vvho, being brought all vnto him, vvere contrary to his oath, moſt cruelly ſlaine in his ſight. But the ſouldiers of the old Legions (howſoeuer afflicted vvith the inconuenience of the tempeſt, and noiſomneſſe of the Pumpe) did not ſlacke any thing of their ancient valour: for, hauing dravven out the firſt part of the night in conditions of treatie, as though they meant to yeeld themſelues, they compelled the Maiſter to runne his ſhippe a-ſhore: and hauing got a conuenient place, they there ſpent the reſt of the night.

As ſoone as it was day, Otacilius ſent foure hundred horſe, which had the guard of that part of the coaſt, with others of the guarizon, to aſſault and take them:

them: but they, valiantly defending themſelues, ſlew diuers of them; and ſo got to our men in ſafetie. Where-vpon, the Romaine Cittizens, reſiding in Liſſus (vvhich towne, Cæſar had formerly giuen them to bee kept and guarded) receiued-in Antonius, and aſsiſted him with all things needfull. Otacilius, fearing himſelfe, fled out of the towne, and came to Pompey.

Antonius ſent backe the greateſt part of the ſhippes that had brought ouer his troopes (vvhich were three legions of old ſouldiers, one of new ſouldiers, and eight hundred horſe) to tranſport the reſt of the ſouldiers, and horſe, that remained at Brunduſium: leauing the Pontones, which are a kind of French ſhipping, at Liſſus; to this end, that if happely Pompey, thinking Italy to be emptie and vnfurniſhed, ſhould cary ouer his Army thither, Cæſar might haue meanes to follow him: and withall, ſent Meſſengers ſpeedily to Cæſar, to let him knowe vvhere the Armie vvas landed, and what men he had brought ouer.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirat, is not ſo iuſtifiable by the lawes of true vertue, as that of Achilles; who profeſſed to hate that man more then the gates of hell, that promiſed one thing, and purpoſed another. Neither do the Iuriſtes conclude otherwiſe; hauing, for the more apparencie of truth, drawne it to a Queſtion, *An perfidia in perfidum vti, Ius ſit?* alleaging Labienus practice, againſt Comius of Arras, together with that which admitteth no Aunſwer, that their example ſtandeth as a preſident, to deale with them, as they deale with others. But, to falſifie religion, as Otacilius did, and to make an oath the Broaker of vnworthy ends, is abhorred by God and Man, and accordingly ſucceedeth.

Aenead. 2. Homer 9. Iliad.

Hirtius lib. 8. de bello Gallico.

The moſt remarkeable inſtance in this kind, is that (which is to be vviſhed were forgotten) of Lewis King of Hungaria: who, hauing concluded the honourableſt peace, that euer Chriſtian Prince had before that time made, with any of the Turkiſh Sultanes, and confirmed the ſame by an oath, taken vpon the holy Euangeliſt, did neuertheleſſe, at the perſwaſion of Iulian, a Cardinall (who tooke vpon him, by power from the Pope, to diſannull the league, & abſolue him from the oath) breake the peace, & gaue battell to Amurath at Varna (where the Infidell tooke occaſion impiouſly to blaſpheme, in calling for vengeance on ſuch, as in their deedes had denied the God-head of their moſt ſacred and bleſſed Lord) and was there ſlaine, to the vtter ruine of his kingdome, and the reproche of Chriſtian Name. Neither did the Cardinall eſcape the vengeance, which his treacherie had drawne vpon that roiall Armie: but beeing there wounded vnto death, was found lying in the high way, by *Gregorie Sanoſe*, ready to giue vp the ghoſte; & ſeemed but to ſtay to take with him, the bitter curſes of ſuch as paſſed by, flying from the battell, as the due reward of his perfidious abſolution.

Vladiſlaus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Audaces fortuna iuuat. Virtus omnia poteſt. Virtute faciendũ eſt, quicquid in rebus bellicis eſt gerendum.

IN caſe of difficultie and hazard (as Cæſar noteth) there is alwaies great helpe in a good courage. For, whether it be, that good hap attendeth a valourous cariage, or that vertue bee able to remoue all oppoſition, or what other cauſe there is beſides; but thus it falleth out, that ſuch as entertaine a noble reſolution, are euer ſafeſt in extreamitie of perill; and in ſteed of loſſe, get honour and renowne.

Plutarch.

Braſidas found a Mouſe amongſt dried figs, which bit him ſo that hee let her goe, and there-vpon ſaid, to thoſe that ſtood by; That there was nothing ſo little, that could not ſaue it ſelfe, if it had a hart to defend it ſelfe againſt ſuch as aſſaulted it.

6 Metamorpho.

And heerein we may obſerue that to be true, which the Poet hath deliuered; *Seris venit vſus ab annis:* Time and Practice, doe much auaile to perfit this courage in the mindes of Men of Warre; as knowing afore-hand the weight of ſuch labours, and hauing incountered the like dangers, euen to the redeeming of themſelues from the iawes of death. Whence it is, that the Comick ſaith, No man can poſsibly come ſo well furniſhed to any courſe of life, but that time and experience doe alwaies teach him what he knew not before: where-as others, that goe rawlie to worke, are ſo daunted with the vnuſuall lookes of war, as they (forgetting the profeſsion of Armes) doe run head-long into the danger they ſeeke to auoid; beeing able to giue no other account of their ſeruice, but that they marched Many bodies, and but a few Men.

Nunquam ita quiſquam bene ſubducta ratione ad vitam fuit, quin res, ætas, vſus, ſemper aliquid adportet noui. Teren. Adelp. Multi homines, pauci viri. Herod. lib. 7.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

PLutarch, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Suetonius, and Lucan, doe all write, that Cæſar, impatient of the ſtay of his forces at Brunduſium, imbarked himſelfe in a ſmall Frigat, of twelue oares, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlaue, and put to ſea to fetch his Legions; notwithſtanding, all the Coaſt ſwarmed with the Enemies ſhipping: but meeting with a cõtrarie wind, which would not ſuffer him to get out of the Riuer Anius, the Maiſter commaunded the Mariners to caſt about, and get to ſhore. Whervpon, Cæſar diſcouering himſelfe, incouraged him to goe forward, for-that he carried Cæſar and his fortunes.

Liuie ſaith, that the Romaines at the ſiege of Veiente, being out of humane hope, turned their eyes to Fate, and the hope they had in Deſtinie.

The Maiſter, forgetting all danger, made out againe, to get to ſea; but was by force of the tempeſt driuen to returne, to Cæſars great griefe. And albeit there is no mention made heereof in theſe Commentaries, yet the authoritie of ſo many graue Authors, is not to be contemned.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cæſar haſteth to meet with Antonius, and *preuenteth Pompey.*

Cæſar.

CAeſar and Pompey, had both intelligence, almoſt at one inſtant of time, of Antonius fleet; for, they ſaw it paſſe by Apolonia, and Dyrrachium, and directed their iourneys along the Coaſt after them: but they vnderſtood not for a vvhile vvhere they were landed. Howbeit, hauing notice thereof, either of them tooke a contrarie reſolution. For, Cæſar purpoſed to ioyne with Antonius, as ſoone as poſsibly he might: and Pompey reſolued to hinder their meeting, and by ambuſhments (if he could) to ſet vpon them at vnawares.

The ſame day, either of them drew their Armie out of their ſtanding Camps, vpon the Riuer Apſus: Pompey ſecretly, and by night; Cæſar openly, and by day: but Cæſar had the greater circuit to fetch, and a longer iourney to goe vp the Riuer, to find a Foord. Pompey, hauing a ready way, and no Riuer to paſſe, made towards Antonius by great iourneys: and when hee vnderſtood that hee came neere vnto him, choſe a conuenient place, and there beſtowed his forces; keeping euery man vvithin the Campe, and forbidding fires to be made, that his cõming might be the more hidden. Whereof Antonius beeing preſently aduertiſed by the Greekes, he diſpatched Meſſengers to Cæſar, and kept himſelfe one day vvithin his Campe. The next day, Cæſar came vnto him. Vpon notice thereof, Pompey left that place; leaſt he ſhould be intrapped betweene two Armies, and came with all his forces to Aſparagus (which appertained to them of Dyrrachium) and there, in a conuenient place, pitched his Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.

WHere two Armies are in a Countrey, and one of them hath ſuccours comming to renforce them, each of thoſe Parties, are by the example of theſe glorious Commaunders (*cæteris paribus*) to make towards thoſe ſuccours: the one, to cut them off; and the other, to keepe thē ſtanding. And to that end, it ſuted Pompeis condition to go ſecretly; howſoeuer Cæſar noteth it, as a touch to his valour: ſo on the other ſide, it ſtood not onely well enough with Cæſars Party, to goe openly, but alſo was an argument of his courage and magnanimity, and might raiſe him eſtimation in the opinion of the Greekes. The diſaduantage which Pompey could take thereby, was the danger to bee incloſed with Armies: which he, foreſeeing, auoided.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Scipios preparation in Aſia, to come into *Greece, to aſsiſt Pompey.*

Cæſar. A hill, ſeparating Syria from Cilicia.

About this time, Scipio, hauing ſuſtained diuers loſſes, neere the Mount Amanum, did neuertheleſſe call himſelfe by the name of Imperator; and, there-vpon, commaunded great ſummes of money to be leuied of the Citties and Potentates of thoſe quarters: taking, frõ the generall Receiuers of that Prouince, all the Moneies that vvere in their hands for two yeeres paſt, and commaunding them to diſburſe (by vvay of loane) the receit for the yeere to come; and requiring horſemen to be leuied throughout all the Prouince. Hauing gathered theſe together, hee left the Parthians, being neere Enemies vnto him (vvho a little before had ſlaine M. Craſſus, the Generall, and beſieged M. Bibulus) and drew the ligions out of Syria; beeing ſent ſpecially thither to keepe and ſettle that Prouince, much amuzed through feare of the Parthian vvarre.

At his departure, ſome ſpeeches vvere giuen-out by the ſouldiers, that if they vvere ledde againſt an Enemy, they vvould goe; but againſt a Cittizen and Conſull, they would not beare Armes. The Army beeing brought to Pergamum, and there guarizoned for that Winter in diuers rich Citties, he diſtributed great largeſſe and gifts; and for the better aſſuring of the ſouldier vnto him, gaue them certaine Citties to rifle.

Columnaria Oſtiaria.

In the meane time, he made bitter and heauie exactions of money, throughout all the Prouince: for, he put a tribute vpon ſlaues and free-men by pole, ſet impoſitions vpon the pillars and doores of houſes, as alſo vpon graine, oare-men, armes, ingines, and cariages; and whatſoeuer had a name, was thought fitte to yeeld money, by way of impoſition: and that not onely in Citties and Townes, but almoſt in euery Village and Caſtle: wherein, he that caried himſelfe moſt cruelly, was held both the vvorthieſt man, and the beſt Cittizen.

The Prouince was at that time full of Officers and Commaundements, peſtered with Ouer-ſeers and Exactors: vvho, beſides the money leuied by publique authoritie, made their particular profit by the like exactions. For, they gaue-out, they vvere thruſt out of their houſes, and their Countrey, and in want of all neceſſaries; to the end they might with ſuch pretences, couer their wicked & hatefull courſes. To this vvas added, the hard and heauie Vſury, which oftentimes doth accompany vvarre, when all moneyes are drawen and exacted to the publique: vvherein the forbearance of a day, vvas accounted a diſcharge for the vvhole. Whereby it happened, that in thoſe two yeeres, the whole Prouince vvas ouer-growne with debts: and yet, for all that, they ſtuck not to leuie round ſums of money, not onely from the Cittizens of Rome, inhabiting in that Prouince; but alſo, vpon euery Corporation, and particular Cittie: which they gaue out, vvas

by

by way of loane, according to a Decree of Senate, commaunding the Receiuers to aduaunce the like ſumme by way of loane, for the yeere to come.

Moreouer, Scipio gaue order, that the Moneis vvhich of old time had beene treaſured-vp in the Temple of Diana at Epheſus, ſhould be taken out, with other Images of that Goddeſſe: but as hee came into the Temple (hauing called vnto him many of the Senators that were there preſent) hee receiued a Diſpatch from Pompey, That Cæſar had paſſed the Sea with his legions; and that, ſetting all things apart, hee ſhould haſten to him with his Armie. Theſe Letters beeing receiued, he diſmiſſed ſuch as he had called vnto him, and beganne to diſpoſe of his iourney into Macedonia, ſetting forward vvithin a few daies after: by vvhich accident, the Treaſure at Epheſus was ſaued.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is Seneca his conceit, that Iron, beeing of that excellent vſe in things pertaining to Mans life, and yet ſo much vnder-valued to Gold and Siluer, will admit of no peace, as often as there is queſtion of Money; but raiſeth continuall garboiles & extreamities, as a reuenge that the World doth miſvalue it: and fell out as true in thoſe better Ages, as it dooth in theſe daies, that are of baſer Metall. For, what greater violences in the State of Rome, then thoſe concerning Tributes and Impoſitions? A particular whereof, may be made out of this Chapter. For, firſt, wee find a Tribute by pole, without reſpect of ſtate or condition; which they called *Capitatio.* And then a ſecond, as grieuous as that, beeing a taxe laid vpon euerie dore in a houſe, which they called *Oſtiaria:* whereof Tully maketh mention, in the eight Epiſtle of his third Booke. And laſtly, an other vpon euery piller in a mans houſe, which they called *Columnaria:* mentioned likewiſe by Cicero, *Columnarium vide vt nullum dēbeamus.* Howbeit, Alciatus vnderſtandeth this, to be that we read in Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, That when Treaſure failed at the ſiege of Modena, they laid an Impoſition vpon euery tile that was found on the Senators houſes in Rome: which gaue the *Trium-virat* occaſion, to make the tiles as heauie to the reſt of the Romaine Cittizens; and this, ſaith he, was called *Columnaria.*

Propter Aurum et Argentum nunquā pacem facit ferrum. li. 14. Epiſt. 93. Ferrum omnis artis inſtrumentum. Aurum et argentum mortis Mancipia. Epicletus.

Capitatio.

Oſtiaria.

Columnaria. 13 ad Atticum. Epiſt. 1.

Some Popes, out of their occaſions, haue gone farre in this kind, & found meanes to lay Impoſitions vpon all things pertaining to the vſe of man. Inſomuch as Paſquill begged leaue to dry his ſhirt in the Sunne, before there were an Impoſition laid vpon the Light. The rule is diuerſly giuen in this behalfe, That the Fiske doe not ſwell aboue his proportion. Alexander is commended for making his Subiects the keepers of his Treaſure. And Claudianus, giueth Honorius this Elogium;

Nec tua priuatis creſcunt æraria damnis.

In the Papacie of Sixt. Quintus.

Fiſcus reipub. lien: quòd eo creſcente, artus reliqui tabeſcunt. Sext. Aurelius Victor.

Baſilius aduiſeth, that money thus raiſed, be not at any time dipped, either in the teares or in the blood of the people. But Tully draweth it to a more certaintie, by making Neceſsitie the ſquare of ſuch cōmaunds. *Da operam* (ſaith hee)

In Paraenet.

2 De offic.

hee) *vt omnes intelligant, ſi ſalui eſſe velint, neceſsitati eſſe parendum.* And ſo the opening of priuate mens purſes, is but to keepe them ſhut and ſafe, from ſuch Enemies as would conſume all; according as Scipio once aunſwered, when the Romaines blamed him, for ſpending their Treaſure: Howſoeuer, Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand ſuch ſtore of Treaſure; for, Warre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money: neither can any State continue, if the reuenew which ſupporteth the Common-weale, bee abated; as Tacitus hath well obſerued, *Diſſoluitur imperium, ſi fructus quibus reſpub. ſuſtinetur diminuantur.*

Plutarch. Bella ſuſtentantur pecuniarum abundantia. Dion. Halicar. lib. 6.

Annal. 13.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar ſendeth forces into Theſſalia, Aetolia and Macedonia; Scipio commeth into Greece.

Cæſar.

Cæſar, beeing ioyned vvith Antonius, drew that legion out of Oricum, which hee had formerly lodged there, to keepe the Sea-coaſt; and thought it expedient to make triall of the Prouinces, and to aduaunce further into the Countrey. And, vvhere-as Embaſſadours came vnto him out of Theſſalia & Aetolia, aſſuring, that if hee would ſend forces to protect them, the Cities of thoſe Prouinces would readily obay what hee commaunded: Hee ſent L. Caſsius Longinus, with the legion of young ſouldiers, called the ſeauen and twentith, and two hundred horſe, into Theſſalia: and C. Caluitius Sabinus, with fiue cohorts, and a few horſe, into Aetolia; exhorting them ſpecially, to take a courſe for prouiſion of Corne in thoſe two Prouinces, which lay neere at hand.

Que libera appellabatur.

*He ſent likewiſe Cn. Domitius Caluinus, with two legions, the eleuenth and the twelfth, and fiue hundred horſe into Macedonia: of which Prouince (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principall man of that Countrey, beeing ſent as an Embaſſador, had profeſſed exceeding great forwardneſſe on their behalfe. Of theſe, Caluitius, vpon his comming, was entertained with great affection of the Aetolians: and, hauing caſt the Guariſon of the Enemy out of Caledone and * Naupactum, became Maiſter of all Aetolia. Caſsius arriued vvith the legion in Theſſalia; and finding there two Factions, was accordingly receiued, with contrary affections.*

** Lepanto.*

Egeſaſetus, a man of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompeis partie: and Petreius, a man of a moſt noble houſe, endeauoured by all meanes, to deſerue vvell of Cæſar. At the ſame time alſo, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embaſſadours began to come thicke vnto him, from diuers States of that Prouince, it was told him, that Scipio vvas at hand with the legions, and came with great

great fame and opinion of all men: vvhich is oftentimes a fore-runner of nouelties. He, making no ſtay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vvithin twenty miles of him, turned his courſe ſuddainely, to Caſsius Longius, in Theſſalia: which he did ſo ſpeedilie, that newes came together of his comming, and of his arriuall. For, to the end he might march with greater expedition, he left M. Fauonius at the Riuer Haliacmon (vvhich diuideth Macedonia from Theſſalia) vvith eight cohorts, to keepe the cariages of the legions: vvhere hee commaunded them to build a Fort.

In Macedonia, quæ relint ſibi candida naſci, ad Haliacmon ducere, quæ nigra et fuſca ad Axium.

At the ſame time, the Caualrie of King Cottus, which vvas wont to keepe in the Confines of Theſſalia, came flying ſuddainely to Caſsius Campe: whereat, he beeing aſtoniſhed (vnderſtanding of Scipios comming, and ſeeing the horſemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which incloſe Theſſalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haſte to follow after, Letters ouer-tooke him, ſent from Fauonius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, without Scipios helpe.

Vpon the receit of vvhich Letters, Scipio altered both his purpoſe and his iourney; & leauing Caſsius, made haſte to help Fauonius: ſo that continuing his iourney night and day, he came vnto him in very good time. For, as the duſt of Domitius Armie, approaching, was ſeene to riſe, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likewiſe diſcouered. Whereby it happened, that as Domitius induſtry did helpe Caſsius, ſo did Scipio his ſpeede ſaue Fauonius.

OBSERVATIONS.

CAeſar, beeing now ready with his forces to proceed againſt Pompey; the firſt thing he did, was to make triall of the Prouinces of Greece, and to get their fauour and aſsiſtance, for his better furtherance in conteſting his Aduerſarie. For, as an Armie ſtandeth firme by two ſpeciall meanes, firſt, in themſelues, as they are able to reſiſt any oppoſing force; and ſecondly, through the fauour of the Country, wherein they are ingaged: ſo, on the other ſide, their ouer-throw either proceedeth frō their owne weakeneſſe; or otherwiſe, when the Prouinces adioyning, doe refuſe ſuch mutuall reſpects, as may relieue the wants of a conſuming multitude. And therfore, hauing got all the forces together which he looked for, or could any way expect, hee ſent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had beene ſettling for a yeere together, and then reſolued to attack him neerer.

And doubtleſſe, if Scipio had not by chaunce interrupted their courſe, vpon his comming out of Aſia, to aide Pompey, they had as eaſily got all Theſſalia and Macedonia, as they did Aetolia: and were neuertheleſſe ſo ordered & diſpoſed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Paſſages betweene Domitius *and Scipio.*

Caſar.

Scipio aboade two daies in his ſtanding Campe, vpon the Riuer Haliacmon, which ranne betweene him and Domitius Campe. The third day, as ſoone as it began to be light, he paſſed his Armie ouer the Riuer by a Foord, and incamped himſelfe. The next day in the morning, he imbatteled his forces before the front of his Campe. Domitius, in like manner, made no difficultie of bringing out his legions, reſoluing to fight. And whereas there lay a field of ſixe miles, betweene both the Campes, he led his troopes imbattelled vnder Scipios Campe; who neuertheleſſe refuſed to moue any iote from his ſtanding: yet for all that, Domitius ſouldiers were hardly kept from giuing battell: but ſpecially a Riuer, lying vnder Scipios Campe, with broken and vneaſie bankes, did hinder them at that time.

Scipio, vnderſtanding of their alacrity, and deſire to fight; ſuſpecting it might happen, that the next day he ſhould be forced to fight againſt his will, or vvith great diſhonour keepe himſelfe vvithin his Campe, hauing vvith great expectation in the beginning, gone on raſhly, and vnaduiſedly, was now dishonoured vvith a reproachfull end. For, in the night time he roſe, vvithout anie noiſe or vvarning for the truſsing vp of the baggage; and paſsing the Riuer, returned the ſame vvay he came: and in an eminent place, neere vnto the Riuer, he pitched his Campe.

A few daies after, he laid an ambuſhment of horſemen in a place, vvhere our men had formerly accuſtomed to forrage. And, as Q. Varus, Generall of the horſe in Domitius Army, came out according to his ordinary vſe, they ſet vpon him at a ſuddaine: but our men did valiantly ſuſtaine the on-ſet; and euery man betaking himſelfe ſpeedily to his ranke, they altogether of their owne accord, charged the Enemy: and hauing ſlaine foure-ſcore, they put the reſt to flight, vvith the loſſe onely of two of their men.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT appeareth heere, that to ſhew a readineſs and reſolution to fight, vpon ſuch grounds as are iuſtifiable by the rules of Warre, is no ſmall aduantage to the proſperous cariage of the ſame. For, albeit Scipio was great in his owne ſtrength, and as great in the opinion and expectation of men: yet when he found ſuch an alacritie in the Enemie, to giue and take blowes, and a deſire to entertaine ſeriouſly all occaſions of giuing battell; he was ſo farre from proſecuting what he had pretended, as hee rather

rather chose the fortune of a safe retreit, and consequentlie, to turne the aduantage which the world in opinion had giuen to his Armie, to his owne reproach, and disaduantage: vvhere-as on the other side, to bee found for the most part vnwilling to hazard the triall of a Field, or indisposed to fight vpon any occasion, doth inuite an Enemie to attempt that, which otherwise hee would not; and giueth them courage to beate him from all his purposes, as knowing the resolution of their Aduersarie, and the meanes they haue, either to take or leaue at their pleasure.

CHAP. XIIII.

Domitius draweth Scipio to a losse, by an Ambushment. Young Pompeis attempt vpon Oricum.

AFter these things, Domitius hoping that Scipio might be drawne to fight, hee made as though hee vvere in great vvant and scarcitie of Corne: and there-vpon, rising from the place vvherein hee vvas incamped, vvith the vsuall cry of remoouing, according to the custome of Warre, and hauing marched three miles, hee lodged all his Armie, with the Caualrie, in a conuenient and secret place. Caesar.

Scipio, beeing readie to follow after, sent his horsemen, and a great part of his light-armed souldiers, to discouer vvhat way Domitius tooke: vvho, marching forward, as the first troopes came within the Ambushment (suspecting some-what by the neighing of the horses) fell backe againe. Those that followed after, seeing the former troopes so suddainly to retire, stood still.

Our men, finding themselues discouered, & thinking it in vaine to attend the rest, hauing got two troopes of horse within their reache, they contented themselues vvith them: amongst vvhom, was M. Opimius, the Generall of the horse. The rest of those two troopes, they either put to the sword, or tooke aliue, and brought them to Domitius.

Caesar, as is before shewed, hauing vvithdrawne the Guarizons from along all the Sea-coast, left onely three Cohorts at Oricum, for the defence of the Towne: and to them, he committed the custodie and safe keeping of the Gallies, vvhich he had brought out of Italy; whereof Acilius the Legate had the charge, being left Gouernour of the towne. Hee, for the better securitie of the shipping, had drawen all the fleet into a back angle, behind the towne, and there fastened them to the shore: and in the mouth of the Hauen, had sunke a great ship, and set another by her, vpō which he built a towre, to keepe the entrance of the Port; & filled the same with souldiers, to defend the Hauen from any suddaine attempt.

Vpon notice vvhereof, Pompeis ſonne, beeing Admirall of the Egyptian fleete, came to Oricum, and with many haulſers and hookes, waied vp the ſunk ſhippe; and aſſaulted the other ſhippe, ſet by Acilius for the defence of the Hauen, with ſhippes vvherein hee had made towres, which ſtood by counterpoize, that hee might fight vvith aduantage of height, ſupplying continually freſh men: and attempting alſo, as well from the Land ſide, to take the towne by ſcaling Ladders, as by Sea vvith his Nauie; to the end he might diſtract and diſmember the forces vvithin.

*In the end, with extreame labour, and multitude of vveapons, hee ouercame our Partie, and tooke the ſhippe, hauing caſt out ſuch as had the guard: who fled all away vvith Skiffes and Boates. At the ſame time, beeing likewiſe ſeized of a ſmall height, on the other ſide of the towne, in the nature of a Pene-inſule, hee conuaied ouer foure ſmall *Gallies, with Rollers and Leuers, into the inner part of the Harbor, lying behind the towne; inſomuch, as ſetting on each ſide vpon the Gallies tied vnto the ſhore, emptie & vnfurniſhed, he caried foure of them away, and burned the reſt.*

* Biremes.

This beeing done, he left D. Lælius, whom hee had taken from the Egyptian fleete, to keepe the paſſage, that no victualls, or other prouiſions, might bee brought into the towne, either from Helide or Amantia: and hee himſelfe, going to Liſſus, found thirty ſhippes of burthen, vvhich Antonius had left vvithin that Hauen, and ſet them all on fire. And as hee vvent about to take Liſſus, the ſouldiers which Cæſar had put there for a guarizon to the Towne, together with the Romaine Cittizens, & the townſmen thereof, did ſo vvell defend the ſame, that after he had continued there three daies, and loſt a few men in the ſiege, he left the place, without effecting any thing.

OBSERVATIONS.

AN Ambuſhment is eaſily at all times laid: but to do it ſo that it may not bee ſuſpected, and in ſuch manner, that the Enemie may fall into the danger thereof, is that which is to be aymed at therein. And therefore, to giue the better colour to ſuch deſignes, the tricke hath beene to pretend feare (and ſo flight) or want of Corne, or ſome-what elſe, to draw the Enemie to follow after, with more boldneſſe and reſolution. And ſo to haue it wel done, there muſt be two deceits to aſſiſt each other; as in this of Domitius, to make ſhew of remouing, through ſcarcitie and want: and then to lie in waite for an aduantage: According to that of the Spaniard; *Avn Traydor, dos Aleuoſos.* For, the preuention of ſuch ſnares of deceit, the rule is generally giuen by Onoſander, That the departure or falling away of an Enemie, is alwaies to bee ſuſpected.

Oportet hoſtium diſceſſiones ſemper ſuſpectas habere. Cap. 5.

And for the more ſecuritie therein, experienced Commaunders haue been carefull before they ſtirred their Armie, to make exact diſcouerie, euen to the place

place where they intended to lodge. For, as in Phyſicke, it is the greateſt part of the cure, to know the diſeaſe: ſo in matter of war, the danger is almoſt ouer, when it is perceiued whence it may growe.

The manner obſerued in diſcoueries, hath vſually been to ſend the Parties out in three Companies or troopes; The firſt, conſiſting of a ſmall number, to beat the way at eaſe, and to range about from place to place, as ſhall be found conuenient: the ſecond Companie, beeing ſome-what ſtronger, to ſecond and relieue the firſt, if there be occaſion: and the third, able to ingage a good number of the Enemie.

And after this manner, Cyrus diſpoſed of his fore-runners: as appeareth in Zenophon. But this, being ſubiect to the conſideration of time and place, and other circumſtances, may varie, as ſhall ſeeme expedient to the wiſedome of the Generall. 5 Cyropæ.

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar marcheth towards Pompey; offereth him *battaile; cutteth him off from* Dyrrachium.

AFter Cæſar vnderſtood that Pompey was at Aſparagus, he marched thitherward with his Armie: and taking by the vvay the towne of the Parthinians, wherein Pompey had put a Guarizon, the third day he came to Pompey, in Macedonia, and lodged himſelfe faſt by him. The next day hee drew out his forces; and putting them in order, preſented him battaile. But vvhen he found that he would not accept thereof, hee drew backe his Army into the Campe, and bethought himſelfe of ſome other courſe. For, the next day, taking a difficult and narrow way, hee ſet forward with all his forces towards Dyrrachium: hoping either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the towne, or at leaſt to cut him off, from all Conuoies and Munition, which vvas there ſtored vp for the vvhole prouiſion of the vvarre; as afterwards it came to paſſe. For, Pompey beeing ignorant at firſt of his purpoſe, inaſmuch as he tooke a contrarie way, thought he had been driuen thence, through ſcarcitie and want of Corne. But, beeing afterwards aduertiſed by the diſcouerers vvhat courſe hee tooke, he roſe the next day, in hope to meet him a neerer way. Which Cæſar ſuſpecting, exhorted the ſouldiers to indure a little labour with patience. And reſting a ſmall part of the night, in the morning he came before Dyrrachium, euen as the firſt troope of Pompeis Armie was diſcouered afar off: and there incamped himſelfe. Cæſar.

Pompey, beeing cut off from Dyrrachium, when hee could not accompliſh his purpoſes, fell to a ſecond reſolution, and fortified his Camp in an eminent place, called Petra: from whence there was an indifferent paſſage to the ſhippes, and Quémque vocat collem Thaulantius incola Petram. Lucan.

ſheltered likewiſe the Hauen from certaine winds. Thither he commanded part of the ſhippes to be brought, together vvith Corne, & prouiſion of victuall, from Aſia, and ſuch other Countries as were in his obedience.

Cæſar, doubting that the warre would proue long and tedious, and deſpairing of any ſuccour of victualls from the Coaſt of Italie, for-that all the ſhore was (with great diligence) kept by Pompeis partie: And that the ſhipping which in Winter hee had made in Sicilia, Gallia, and Italia, were ſtaied and came not to him, hee diſpatched L. Canuleius, a Legate into Epirus, to make prouiſion of Corne.

And foraſmuch as thoſe Regions vvere farre off, hee appointed ſtore-houſes and Magaſins in certaine places, & impoſed cariage of Corne vpon the Countrey bordering about them. In like manner, hee commaunded, what graine ſoeuer ſhould be found at Liſſus, Parthinis, or any other place, to be brought vnto him: vvhich was very little, foraſmuch as the Countrey there-about, was rough and Mountainous, and affoorded no Corne, but that which was brought in from other places; as alſo, that Pompey had taken order in that behalfe, and a little before, had ranſacked the Parthinians, & cauſed his horſemen to carie away all the Graine, vvhich was found amongſt them.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE firſt thing that Cæſar did, after their approach neere one vnto another, was to offer battaile; as the beſt Arbitrator of the Cauſe in queſtion, and moſt fitting the vſance of the auncient Romaines. But, foraſmuch as the indeuours of ſuch as are in action, are alwaies ordered by him that is the Sufferer: and that Pompey refuſed to accept thereof, knowing himſelfe to bee much ſtronger in forces, better accommodated, hauing a farre greater partie in the Country, and the Sea whollie at his command (which aduantages, were like to end the buſineſs, without hazard of a battaile) Cæſar bethought himſelfe of ſome other project, which might take away the ſcorne of that refuſall, by vndertaking ſuch things, as much imported the ſtate of his Aduerſarie. For, in ſuch caſes, when an Enemie will not fight, ſome-what muſt be done, to caſt diſhonour, or greater inconueniences, vpon him; or at leaſt, to make ouertures of new opportunities. And therefore, hee tooke a courſe, either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the Towne, wherin all his prouiſions of warre were ſtored vp; or other-wiſe, to cut him off from the ſame. The leaſt of which, was a ſufficient acquittance of any diſgrace, which the neglect of this offer might ſeeme to inferre; Hauing thereby occaſion to vſe that of the Poet, *Iam ſumus ergo pares.*

Actus actiuorũ in patientis ſunt diſpoſitione. Ariſtot. Metaph.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæſar goeth about to beſiege *Pompey.*

Caſar.

Cæſar, beeing informed of theſe things, entered into a deliberation, vvhich he firſt tooke from the very nature of the place vvherein they vvere; for, vvhere-as Pompeis Campe vvas incloſed about vvith many high and ſteepe Hilles, hee firſt tooke thoſe Hills, and built Forts vpon them: and then, as the condition of each place would beare, hee made works of fortification, from one Fort to another, and determined to incloſe Pompey about vvith a Ditch and a Rampier. And eſpecially, vpon theſe conſiderations; for-that hee was greatly ſtraightned through want of Corne, and that Pompey beeing ſtrong in horſe, hee might vvith leſſe danger, ſupply his Army from all parts with prouiſion: as alſo to the end hee might keepe Pompey from forraging, and ſo make his Caualry vnſeruiceable in that kinde. And further, that hee might abate and vveaken the exceeding great reputation, vvhich Pompey had attained vnto amongſt forraine Nations, vvhen it ſhould bee noiſed throughout the world, that hee was beſieged by Cæſar, and durſt not fight.

Pompey would by no meanes bee drawne to leaue the commoditie of the Sea, and the towne of Dyrrachium, hauing there laid vp all his prouiſion of vvarre, Armes, vveapons, Engines, of what ſort ſoeuer; beſides Corne, vvhich vvas brought from thence to his Armie by ſhipping. Neither could hee hinder Cæſars fortifications, vnleſſe hee would accept of battaile, vvhich for that time he was reſolued not to doe; onely it remained, as the laſt thing hee could thinke of, to poſſeſſe himſelfe of as many Hills as he might, and to keepe as much of the Countrey as hee could, vvith good and ſtrong guard: and by that meanes, to diſtract, as much as poſſiblie hee might, Cæſars forces, as accordinglie it fell out. For, hauing made twentie foure Caſtles and Forts, hee tooke-in twentie fiue miles of the Countrey in circuit, and did forrage within that ſpace, and there cauſed many things to be ſet and planted by hand, which in the Interim, *ſerued as foode for horſes.*

And, as our men perceiued their fortifications to be caried, and continued, from one Caſtle to another, without intermiſsion; they beganne to feare, leaſt they had left ſome places to ſallie out, and ſo vvould come vpon them behind, before they were aware.

And the reaſon they made their vvorkes thus perfect, throughout the vvhole inward circuit, was, that our men might not enter in vpon them, nor circumuent them behind. But they (abounding in number of Men) exceeded in their works, hauing alſo on the inſide a leſſe compaſſe to fortifie.

And as Cæſar went about to take any place, albeit Pompey was reſolued not to fight, or interrupt him with all his forces: neuertheleſſe, hee ſent out his Archers and Slingers, of which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men were wounded, and ſtood in great feare of the arrowes: and almoſt all the ſouldiers, made them coates, either of quilt or ſtiffening, or of leather, to keep them from danger.

Ex ſubcoactis et centonibus.

To conclude, either Party vſed all force and meanes to take places, and make fortifications; Cæſar, to ſhut vp and ſtraighten Pompey what he could: & Pompey, to inlarge himſelfe, and poſſeſſe as many hills as conueniently hee might; which gaue occaſion of many skirmiſhes and encounters.

OBSERVATIONS.

WE may heere take notice, of the ſtrangeſt enterprize, that euer vvas vndertakē by a iudicious ſouldier. For, where elſe may it be read or vnderſtood, that a weaker Partie, went about to beſiege a ſtrong aduerſarie, and to incloſe a whole Country by Caſtles and Towres, and perpetuall fortifications from hill to hill; to the end he might ſhut him vp, as he lay incamped in the field? But herein appeare the infinite and reſtleſs indeauours of a Romaine ſpirit, and the workes they wrought to atchieue their owne endes: and yet not beſides the limits of reaſon. For, if that of Seneca haue any affinitie with truth, That a man is but a common, or rather contemptible thing, vnleſſe he raiſe himſelfe aboue ordinary courſes; it is more ſpecially verified in a Souldier: whoſe honour, depending vpon the ſuperlatiue degree, muſt ſeeke out projects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon ſuch inducements, as are heere alleadged; which ſhew good reaſon he had to be ſo madde.

Contempta res eſt homo, niſi ſupra humana ſe erexit.

Cum ratione inſanire.

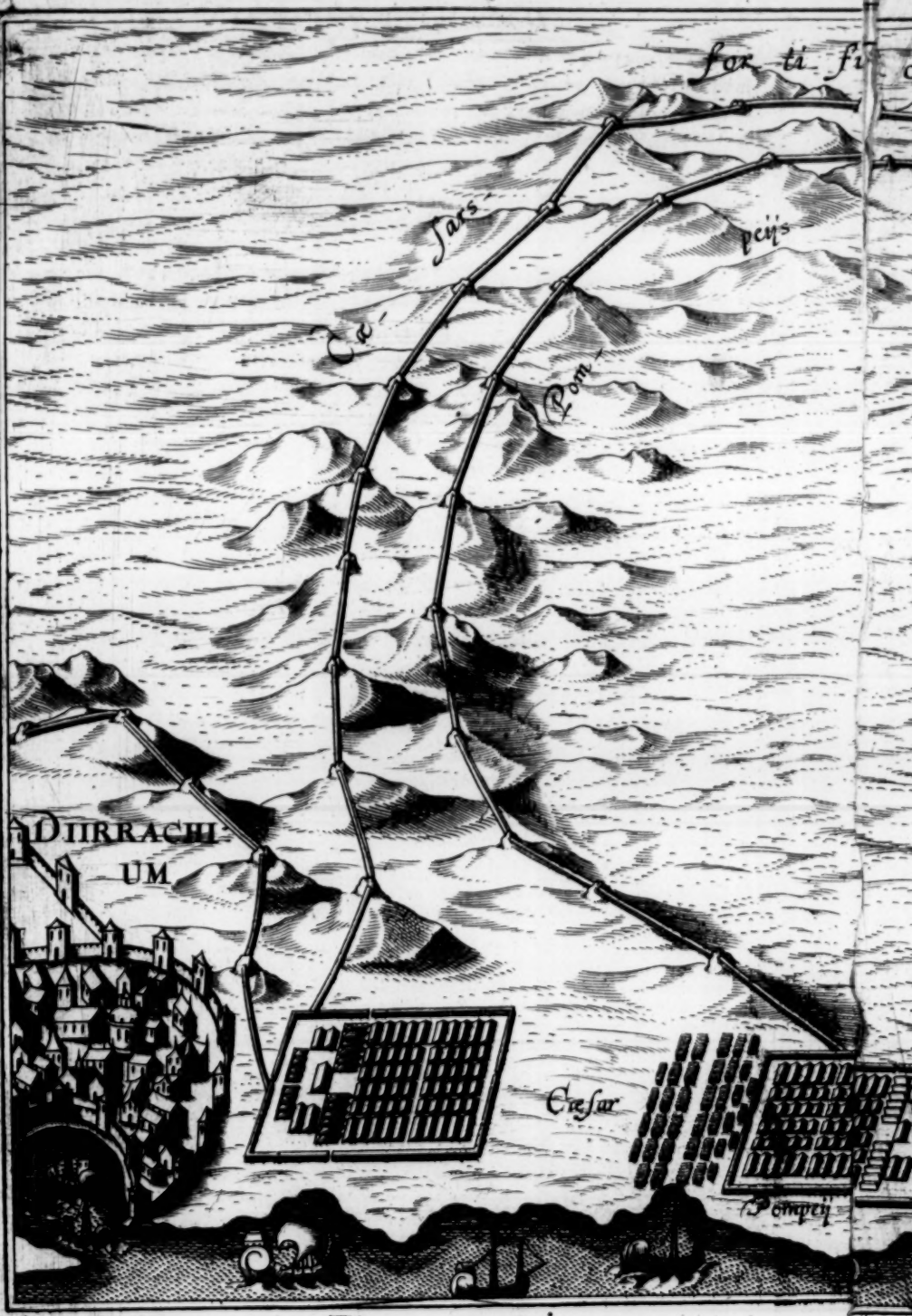
CHAP. XVII.

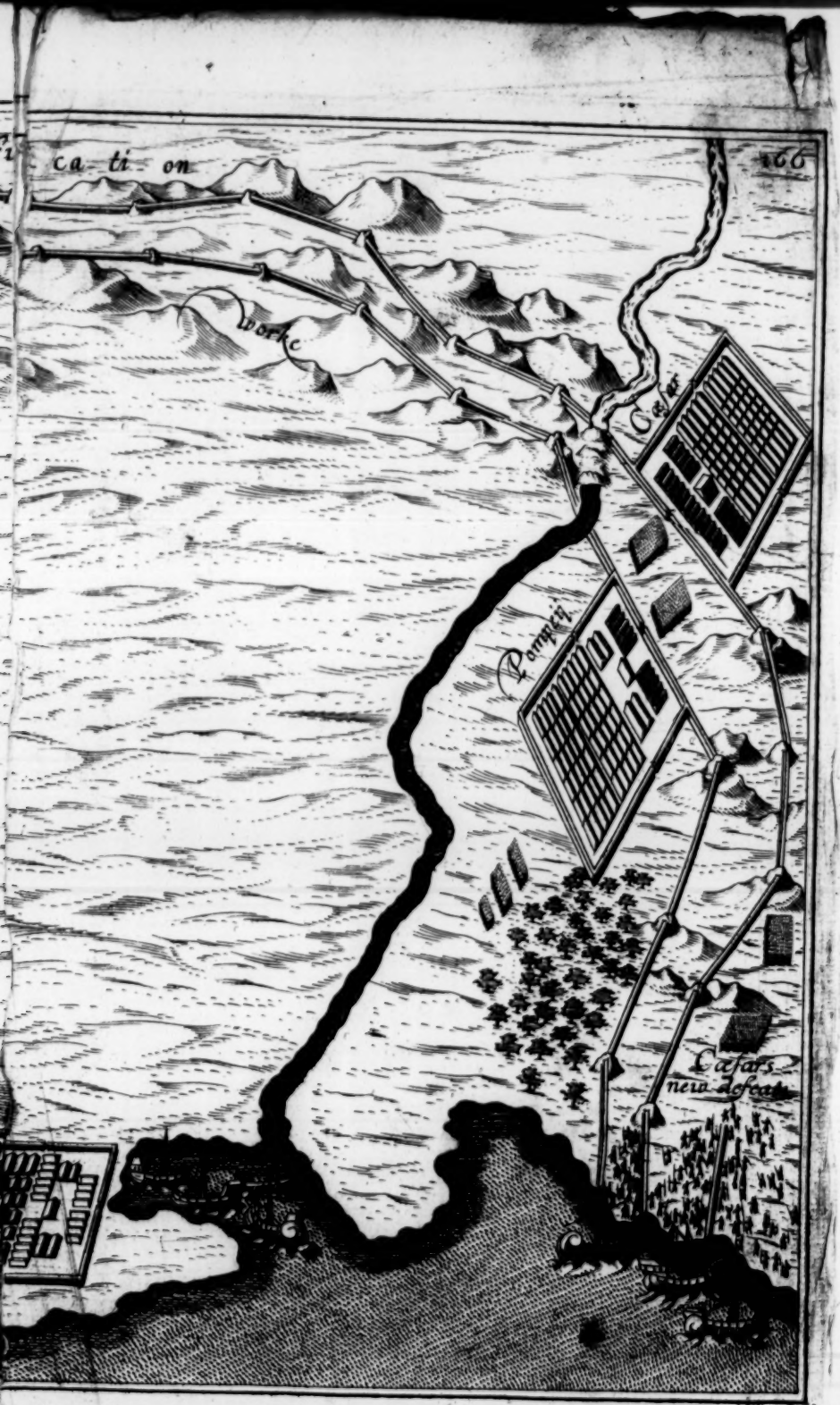
A Paſſage that happened betweene both Parties, *about the taking of a Place.*

Cæſar.

AMongſt theſe fights and incounters, it happened, as Cæſars ninth Legion had taken a certaine Place, and there began to fortifie, Pompey had poſſeſt himſelfe of the Hill next adioyning there-vnto, and beganne to hinder our men from their worke. And hauing from one ſide an eaſie acceſſe vnto it; firſt with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great troopes of light-armed men, and engines of Battery, hee beganne to diſturbe them in their buſineſs. Neither were our men able, at one and the ſame time, to defend themſelues, and goe on with their fortifications.

Cæſar,


DIIRRACHI-
UM
Cæſar
Pompeij


Work
Pompeii.
Caſars
nera dofcan

Cæſar, ſeeing his ſouldiers wounded, and hurt from all parts, commaunded them to fall off, and leaue the Place. But, foraſmuch as they were to make their retreit downe the Hill, they did the more vrge and preace vpon them; & would not ſuffer them to fall backe, for that they ſeemed to forſake the Place for feare. It is reported, that Pompey ſhould then, in a vaine-glory, ſay to thoſe that vvere about him, That he would be content to be taken for a Generall of no woorth, if Cæſars men could make any retreit from thence (where they were ſo raſhly ingaged) without great loſſe.

Cæſar, fearing the retreit of his ſouldiers, cauſed Hurdles to be brought, and ſette againſt the Enemie, in the brimme of the Hill; and behind them, ſunke a trench of an indifferent latitude, and incombered the place as much as poſsibly hee could. Hee lodged alſo Slingers in conuenient places, to defend his men in their retreit.

Theſe things beeing perfited, hee cauſed the legions to be drawne backe. But Pompeies partie, beganne vvith greater boldneſs and inſolencie, to preſſe our people: and putting by the Hurdles, which were ſet there as a Baricado, they paſſed ouer the ditch. Which when Cæſar perceiued, fearing, leaſt they ſhould rather ſeeme to be beaten off, then be brought backe, whereby a greater ſcandale might conſequently enſue, hauing almoſt from the mid-way incouraged his men, by Antonius, who commaunded that legion, hee willed that the ſigne of charging the Enemy ſhould be giuen by a Trumpet, and gaue order to aſſault them.

The ſouldiers of the ninth legion, putting themſelues ſuddainly into order, threw their Piles: and running furiouſly from the lower ground, vp the ſteepe of the Hill, draue the Enemy head-long from them; who found the Hurdles, the long poles, and the ditches, to be a great hinderance vnto them in their retreit. It contented our men to leaue the place without loſſe: ſo that hauing ſlaine many of them, they came away very quietly, with the loſſe of fiue of their fellowes. And hauing ſtaied about that place awhile, they tooke other hills, & perfited the fortifications vpon them.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis Chapter ſheweth, that aduantage of place, and ſome ſuch induſtrious courſes, as may be fitted to the occaſion, are of great conſequence in extreamities of warre: but, aboue all, there is nothing more auaileable to cleere a danger, then valour. Valour is the Hercules that ouer-commeth ſo many Monſters: and verifieth that ſaying, which cannot be too often repeated; *Virtute faciendum eſt, quicquid in rebus bellicis eſt gerendum.* But of this, I haue already treated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſcarcitie which either Partie endured *in this ſiege.*

Caſar.

THE cariage of that warre was in a ſtrange & vnuſuall manner, as well in reſpect of the great number of Forts and Caſtles, containing ſuch a circuit of ground within one continued fortification, as alſo in regard of the whole ſiege, and of other conſequents depending there-vpon. For, whoſoeuer goeth about to beſiege an other, doth either take occaſion frō the weakeneſs of the Enemy, daunted, or ſtriken with feare, or ouercome in battaile, or otherwiſe beeing moued there-vnto by ſome iniurie offered; Whereas now it happened, that they were farre the ſtronger, both in horſe and foote: and generally, the cauſe of almoſt all ſieges, is to keepe an enemy from prouiſion of Corne. But Caſar, beeing then farre inferiour in number of ſouldiers, did neuertheleſſe beſiege an Armie of intire and vntouched forces, eſpecially at a time when they abounded with all neceſsary prouiſions: for, euery day came great ſtore of ſhipping from all parts, bringing plenty of all things needfull: neither could there any wind blowe, which was not good, from ſome part or other.

On the other ſide, Caſar, hauing ſpent all the Corne he could get, far or neere, was in great want & ſcarcitie: and yet notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers did beare it with ſingular patience; for, they remembred how they had ſuffered the like the yeere before in Spaine, and yet with patience and labour, had ended a great and dangerous warre. They remembred, likewiſe, the exceeding great want they indured at Aleſia, and much greater at Auaricum. And yet, for all that, they vvent away Conquerers of many great Nations. They refuſed neither Barlie nor Peaſe, when it was giuen them in ſtead of Wheate. And of Cattell (whereof they were furniſhed with great ſtore out of Epirus) they made great account.

There is alſo a kind of roote, found out by them that were with Valerius, called Chara, which eaten with Milke did much relieue their want; & made withall, a kind of bread, whereof they had plenty. And when Pompeis Party happened in their Colloquies, to caſt in their teeth their ſcarcitie and miſery, they vvould cōmonly throwe this kind of bread at them, and ſcatter it in diuers places, to diſcourage them in their hopes. And now Corne beganne to be ripe, and hope it ſelfe did relieue their want, for-that they truſted to haue plenty within a ſhort time. And oftentimes the ſouldiers, in their watches and conferences, were heard to let fall ſpeeches, that they would rather eate the barke of trees, then ſuffer Pompey to eſcape out of their hands.

Beſides, they vnderſtood, by ſuch as ranne away from the Enemy, that their horſe of ſeruice could ſcarce be kept aliue; and that the reſt of their Cattell were all dead: and that the ſouldiers themſelues, were in no good health, through the narrowneſs of the place wherin they were pent: as alſo by meanes of the ill ſauor and

and multitude of dead bodies, together with continuall labour, beeing vnaccuſtomed to trauaile and paines; but eſpecially, through the extreame want of water: For, all the Riuers and Brookes of that quarter, Cæſar had either turned another way, or dammed vp with great works. And, as the places were mountainous, vvith ſome intermiſsion, and diſtinction of Valleies, in the forme and faſhion of a Caue or Denne: ſo hee ſtopped the ſame with great piles beaten into the ground, and interlaced with fagots and hurdles, and then ſtrengthened with earth, to keepe backe the vvater; Inſomuch, as they were conſtrained to ſeeke lowegrounds, and Mariſh places, and there to ſinke Welles. Which labour, they vvere gladde to vnder-take beſides their daily works, albeit theſe Welles ſtoode farre diſtant from their Guarizons, and were quickly dried vp with heat.

But Cæſars Armie was in exceeding good health, and had plenty of water, together with all kind of prouiſions, excepting Wheate; vvhich the ſeaſon of the yeere daily brought on, and gaue them hope of ſtore, Harueſt beeing ſo neere at hand.

In this new courſe of vvarre, new policies and deuices of vvarfare were inuented, and put in practice by either Partie. They, perceiuing by the fires, that our Cohorts in the night time kept watch at the works, came ſtealing out, and diſcharged all their Arrowes vpon them, and then preſently retreited. Wherewith, our men beeing warned, found out this remedy; that they made their fires in one place, and kept their watch in another.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FOraſmuch as all matter of attempt, doth much import the fortune of a warre, wee may not omit to take notice of the reaſons heere expreſſed by Cæſar, which are the true motiues of vndertaking a ſiege. The firſt is drawen, either from the weakneſs of an Enemie, or as hee is daunted with feare, or ouer-come in battaile. For, hauing thereupon no confidence in his owne power, doth reſt himſelfe in the ſtrength of the Place, which he holdeth and poſſeſſeth: which giueth their aduerſaries occaſion, to lay ſiege vnto their Hold; and either to force them, or ſhut them vp like women.

The ſecond is, when one State hath offered iniurie to another (which alwaies importeth loſſe) beyond that which ſtood with the courſe of reſpect formerly held betweene them. For reuenge whereof, the other ſide laieth ſiege to ſome of their Townes, to repaire themſelues by taking-in the ſame.

And thirdly, the finall cauſe of all ſieges, is to keep an Enemie from victuall, and other manner of prouiſions; and ſo to take them by the belly, when they cannot take them by the eares. Which is a part ſo violent, in requiring that which is due to Nature, as it hath made the Father and the Sonne fall out for a Mouſe: as it hapned at Athens, beſieged by Demetrius. *Plutarch.*

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſecond thing worthy our conſideration, is the patience and deportment of Cæſars ſouldiers, in their ſo great wants and neceſsities; as firſt, in helping themſelues, with this roote called Chara, deſcribed by Dioſcorides, to be a little ſeed, taſting ſome-what like Aniſ-ſeede, good to help digeſtion, and hauing ſuch a root as a Caret, which beeing boiled, is very good meat; and is the ſame which our Phyſicians call Caraway-ſeed: where-with they ſerued their turne with ſuch contentment, as they ſeemed to haue been trained vp in the Schoole of Frugalitie; a vertue worthy of all regard, and the onely meanes to make eaſie the difficulties of warre; beeing as neceſſary for a ſouldier, as the vſe of Armes: and is that which was aimed at in the aunſwere of Cyrus, to ſhew the ſeruices in a ſouldiers diet. For, beeing demaunded, what he would haue made ready for ſupper? Bread; ſaith he; for, we will ſuppe at the Fountaine.

Lib. 3. cap. 59.

Labor militiæ aſſidua frugalitatis conſuetudine facilior eſt. Iuſtin.

Cyrus contented with bread and water. Xenophon.

Neither hath it been thought fit, to giue way to the naturall looſneſs of the ſtomacks appetite, vpon any occaſion: but, to vſe the like moderation in the time of plentie. For, Zeno tooke the aunſwere of them, that would excuſe their liberall expenſes, by their abilitie of meanes, for no better paiment, then they themſelues would haue taken the excuſe of their Cookes, for putting too much ſalt on their meat, becauſe they had ſalt enough.

Cæſar puniſhed his Baker, for giuing him better bread then his ſouldiers had. And Scipio caſsiered a cupple of Romaines at the ſiege of Carthage, for feaſting a friend in their Tent, during an aſſault. Which auſteritie of life, raiſed the Romaines to that height of honour, and made them Maiſters of the world, from the Eaſt to the Weſterne Ocean.

Aequalē oportet ſemper eſſe Imperatoru animū, mutari enim pro rerum varietatibus, mentis inſtabilis argumētum efficitur. Agapetus.

Secondly, as a conſequent of this contentment, we may note their reſolution to hold on their courſe of ſiege, purpoſing rather to eate the bark of trees, then to ſuffer Pompey to eſcape their hands. It is an excellent point in a Generall, to keepe himſelfe from irreſolution; beeing a weakeneſs of ill conſequence, and not vnlike the diſeaſe of the Staggers, variable, vncertaine, and without bottom or bound: where-as conſtancie to purpoſes, produceth noble and worthy ends.

Vnus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit Rem. Enni.

An inſtance whereof, is Fabius Maximus, who notwithſtanding the reproach and ſcandall caſt vpon him, continued firme in his determination, to the ſauing of his Country. And if it bee ſo well beſeeming a Leader, it is of much more regard in the ſouldier: eſpecially conſidering that of Xenophon; *Non facile in officio poteſt miles contineri ab eo qui neceſſaria nō ſubminiſtrat.* For, as the ſame Author obſerueth in another place, *Nullus eſt adeo fortis aut validus, qui poſsit aduerſus famem aut frigus pugnando militare.*

Li. 6. de Cyropæ.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

AMongſt all the parts of the Romaine diſcipline, their Watch deſerueth a particular deſcription; ſupplying in the Armie, the office of the naturall eye in the bodie: which is, to giue notice of any approaching danger, for the preuenting of the ſame. Polybius hath left it to poſteritie in this manner; Of each ſort of the Legionarie foote, as namely, the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, and likewiſe of the horſe, there was choſen one, out of the tenth and laſt Maniple, that was made free from watch and ward. This partie, as the Sunne began to decline, came dailie to the Tent of the Tribune, & there had giuen him a little Tablet, wherein the watch-word was writ; which Tablet, they called *Teſſera*: and then returning to his Companie, deliuered it to the Centurion of the next Maniple, and that Centurion to the next; and ſo in order, vntill it came to the firſt and chiefeſt Companie, which was lodged next vnto the Tribunes: and by the Centurion thereof, was returned to the Tribune before Sunne ſetting.

And if all the Tablets were brought-in, then did the Tribune knowe, the word was giuen to all. If any wanted, they made inquirie, and by the notes of inſcription, finding which was miſsing, they puniſhed the default as they ſaw cauſe. And this was their watch-word, by which their Party was diſtinguiſhed from an Enemie; and in likelihood (for, Polybius doth not affirme ſo much) was by the Centurion giuen, to ſuch of his Maniple as were to watch that night.

Their night watches were thus ordered; A Maniple, or Companie, was alwaies appointed to watch at the Generalls Pauilion. The Treaſurer had three watches, and euery Legat, two; A watch conſiſting of foure men, according to the generall diuiſion of their night into foure parts: each of thoſe foure hauing his turne appointed him by lotte, for the firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth watch, and the reſt ſitting by. The *Volites* kept watch without the Camp, and the *Decuries* of horſe at the gates: beſides, euery Maniple had a priuate watch within it ſelfe.

Of thoſe that were appointed to watch, a Lieutenant of each Maniple, did bring to the Tribune in the euening, ſuch as were to keepe the firſt watch of the night: and to them were deliuered leſſer Tablets, then were giuen out at firſt, called *Teſſerula*, appropriated to euery particular watch; one for himſelfe, and three other for his fellowes.

The truſt of going the Round, was committed to the horſemen: for, it belonged to the firſt Commaunder of horſe, in each legion, to giue order to his Lieutenant, to appoint before dinner, foure young men of his troope, to goe the Round the next night; and in the euening, to acquaint the next Commander to appoint Rounders for the night following. Theſe horſemen, being thus appointed, did caſt lots for the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth watch; and then repaired to the Tribune: of whom they had order what, and how many watches

ches to viſit, hauing receiued the watch-word before, from their Commaunder: and then all foure went to attend at the Tent of the *Primipile*, or chiefeſt Centurion of a Legion; who had the charge of diſtinguiſhing the foure watches of the night by a Trumpet.

When time ſerued, for him that was to goe the Round the firſt watch, hee went out accompanied with ſome of his friends, and viſited thoſe watches which were aſsigned vnto him. And if he found the watch-man waking, and in good order, he then tooke that Tablet from him which hee had receiued of the Tribune, and departed. But, if he found him ſleeping, or out of his place, he tooke witneſſe thereof, and departed. The ſame did the reſt of the Rounders, as their watches fell out in courſe. And as the day beganne to breake, all the Rounders brought in the Tablets to the Tribunes. And if all were brought in, there was no more to doe: but if any wanted, it was found out by the Character, what watch had failed; which beeing knowne, the Centurion was called, and commaunded to bring thoſe that were faultie. If the offence were in the watch-man, the Rounder was to proue it by witneſſes: if not, it fell vpon himſelfe; and a Councell of warre beeing preſently called, the Tribune gaue iudgement to kill him with a club. And in this manner did the Romaines keep watch in the Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A relation of diuers incounters, that happened *betweene both Parties.*

There is a great part of the hiſtorie in this place omitted.

Cæſar.

IN the meane time, Pub. Sylla, whom Cæſar (at his departure from the Campe) had left to commaund the Armie, beeing certified thereof, came with two legions to ſuccour the Cohort: at whoſe approach, Pompeys partie was eaſily beaten off, beeing neither able to indure the ſhocke, nor ſight of our men. For, the firſt beeing put off, the reſt gaue backe, and left the place: but as our men purſued them, Sylla called them backe, & would not ſuffer them to follow farre after. Howbeit, many men thinke, that if hee vvould haue preſſed hard vpon them, the warre had ended that day. But in my opinion, he is not to be blamed; for, there is one charge and power peculiar to a Lieutenant, and another to him that commaundeth in Chiefe: the one, dooing nothing but by order and preſcription; and the other, diſpoſing euery thing as hee ſhall thinke fit.

Alia ſunt Legati partes, atque Imperatoris.

Sylla (in Cæſars abſence) hauing freed his men, was content there-vvith, & would no further ingage them in fight (which might happely prooue ſubiect to ill fortune) leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to aſſume vnto himſelfe, the place and authoritie of a Generall. There vvere certaine things that made the retreit of Pompeis men very difficult and hazardous. For, hauing aſcended from a bottome to a Hill,

Hill, they now found themselues vpon the top thereof. And as they were to make their retreit downe againe, they stood in feare of our men, preacing on thē from the higher ground, neither was it farre from sunne-setting; for, hoping to end it speedily, they drew out the busines vntill it was almost night: whereby, Pompey was forced to take a resolution from the time, and to possesse himselfe of a Mount, no further from the Fort then out of shot. There hee made a stand, fortified the place, and kept his forces.

At the same time, they fought in two other places: for, Pompey, to separate and distract our troopes, assaulted diuers forts together, to the end they might not be succoured from the next Guarizons. In one place, Volcatius Tullus, with three Cohorts, sustained the assault of a Legion, & made them forsake the place. In another part, the Germaines sallying out of our works, slew many of the Enemie, & returned back to their fellowes in safetie. So that in one day, there were sixe seuerall fights; three at Dyrrachium, and three at the fortifications: of all which an account beeing taken, there were found slaine of Pompeys Partie, to the number of two thousand; with many Centurions, and other speciall men, called out to that vvarre. Amongst vvhom, vvas Valerius Flaccus, the sonne of L. vvho, beeing Prætor, had obtained the Prouince of Asia: besides, there were sixe Ensignes taken. Our Partie, lost not aboue twentie men in all those fights; howbeit, in the fort, there was not one man but was hurt. *Euocati.*

Foure Centurions of one Cohort lost their eyes; and, for argument of their indeauour, and great danger, they made report to Cæsar, of thirtie thousand arrowes shot into the fort, together with a Target of one Sæua, a Centurion, which was shewed vnto him, beeing pearced through in two hundred and thirty places, whom Cæsar (as hauing well deserued of him, and the Common-wealth) rewarded with sixe hundred pound sterling; and aduaunced him from the Companies of the eight ranke, to be the chiefest Centurion, or Primipile of the Legion: for, it appeared, that by his meanes specially, the fort was saued. For, the Cohort, hee doubled their pay, as well in Money, as in Corne and Apparrell: and rewarded them nobly, with ornaments of Militarie honour. *Millibus ducentis æris.* *Primipilus.*

Pompey, hauing vvrought all that night, to fortifie his Trenches, the daies following, he built towres xxv. foote high; which beeing finished, he added mantilets to that part of the Campe. And after fiue daies, hauing gotte a darke night (shutting all the Ports of his Campe, and ramming them vp) in the beginning of the third vvatch, hee drew out his Armie in silence, and betooke himselfe to his old fortifications.

OBSERVATIONS.

THe breach of the Historie in this place, is like a blotte in a faire Table, or as a gappe in a daunce of Nymphes, and dooth much blemish the beautie of this Discourse: But, for-as-much as it is a losse which cannot bee repaired, wee must rest contented with the vse of that vvhich remaineth.

Out of which, we may obſerue the notice they tooke of well deſeruing: according to the inſtitution of their diſcipline, ſupported ſpecially by *Præmium* and *Pœna*. The recognition whereof (according to the iudgement of the graueſt Law-giuers) is the meanes to raiſe a State to the height of perfection. *Eo enim impendi laborem et periculum, vnde emolumentũ et honos ſperatur.* The Romaines, ſaith Polybius, crowned the valour of their ſouldiers with eternall honours. Neither did any thing ſo much excite them to the atchieuement of noble Acts, as their Triumphs, Garlands, and other Enſignes of publique renowne: which Cæſar ſpecially obſerued aboue the reſt. For, beſides this which he did to Caſsius Sæua (recorded by all the Writers of theſe warres) Plutarch relateth, that at his being in Britaine, he could not containe from imbracing a ſouldier, that caried himſelfe valiantly in defence of diuers Centurions. And where-as the poore man, falling downe at his feete, asked nothing but pardon for leauing his Target behind him; he rewarded him with great gifts, & much honour. Howbeit, the difference which Saluſt hath made in this kind, is too generally obſerued, that It more importeth a Common-weale to puniſh an ill member, then to reward a good act: for, a vertuous deſire, is by neglect a little abated; but an ill man becomes vnſufferable. And thence it is, that merit is neuer valued but vpon neceſsity. It is fit, that hee that will haue the honour of wearing a Lions skin, ſhould firſt kill the beaſt, as Hercules did: but, to kil a Lion, and not to haue the skin, is not ſo auaileable as a meaner occupation. Anthony Gueuara giueth another rule, obſerued in that gouernement, which is the true *Idea* of Perfection: *En la caſa de Dios jamas fue, ni es, ni ſera, merito ſin premio, ni colpa ſin pena.*

Solon. Plato 5 de leg. Liuie. lib. 4. Lib. 6.

In vita Cæſaris.

In repub. multò præſtat beneficij quàm maleficij immemorẽ eſſe: bonus, ſegnior fit vbi negligas; malus improbior. Salu. Iugur.

CHAP. XX.

Cæſar moueth Scipio to mediate a Peace.

Cæſar.

Aetolia, Acarnania, & Amphiloclis, being taken by Caſsius Longinus, and Caluiſius Sabinus, as is before declared, Cæſar thought it expedient to attempt and try Achaia, and to proceed further in that courſe: vvherevpon he ſent thither L. Calenus, and Q. Sabinus, and to them he added Caſsius, with his Cohorts. Their comming being bruited abroad, Rutilius Lupus, to whom Pompey had left the charge of Achaia, determined to fortifie the Iſthmus, to keepe out Fuſius. Calenus in the meane time, vvith the fauour and aſſent of the States, tooke-in Delphos, Thebes, & Orcleomenum, beſides ſome other places, which he tooke by force. The reſt of the Cities, he laboured to draw to Cæſars party, by Embaſſages ſent about vnto them: & therin was Fuſius occupied for the preſent. Cæſar, euery day following, brought-out his Army into an equal & indifferent place, to ſee if Pompey would accept of battel; inſomuch as he led them vnder Pompeis Camp, the vaward being within ſhot of the Rampier. Pompey, to hold the fame & opinion he had attained, drew out his forces, & ſo imbattelled them before his Camp, that their rere-ward did touch the Rampier;

Rampier; and the vvhole Armie was ſo diſpoſed, that euery man vvas vnder the protection of ſuch vveapons as might be ſhot from thence.

While theſe things were dooing at Achaia, and at Dyrrachium, it was certainly knowne, that Scipio was come into Macedonia. Cæſar, not omitting his former purpoſe, ſent Clodius vnto him; a familiar friend to both of them, and one vvhom Scipio had formerly ſo commended to Cæſar, that hee had taken him in the number of his neereſt fauourites. To him hee gaue Letters and Meſſages, to be deliuered to Scipio: whereof this was the effect; that he had vſed all meanes for peace, and yet had preuailed nothing at all: which he tooke to be the fault of ſuch as had the charge of the buſines, being fearefull to treat with Pompey thereof in an vnſeaſonable time. But Scipio had that credit & reſpect, that he might not onely deliuer freely what he thought fitting, but might alſo (in ſome ſort) reſtraine him, and reforme his errour. For, being Commaunder in chiefe, ouer an Armie; beſides his credit, he had ſtrength to compell him. Which, if he did, euerie man vvould attribute the quiet of Italie, the peace of the Prouinces, and the ſafetie & preſeruation of the Empire, to him onely. All theſe things did Clodius make knowne to Scipio: and for the firſt daies, was well heard: but afterwards, could not be admitted to ſpeech; Fauonius, reprehending Scipio, for going ſo far with him, as afterwards we vnderſtood vpon the ending of the vvar: vvhereby he was forced to returne to Cæſar, without effecting any thing.

Cæſar, that he might with greater facilitie keepe-in Pompeis Caualrie at Dyrrachium, and hinder them from forrage, fortified and ſhutte vp two paſſages (vvhich, as we haue before declared, were very narrow) with great works, and there built Caſtles. Pompey, vnderſtanding that his horſmē did no good abroad, within a few daies, conuaied them within his fortification by ſhipping. Howbeit, they vvere in extreame neceſsitie, and want of forrage: inſomuch, as hauing beaten off all the leaues of the trees, they fed their horſes with young Reedes, bruſed, and beaten in peeces. For, they had ſpent the Corne which was ſowed within the works, & were forced to bring food for their Cattel, from Corcyra and Acarnania, by long & tedious nauigation; and where it fell ſhort, they made it vp with Barly, and ſo kept life in their horſes: but afterwards, when-as not onelie their Barly, and other food was ſpent in all places, & the graſſe & hearbs dried vp, but the fruit alſo waſted, and conſumed off the trees, their horſes beeing ſo leane, as they were not able to ſtand on their legges, Pompey thought it expedient, to thinke of ſome courſe of breaking out.

Et morſu ſpoliare nemus, lethumque minantes, vellere ab ignotis dubias radicibus herbas.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT may ſeem a cunning trick of Cæſar, & perhaps it was his end, to indeauor with faire pretenſes, to ingage Scipio ſo far in contriuing a Peace, as being Generall of an Armie, he might aſſume vnto himſelfe a commaunding authority; and there-vpon, bred ſuch a iealouſie, as would keepe Pompey and him aſunder.

Neuertheleſſe, it is euery way worth a mans labour, to make ouertures of peace howſoeuer: eſpecially conſidering, how it changeth the relatiue in the

condition of men, which in warre, is *Homo homini Lupus*, and in peace, *Homo homini Deus*. And, prouing good, will doubtleſſe continue, if inconuenient, the ſooner broken; and ſo the caſe is but the ſame it was before.

Si bonam dederitis, fidam et perpetuam; ſi malam, haud diuturnam. Liu. lib. 8.

Secondly, we may note, that there is nothing ſo difficult, but pertinacie and reſtleſſe labor, directed with diligent & intent care, wil in the end ouercome it: For, Cæſar, that at the firſt ſeemed to vndertake impoſsibilities, going about to beſiege a great part of a Country, & to ſhutte vp a huge Armie in an open place, did neuertheleſſe (by indeauour) bring thē to ſuch extreamitie of want, that if, as Democritus ſaid, the Bodie ſhould haue put the mind in ſute, for reparation of loſſe, which her ambition and wilfull obſtinacie had drawne vpon it, ſhee would neuer be able to pay damages.

Nihil eſt quod non expugnet pertinax opera, et intenta et diligens cura. Senec. li. 6. Epi. 51

Touching the *Iſthmus*, which Rutilius Rufus went about to fortifie, it is a necke of earth, ioyning an Iland vnto the Continent. For, as the Inlet of the Sea, betweene two Lands, is called *Porthmus* (wher-vpon the towne of Portſmouth in Hampſhire hath that appellation, as ſited vpon the like Inlet) ſo any ſmal langer, or neck of earth, lying between two Seas, is called *Iſthmus*. Wherof, this of Achaia is of ſpeciall note in Greece; beeing the ſame that ioyned Peloponeſus to the Continent, & was of ſpeciall fame for the ſite of Corinth.

Theſe necks of earth, called *Iſthmus*, are of the nature of thoſe things, as haue been often threatned, and yet continue the ſame. For, albeit the ambition of great Princes haue ſought to alter the faſhion of the earth in that behalfe, yet I know not how their deſires haue ſorted to no end. *Perfodere nauigabili Alueo has anguſtias tentauere Demetrius Rex, Dictator Cæſar, Caius Princeps, at Domitius Nero, infauſto vt omnium patuit exitu incepto.* In the time of King Seſoſtris, and ſince, in the Empire of the Othomans, they went about to bring the Red-ſea into Nile; but feating it would be a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea beeing lower then another, they gaue ouer the enterpriſe. And it may be vpon like conſideration, or otherwiſe, fearing to correct the workes of Nature, they forbare to make a paſſage betweene *Nombre de Dios*, and *Panama*: and ſo to ioyne one ſea to the other, as was ſaid to be intended.

Plin. lib. 4. ca. 4.

CHAP. XXI.

An Accident which fell out by two Bretheren of *Sauoy, in Cæſars Armie.*

Cæſar.

There vvere in Cæſars Campe, two brethren of Sauoie, Roſcillus and Aegus, the ſonnes of Abucillus, who for many yeeres together, was accounted the principall and chiefe man of that State: theſe were men of ſingular worth, and had done Cæſar verie great ſeruice in all the vvarres of Gallia; and in that reſpect, Cæſar had aduaunced them to great & honorable Charges in their Countrey, and cauſed them

them (extraordinarily) to be taken in the number of the Senators, and beſtowed much of the Enemies lands vpon them, beſides great ſummes of ready money, & of poore had made them rich.

Theſe men were not onely well reſpected by Cæſar, but were in good account throughout all the Armie. Howbeit, relying too much on Cæſars fauour, and puffed vp with fooliſh & barbarous arrogancie; they diſdained their owne men, deceiuing the horſemen of their pay, and averting all pillage from publique diſtribution, to their owne particular. The horſemen, prouoked with theſe iniuries, came all to Cæſar, and complained openly thereof: adding further, that their troopes vvere not full, nor anſwerable to the Liſt or Muſter-role, by which they required paiment.

Cæſar, thinking it no fit time of puniſhment, and withall, attributing much to the worth of the men, put off the whole matter, and chid them priuatly, for making a gaine of their troopes of horſe; willing the Caualrie to exſpect a ſupply of all their wants frõ his fauour, according as their ſeruice had well deſerued. Neuertheleſſe, the matter brought them into great ſcandall and contempt vvith all men: Which they plainely perceiued, both by the ſpeeches of other men, as alſo by that they might iudge themſelues, their owne conſciences accuſing them. With which reproach, and ſhame, they were ſo moued (& thinking peraduenture that they were not quit thereof, but deferred vntill ſome other time) that they reſolued to leaue the Armie, to ſeek new fortunes, and make proofe of other acquaintances. And, hauing imparted the matter to a few of their followers, to whom they durſt communicate ſo great a diſloialtie, firſt they vvent about to kill C. Voluſenus, Generall of the horſe (as after the vvarre was ended was diſcouered) that they might come to Pompey, vpon ſome deſerued ſeruice: but after they found it hard to accompliſh, they tooke vp as much money as they could borrow, as though they meant to haue paid their troopes, what they formerly had defrauded them of; and hauing bought many horſes, they went to Pompey, together with ſuch as were acquainted with their purpoſes.

Pœnam ſemper ante oculos verſari putant qui peccauerunt. Cic. in orati. pro Milone.

Pompey, finding them Gentlemen of ſort, liberally brought vp, attended with a great retinew, and many horſes, and both of them very valiant, & in good account with Cæſar; and vvithall, for-that it was an vnuſuall and ſtrange accident, he ledde them about the works, and ſhewed them all the fortifications: for, before that time, no man, either ſouldier, or horſeman, had fledde from Cæſar to Pompey; where-as daily they came frõ Pompey to Cæſar: eſpecially, ſuch as were inrolled in Epirus and Aetolia, which were at Cæſars deuotion.

Theſe two Bretheren, exactly vnderſtanding all things in Cæſars Campe (as well concerning ſuch works as were perfect, as ſuch others wherein men skilfull in warre might find defect; together with the opportunitie of time, & diſtances of places: as alſo the diligence of the Guardes, with the nature and indeauour of euery man that had a charge) related all particularly to Pompey.

OBSERVATIONS.

WE may heere obſerue the ſinceritie, & direct cariage of inferior Commaunders in the Romaine Armie, by the ſcandall theſe two Sauoiens ranne into, for making falſe Muſters, and defrauding the ſouldiers of their due: A matter ſo ordinarie in theſe our times, as cuſtome ſeemeth to iuſtifie the Abuſe. For, what more common in the courſe of our moderne warres, then to make gaine of Companies by muſtering more then they haue in pay? & by turning that which is due to the ſouldier to their own benefit? The firſt wherof, if it be duelie weighed, is an offence of a high nature againſt the State; and the ſecond, ſuch an iniurie to the ſouldier, as can hardly be anſwered.

It is merilie (as I take it) ſaid by Collumella, That, *in foro conceſſum latrocinium*. But, for thoſe to whom is committed the ſafetie of a kingdom, to betray the truſt repoſed in them, by raiſing their meanes with dead paies, & conſequently, ſteading the Cauſe with dead ſeruice; as alſo, by diſabling their Companions & fellow-ſouldiers, from doing thoſe duties which are requiſite, for want of due entertainement, is a thing deſeruing a heauie cenſure, & will doubtleſſe fall out vnto them, as it did to theſe two Bretheren. The ſequell whereof, will appeare by the ſtorie, and confirme that of Xenophon; *Dij haud impunita relinquunt impia et nefaria hominum facta.*

Lib. 5. Cyrop.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey, attempting to breake out, put Cæſars *Partie to great loſſe.*

Cæſar.

POmpey, beeing informed of theſe things, and hauing formerly reſolued to breake out, as is already declared, gaue order to the ſouldiers, to make them couerings for their Morions, of Oſiers, and to get ſome ſtore of Bauins and Fagots: which beeing prepared, hee ſhipped a great number of the light-armed ſouldiers, and Archers, together with thoſe fagots, in Skiffes and Gallies. And about mid-night, drew threeſcore Cohorts out of the greater Campe, and the places of Guarizon, and ſent them to that part of the fortification vvhich was next vnto the Sea, and furtheſt off from Cæſars greateſt Campe. Thither alſo he ſent the ſhippes before mentioned, filled with light-armed men and fagots; together vvith as many other Gallies as were at Dyrrachium: and gaue directions how euery man ſhould imploy himſelfe.

Cæſar had left Lentulus Marcellinus the Treaſurer, with the Legion newly inrolled, to keepe that fortification; who, for-that he was ſickly, and of an ill diſpoſition of body, had ſubſtituted Fuluius Poſthumus as his coadiutor.

There

There was in that place, a Trench of fifteene foote deepe, and a Rampier against the Enemie, of tenne foote in altitude, and as much in breadth. And about sixe hundred foote from that place, was raised another Rampier, vvith the front the contrary way, but some-what lower then the former. For, some few daies before, Cæsar (fearing that place, least our men should bee circumuented with their shippes) had caused double fortifications to be made in that place; that if (peraduenture) they should bee put to their shifts, they might neuertheless make good resistance. But the greatnes of the works, and the continuall labour they daily indured, the fortifications beeing caried eighteene miles in circuit, would not suffer them to finish it. Whereby it happened, that hee had not, as yet, made a Rampier along the Sea-shore, to ioyne these two fortifications together, for the defence thereof: which was informed Pompey, by these two Sauoiens, & brought great damage and losse to our people. For, as the Cohorts of the ninth Legion kept watch and guard vpon the Sea; suddainely, by the breake of day, came Pompeis Armie; vvhich seemed very strange vnto our men: and instantly there-vpon, the souldiers from a-shipboard, assaulted with their vveapons, the inner Rampier; and the rest began to fill vp the Trench.

The legionary souldiers, appointed to keepe the inner fortifications, hauing planted a great number of Ladders to the Rampier, did amuse the Enemie vvith weapons, and Engines of all sorts; and a great number of Archers vvere thronged together on each side. But, the couerings of Osiers which they ware on their head-peeces, did greatly defend them from the blowes of stones, vvhich vvas the onely weapon our men had for that purpose. And as our men vvere ouer-laid with all these things, and did hardly make resistance, they found-out the defect of the fortification, formerly mentioned: and landing their men betweene the two Rampiers, they charged our people in the reare, and so driuing them from both the fortifications, made them turne their backs.

This Alarum beeing heard, Marcellinus sent certaine Cohorts to succour our men: who seeing them flie, could neither reassure them by their comming, nor vvithstand the furie of the Enemy themselues: insomuch, as what reliefe so-euer was sent, was distracted by the feare and astonishment of them that fled away. Whereby, the terrour and the danger was made much the greater, and their retreit vvas hindered, through the multitude of people.

In that fight, the Eagle-bearer beeing grieuously wounded, and fainting for want of strength, looking towards the horsemen; This haue I, said he, in my life time, carefully and diligently defended for many yeeres together; and now, dying, with the same fidelitie doe restore it vnto Cæsar: suffer not (I pray you) such a dishonour, the like whereof, neuer happened in Cæsars Armie, but returne it vnto him in safetie: by vvhich accident, the Eagle vvas saued; all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, but the first of the Maniple of the Principes: *and now the Enemy, with great slaughter of our men, approached neere Marcellinus Campe.*

The rest of the Cohorts beeing greatly astonished, M. Antonius holding the next Guarizon to that place, vpon notice thereof, was seene to come downe from the vpper ground, with twelue Cohorts. Vpon whose comming, Pompeis Partie

was

was repreſſed and ſtaied, and our men ſome-what reaſſured, giuing them time to come againe to themſelues, out of that aſtoniſhment. And not long after, Cæſar hauing knowledge thereof by ſmoak made out of the Forts, according to the vſe of former time, came thither alſo, bringing with him certaine Cohorts out of the Guarizons.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old ſaying, that Thieues handſell is alwaies naught. But, Traytors handſell is much worſe: as appeareth by the falling away of theſe two Sauoiens; who were the firſt that left Cæſar in this war, and the firſt that brought Pompey good fortune: themſelues ſtanding culpable of as great an offence, as if they had alienated the whole Army. In the courſe whereof, we may ſee plainly that which I haue formerly noted; that it is an excellent thing to be ſtill attempting vpon an Enemie, ſo it be done vpon good grounds and cautions: for, while Pompey ſtood vpon the defenſiue ward, the honour of the contention fell continually vpon Cæſar. And doubtleſſe, he that obſerueth Cæſars proceedings in the cariage of all his wars, ſhall find his fortune to haue ſpecially growne, from his actiue and attempting ſpirite.

Arma alienaſſe graue crimẽ eſt. et ea pœna deſertioni exequatur. vtique ſi tota alienauit. Li. 14. §. de re militari.

In this Eagle-bearer, we may ſee verified, that which Paterculus affirmeth of Mithridates, That a valiant ſpirit is ſometimes great by the fauour of Fortune; but alwaies great in a good courage.

Vir virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, ſemper animo maximus.

For theſe titles of degrees, as *Princeps prior*, and the reſt here mentioned, hauing formerly diſcourſed at large of the parts of a legion, & the Hierarchie of their diſcipline, I will rather referre the Reader there-vnto, then bumbaſt out a volume with diſtaſtefull repetitions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæſar purpoſeth to alter the courſe of VVarre; *attempteth to cut off one of Pom-* peys Legions.

Cæſar.

CAeſar, vnderſtanding of the loſſe, and perceiuing that Pompey was got out of the fortifications, and was incamped vpon the Sea, in ſuch ſort as he might freely goe out to forrage, & haue no leſſe acceſſe with ſhipping then formerly hee had; changing his courſe of vvarre, which had not ſucceeded to his expectation, he incamped himſelfe faſt by Pompey. The vvorks beeing perfected, it was obſerued by Cæſars Diſcouerers, that certaine Cohorts, to the number of a Legion, were brought behind a wood into the old Campe.

Campe. The ſite of the Campe was after this manner: The daies before, Cæſars ninth Legion, oppoſing themſelues againſt Pompeis forces, and working vpon the fortifications (as is before declared) had their Campe in that place, adioyning vnto a wood, and not diſtant from the ſea aboue foure hundred paſes. Afterwards, Cæſar, changing his mind for ſome certaine cauſes, transferred his lodging ſome-what further off from that place. A few daies after the ſame Camp was poſſeſt by Pompey. And foraſmuch as hee was to lodge more legions in that place, leauing the inner Rampier ſtanding, hee inlarged the fortification, ſo that the leſſer Campe beeing included in the greater, ſerued as a Caſtle or Citadell to the ſame. Beſides alſo, hee drew a fortification from the right angle of the Campe, foure hundred paſes out-right, to a Riuer, to the end the ſouldiers might vvater freely, without danger. And he alſo changing his mind, for ſome cauſes not requiſite to be mentioned, left the place too: ſo that the Camp ſtood empty for many daies together; and all the fortifications were as perfit as at the firſt.

The Diſcouerers brought newes to Cæſar, that they had ſeene an Enſigne of a Legion caried thither. The ſame was likewiſe confirmed, from certaine Forts which ſtood vpon the higher grounds. The place was diſtant from Pompeis Camp, about D. paſes. Cæſar, hoping to cut off this legion, and deſirous to repaire that daies loſſe, left two Cohorts at worke, to make a ſhew of fortifying, and he himſelfe (by a contrarie way, in as couert a manner as he could) ledde the reſt of the Cohorts, in number thirtie-three (amongſt whom was the ninth legion, that had loſt many Centurions, and was very weake in ſouldiers) tovvards Pompeys legion, and the leſſer Campe, in a double battaile. Neither did his opinion deceiue him: for, he came thither before Pompey could perceiue it.

And albeit the fortifications of the Campe were great, yet aſſaulting it ſpeedily with the left Cornet, wherein he himſelfe was, hee draue Pompeys ſouldiers from the Rampier. There ſtood a *Turne-pick in the Gate, which gaue occaſion of reſiſtance for a vvhile: and as our men would haue entered, they valiantlie defended the Campe; T. Pulcio, by whoſe meanes C. Antonius Armie was betraied, as we haue formerly declared, fighting there moſt valiantly: yet neuertheleſſe, our men ouercame them by valour; and cutting vp the Turne-pick, entered firſt into the greater Campe, and afterwards into the Caſtle, and ſlew manie that reſiſted, of the legion that was forced thither. * Eritius.

But Fortune, that can doe much in all things, and ſpecially in vvarre, doth in a ſmall moment of time, bring great alterations; as it then happened: for, the Cohorts of Cæſars right Cornet, ignorant of the place, followed the Rampier vvhich went along from the Campe to the Riuer, ſeeking after the Gate, and taking it to be the Rampier of the Campe: but when they perceiued, that it ioyned to the Riuer, they preſently got ouer it, no man reſiſting them; and all the Cauallrie followed after thoſe Cohorts.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

POmpey, hauing cleered his Armie of that ſiege, it booted not Cæſar to proſecute his purpoſe any longer: for, when the end is miſſed, for which any courſe is vndertaken, it were folly to ſeeke it by that meanes. We muſt rather chuſe new waies, that may lead vs to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which ſorted to no effect. And yet neuertheleſſe, the ſufficiencie of the Generall, is no way diſabled: for, Albeit a wiſe man doth not alwaies keep one paſe, yet ſtil he holdeth one and the ſame way.

Sapiens nõ ſemper it vno gradu, ſed vna via.

Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are alwaies made with great difficultie and danger. Wherein, the wiſedome of the heathen world aſcribed all to Fortune, as the ſole cauſe of all Markable euents; and that which filled vp both the pages of all the Bookes, wherein men noted the courſe of things: *Clades inbello acceptæ, non ſemper ignauiæ, ſed aliquando Fortunæ temeritati ſunt imputandæ*, ſaith Archidamus; and is that which is aymed at by Cæſar.

Magna negotia magnis cum periculis ſuſcipiuntur. Herodot.

Fortunæ omnia expenſa, omnia ſeruitur accepta: et in tota ratione mortalium, ſola vtramque paginam facit. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 7.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The fight continueth, and Cæſar *loſeth.*

Cæſar.

IN the meane while, Pompey, after ſo long a reſpite of time, hauing notice therof, tooke the firſt Legion from their works, and brought them to ſuccour their fellowes: and at the ſame time, his Caualry did approach neere our horſemen; and our men that poſſeſſed the Campe, did diſcouer an Army imbattelled comming againſt them: and all things were ſuddainlie changed. For, Pompeys legion, aſſured with a ſpeedy hope of ſuccour, began to make reſiſtance at the Decumane gate, and voluntarily charged our men.

Cæſars Caualrie, beeing got-ouer the Rampier, into a narrow paſſage, fearing how they might retreit in ſafetie, beganne to flie away. The right Cornet, ſecluded, and cut-off from the left, perceiuing the terrour of the horſemen (leaſt they might be indangered within the fortifications) betooke themſelues to the other ſide, from whence they came: and moſt of them (leaſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed in the ſtraites) caſt themſelues ouer workes of ten foote high, into the ditches: and ſuch as firſt got ouer, beeing troden vnder-foote, by ſuch as followed after; the reſt, ſaued themſelues, in paſsing ouer their bodies.

The ſouldiers of the left Cornet, perceiuing from the Rampier, that Pompey was at hand, and that their owne ſide fledde away, fearing leaſt they ſhould bee ſhut vp in thoſe ſtraights, hauing the Enemy both vvithout and vvithin them, thought

thought it their beſt courſe to returne backe the ſame way they came. Whereby there happened nothing but tumult, feare, and flight: inſomuch, as when Cæſar caught hold with his hand, of the Enſignes of them that fledde, and commaunded them to ſtand; ſome for feare left their Enſignes behind them, others, forſaking their horſes, kept-on their courſe: neither was there any one of them that would ſtand. Notwithſtanding, in this ſo great a calamity and miſhap, theſe helps fel out to relieue vs; that Pompey fearing ſome treachery (for that, as I think, it happened beyond his expectation, who a little before ſaw his men flie out of his Camp) durſt not for a good while approach neere the fortifications: and our men, poſſeſſing the narrow paſſages and the Ports, did hinder the horſemen from following after. And ſo, a ſmall matter fell out to be of great moment, in the carriage of that accident, on either ſide. For, the Rampier, which was caried from the Campe to the Riuer (Pompeys Campe beeing already taken) was the onely hinderance of Cæſars expedite and eaſie victory: and the ſame thing, hindering the ſpeedy following of their horſemen, was the onely ſafetie and help of our men.

In thoſe two fights, there vvere wanting of Cæſars men, nine hundred and threeſcore; and horſemen of note, R. Felginas, Tuticanus Gallus, a Senators ſon, C. Felginas, of Placentia, Agrauius, of Puteolis, Sacrativirus, of Capua, fiue Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and thirtie Centurions. But the greateſt part of theſe periſhed in the Trenches, in the fortifications, and on the Riuer bankes, preſt to death with the feare and flight of their fellowes, without any blowe or vvound giuen them. There vvere loſt at that time, thirtie two militarie Enſignes.

Pompey, vpon that fight, was ſaluted by the name of Imperator; which title he then obtained, and ſo ſuffered himſelfe to be ſtiled: howbeit, he vſed it not in any of his Miſsiues, nor yet wore any Laurell in the bundle of Roddes caried before him.

Labienus, hauing begged all the Captiues, cauſed them (for greater oſtentation) to bee brought out in publique; and to giue the more aſſurance to ſuch as were fledde there, from Cæſars partie; calling them by the name of fellow ſouldiers, in great deriſion asked them whether old ſouldiers were wont to flie? and ſo cauſed them all to be ſlaine.

Pompeis partie tooke ſuch an aſſurance and ſpirit vpon theſe things, that they thought no further of the courſe of vvar, but carried themſelues as though they vvere already Victors: not reſpecting (as the cauſe of all this) the paucitie of our men, nor the diſaduantage of the place, and the ſtraightneſſe thereof, the Campe beeing poſſeſſed, and the doubtfull terror both within, and without the works: not yet the Armie diuided into two parts, in ſuch ſort, as neither of them were able to help or ſuccour the other. Neither yet did they adde to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant Incounter, or in forme of battell, but that they receiued more hurt from the narrowneſſe of the place, and from their owne diſorder, then from the Enemy.

And to conclude, they did not remember the common chances, and caſualties of vvarre: wherein oftentimes, very ſmall cauſes, either of falſe ſuſpicion, or of ſuddaine feare, or out of ſcruple of Religion, doe inferre great and heauie loſſes; as often as either by the negligence of the Generall, or the fault of a Tribune,

bune, the Armie is miſordered: but as though they had ouercome by true force of their proweſſe, & that no alteration of things could after happen; they magnified that daies victorie, by Letters and report throughout the whole world.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



OMetimes we may thinke to repaire a loſſe, and thereby hazard a greater misfortune. For, albeit the ſaying be common, that A man muſt ſeek his coate where he loſt it, as Dicers do; yet there is alwaies more certaintie in ſeeking, then in finding: For, the circle of humaine affaires, beeing caried round in a courſe, doth not ſuffer happineſſe to continue with one Partie. And there-vpon it was, that Pittacus dedicated a Ladder to the Temple of Mitylene, to put men in mind of their condition: which is nothing elſe but going vp and downe. The life of a ſouldier is a meere Hermaphrodite, and taketh part of either ſexe of Fortune; and is made by Nature, to beget Happineſs of Aduerſitie, and Miſchances of Good-happe; as if the Cauſe of all cauſes, by intermixing ſweet with ſower, would lead vs to his Prouidence, and conſequently to himſelfe, the firſt Mouer of all Motions.

Humanarũ rerũ circulus eſt, qua rotatus ſemper, eoſdem fortunatos eſſe non ſinit. Herodõt. lib. 1.

Habet has vices conditio mortalium, vt aduerſa ex ſecundis, ſecunda ex aduerſis naſcantur. Plin. in Panieg.

The diuerſitie of theſe euents are ſo inchained together, as one ſeemeth to haue relation to the other: for, this taske admitted not of *Veni, vidi, vici*; nor went on with Alexander, marching ouer the Plaines of Aſia, without rub or counterbuffe. But the buſineſs was diſpoſed, heere to receiue a blowe, & there to gaine a victory: And ſo, this loſſe at Dyrrachium, made the battell at Pharſalia the more glorious; and beautified the courſe of this warre, with variety of chances. The beſt vſe of theſe Diſaſters, is that which Crœſſus made of his croſſe fortunes, *Mei caſus, etſi ingrati, mihi tamen extitere diſciplinæ.*

Herodot. lib. 1.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



AS the Mathematicks, by reaſon of their certaintie, doe admitte demonſtration, as well from the concluſion to the principles, as from the principles to the concluſion: ſo, in the actions of mans life, it is not hard to aſsigne the precedent cauſes, by the ſequell; the euent, beeing oftentimes an vnderſtanding Iudge of things that are paſt. And although it doe no where appeare, what was the cauſe of Labienus leauing Cæſar, yet his inſolent cariage towards theſe Captiues, may make at leaſt a probable coniecture, that his reuolt proceeded from his owne diſpoſition, rather then from any cauſe on Cæſars behalfe. For, where a man hath once done an iniurie, he wil neuer ceaſe heaping one wrong after another, and all to iuſtifie his firſt errour: Where-as on the other ſide, a noble ſpirit, free from ill deſert, will demeane himſelfe, anſwerable to his firſt innocencie.

L'euento è ſpeſſo iudice non imperito delle coſe. Guich. li. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæſar ſpeaketh to the Souldiers concerning this mishap; and forſaketh the Place.

Cæſar.

Cæſar, beeing driuen from his former purpoſes, reſolued to change the vvhole courſe of the warre; ſo that at one & the ſame time omitting the ſiege, and vvithdrawing the Guarizons, hee brought all the Armie into one place, and there ſpake vnto the ſouldiers: exhorting them not to thinke much at thoſe things that had happened, nor to be amuzed therewith; but to counterpoiſe this loſſe (which vvas in a mediocritie) vvith manie happie and fortunate battailes they had gained.

Let them thank Fortune, that they had taken Italy without blowe or wound; that they had quieted and put in peace, both the Prouinces of Spaine, full of warlike men, and directed by skilfull and practiſed Commaunders; that they alſo had ſubdued the fertile bordering Prouinces: and likewiſe, that they ſhould remember, vvith what facilitie they were all tranſported in ſafetie through the midſt of the Enemies fleets; not onely the Hauens and Ports, but all the coaſt being full of ſhipping.

The Philoſopher Crator, was wont to ſay, that To be no occaſion of an ill hap, is a great comfort in any manner of aduerſity. Plut. in conſo. Apo.

If all things fell not out proſperouſly, Fortune was to bee helped by their induſtrie. The loſſe which was receiued, might bee attributed to any man rather then vnto him: for, he had giuen them a ſecure place to fight in; had poſſeſt himſelfe of the Enemies Campe; driuen them out, and ouercome them in fight. But whether it vvere their feare, or any other errour, or Fortune herſelfe, that would interrupt a victorie alreadie gained, euery man was now to labour to repaire the damage they had ſuſtained, with their valour: vvhich if they did indeauour, hee vvould turne their loſſe into aduantage, as it formerly fell out at Gergonia; that ſuch as before were affraid to fight, did of their owne accord, offer themſelues to battell.

Ignominia notauit.

Having ended his ſpeech, hee diſplaced ſome Enſigne-bearers. The Armie, there-vpon, conceiued ſuch a griefe of the blowe that was giuen them, and ſuch a deſire they had to repaire their dishonour, that no man needed the commaund either of a Tribune, or Centurion; and were withall, inflamed with an earneſt deſire of fighting: inſomuch, as many of the higher Orders, thought it requiſite to continue in the place, and referre the cauſe to a battell. But contrariwiſe, Cæſar vvas not aſſured of the terrified ſouldiers, and thought it expedient beſides, to interpoſe ſome time for the ſetling of their minds; fearing likewiſe, leaſt he ſhould be ſtraightned through ſcarcity of Corne, vpon the leauing of his fortifications. And therefore, without any further delay, giuing order for ſuch as were

vvounded and ſicke; as ſoone as it vvas night, hee conuaied all the cariages ſecretly out of the Campe, and ſent them before, towards Apolonia, forbidding them to reſt vntill they came to their lodging; & ſent one legion withall to conuoy them.

That beeing done, he retained two Legions within the Campe: and the reſt, beeing ledde out at diuers Ports, about the fourth watch of the night, hee ſent them the ſame way. And after a little pauſe (for the obſeruing of Military order, and to the end his ſpeedy departure might not be diſcouered) he commaunded them to take vp the cry of truſsing vp their baggage; and preſently ſetting forward, ouertooke the former troope, and ſo vvent ſpeedily out of the ſight of the Campe.

Pompey, hauing notice of his purpoſe, made no delay to follow after: but ayming at the ſame things, either to take them incombered in their march, or aſtoniſhed with feare, brought forth his Armie, and ſent his horſemen before, to ſtay the Reareward. But Cæſar went with ſo ſpeedy a march, that he could not ouertake them, vntill hee came to the Riuer Genuſus; vvhere, by reaſon of the high and vneaſie bankes, the Caualrie ouertooke the taile of the Armie, and ingaged them in fight. Amongſt whom, Cæſar oppoſed his horſemen, and intermingled vvith them foure hundred expedite ſouldiers, of them that had place before the Enſignes: Who ſo much preuailed in the incounter, that they draue them all away before them, ſlew many of them, and returned themſelues in ſafetie to their troopes.

Cæſar, hauing made a iuſt dayes march, according to his firſt determination, and brought his Armie ouer the Riuer Genuſus, he lodged in his old Camp ouer-againſt Aſparagus, and kept all the ſouldiers within the Rampier, commaunding the horſe that went out to forrage, to be preſently taken in, by the Decumane Port.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Præliorum delicta emendationem non accipiunt. Vegeti. lib. 1. cap. 14.

ALbeit that of Cato be true, that an Errour in fight is not capable of amendement: yet out of that which happeneth amiſſe, may alwaies be ſome-what gathered, to repaire the diſaduantage, and to diſpoſe a Partie to better cariage for the future. Accordingly we may note Cæſars notable temper and demeanour, after ſo great a loſſe; recalling the courage of his ſouldiers, & ſetling their minds in a courſe of good reſolution, with as many valuable reaſons as humane wiſdom was able to afford him: without which, all their other aduantages, either of valor or experience & vſe of Armes, or their aſſuredneſs after ſo many victories, or what other thing ſoeuer, that made thē excell all other Armies, had beene vtterlie buried in this ouerthrow. For his better furtherance wherein, he thought it fit to vſe the help of time, before he brought them to the like triall. For, that which is ſaid of griefe, If reaſon wil not giue an end

end vnto it, time will; is to be vnderſtood of any other paſsion of the mind: which cannot poſsible be ſo great, but time will conſume it.

Finem dolendi, qui conſilio non fecerit, tempore inuenit. Senec. Epiſt. 64.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe ſecond thing which commeth to bee handled, is the manner of Cæſars retreit; beeing as exquiſite a patterne in this kind, as is extant in any ſtorie: and is the rather to be conſidered, foraſmuch as it is one of the principall points of Militarie Art, and woorthieſt the knowledge of a Generall, To be able, vpon all occaſions, to make a ſaſe and ſure retreit. For, thoſe that can doe nothing elſe, can eaſily put themſelues into a vvarre: but, to returne them home againe in ſafetie, is that which concerneth the honour of a Leader.

Many are the cauſes, that may moone a Commaunder to diſlodge himſelfe, and to leaue his Aduerſarie for a time: but, the meanes to doe it ſafely depend ſpecially vpon theſe two points; The one is, to aduaunce himſelfe onward at firſt, as farre as poſsibly he can, to the end he may get the ſtart, before the enemie be ready to follow him: and is taught by Xenophon; who, after the death of Cyrus, in the battell againſt King Artaxerxes, brought backe a thouſand men into Greece, from an Armie of two hundred thouſand horſe, that preaced hard vpon them, for fiue hundred leagues together. Which retreit is exactlie ſtoried by the ſaid Author, in ſeauen bookes containing all the difficulties concerning this point: amongſt which, we find this paſſage.

It much imported vs, ſaith hee, to goe as farre at firſt as poſsiblie we could; to the end wee might haue ſome aduantage of ſpace before the Enemie, that preaced ſo neere behind: for, if we once got before, and could out-ſtrip them for a daies iourney or two, it was not poſsible for them to ouertake vs; foraſmuch as they durſt not follow vs with a ſmall troope, & with great forces they could neuer reach vs: beſides the ſcarcitie and want of victuall they fell into, by following vs, that conſumed all before them. *Lib. 2.*

Thus farre goeth Xenophon. And according to this rule, Cæſar ordered his retreit: for, he got the ſtart of Pompey ſo farre the firſt day, by that eight mile hee gained in the after-noone, as it followeth in the next Chapter, that he was neuer able to ouer-take him.

The ſecond thing for the aſſuring of a retreit is, So to prouide againſt the incomberances of an Enemie, that hee may not find it eaſie to attack him that would be gone. Of all retreits which may any way be taken from example of Beaſts, that of the Wolfe is moſt commended: who neuer flies, but with his head turned back vpon his aduerſaries; and ſhewes ſuch teeth, as are not to be truſted.

After the Wolfes manner marched Cæſar: for, howſoeuer the body of his Armie retreited one way, yet they turned ſo terrible a countenaunce towards the Enemie, as was not to be indured. And vpon theſe two hinges, is turned the carriage of a skilfull retreit.

Howbeit, for the better furtherance heereof, it ſhall not bee impertinent to adde heere-vnto ſome inuentions, practiced by great Commaunders, which may ſerue to amuſe an Enemie, vvhile a Generall doth prepare himſelfe to obſerue the former points.

Liuie. 31. King Philip of Macedon, deſirous to leaue the Romaine Armie, ſent a Herauld to the Conſull, to demaund a ceſſation of Armes, while hee buried his dead: which hee purpoſed to performe the next day, with ſome care and ſolemnitie. Which beeing obtained, he diſlodged himſelfe ſecretlie that night, and was got farre on his way before the Romaines perceiued it.

Liuie. 27 Hanniball, to cleere his Armie from that of the Romaines, which was commaunded by the Conſull Nero, about midnight made manie fires, in that part which ſtood next the Romaine Campe: and leauing certaine Pauillions and Lodgings, with ſome few Numidians, to ſhew themſelues vpon the Rampier, hee departed ſecretlie towards Puteolis. As ſoone as it was day, the Romaines (according to their cuſtome) approaching the Counterſcarpe, the Numidians ſhewed themſelues; and then ſuddainely made after their fellowes, as faſt as their horſes could carry them. The Conſull, finding a great ſilence in the Campe, ſent two Light-horſmen to diſcouer the matter: who returning, told him of the Enemies departure.

Lib. 2. de bello Ciuili. In like manner, Varus (as is formerlie related) left a Trumpeter in the Campe, neere Vtica, with certaine Tents; and about midnight, caried his Armie ſecretly into the Towne.

Front. lib. 1. cap. 1. Mithridates, willing to leaue Pompey, that cut him off ſhort; the better to couer his departure, made ſhew of making greater prouiſion of forrage then hee was accuſtomed: appointed conferences the next day: made great ſtore of fires in his Campe; and then in the night eſcaped away.

The Perſians, in the voiage which Solyman the Turke made againſt them, in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie foure, beeing driuen to a Place where the Ottomans thought to haue had a hand vpon them, gathered euerie man a fagot; and making a great heape thereof, ſet them all on fire, in the paſſage of the Turkes Armie: which burned ſo furiouſlie, as the Perſian eſcaped before the Enemie could paſſe by the fire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar goeth-on in his retreit: Pompey *ceaseth to follow him.*

(·.·)

IN like manner, Pompey hauing that day marched a full iourney, betooke himselfe to his former lodging at Asparagus. And, for-that the souldiers vvere not troubled with fortifying their Campe, by reason all the vvorkes were vvhole and intire, many of them went out farre off to get vvood, and to seeke forrage. Others, rising hastily, had left a great part of their luggage behind them; and induced by the neerenesse of the last nights lodging, left their Armes, and vvent backe to fetch those things that vvere behind. Insomuch, as Cæsar, seeing them thus scattered (as before hee had conceiued hovv it vvould fall out) about high noone gaue vvarning to depart, and so ledde out his Armie; and doubling that daies iourney, hee vvent from that place about eight mile: Which Pompey could not doe, by reason of the absence of his souldiers. Cæsar.

The next day, Cæsar, hauing in like manner sent his carriages before, in the beginning of the night, set forward himselfe, about the fourth watch; that if there vvere any suddaine necessity of fighting, he might (at all occasions) be readie with the whole Armie. The like he did the daies following: by which it happened, that in his passage ouer great Riuers, and by difficult and cumbersome waies, he receiued no detriment or losse at all. For, Pompey being staied the first day, and afterwards striuing in vaine, making great iourneys, and yet not ouertaking vs, the fourth day gaue-ouer following, and betooke himselfe to another resolution.

Cæsar, as well for the accommodating of his vvounded men, as also for paying the Armie, reassuring his Allies and Confederates, & leauing Guarizons in the townes, was necessarily to goe to Apolonia: but hee gaue no longer time for the dispatch of these things, then could be spared by him that made haste. For, fearing least Domitius should bee ingaged by Pompeys arriuall, hee desired to make towards him vvith all possible celeritie: his vvhole purpose and resolution, insisting vpon these reasons; That if Pompey did follow after him, hee should by that meanes draw him from the Sea-side, and from such prouisions of vvarre as hee had stored vp at Dyrrachium: and so should compell him to vnder-take the vvarre, vpon equall conditions. If hee vvent ouer into Italie, hauing ioyned his Armie vvith Domitius, hee vvould goe to succour Italie by the way of Illiricum. But, if hee should goe about to besiege Apolonia, or Oricum, and so exclude him from all the Sea-coast, he would then besiege Scipio, and force Pompey to relieue him.

And therefore, hauing writ and ſent to Cn. Domitius, what he would haue done (leauing foure Cohorts to keepe Apolonia; one at Liſſus, and three at Oricum, and diſpoſing ſuch as vvere weake through their wounds, in Epirus and Acarnania) he ſet forward.

OBSERVATIONS.

Confecto iuſto itinere eius diei, ſaith the ſtorie. Which giueth occaſion to inquire, how far this iuſt daies iourney extended. Lipſius ſaith, it was twentie-foure miles, alleaging that of Vegetius; *Militari gradu* (ſaith he) *viginti millia paſſuum horis quinq; duntaxat aſtiuis conficienda: pleno autem gradu qui citatior eſt, totidem horis viginti quatuor*; vnderſtanding *iuſtum iter*, to bee ſo much as was meaſured *militari gradu*. But he that knowes the marching of an Armie, ſhall eaſilie perceiue the impoſsibilitie of marching ordinarilie twentie-foure miles a day. Beſides, this place doth plainly confute it; for, firſt, hee ſaith that hee made a iuſt daies iourney: and then againe, riſing about noone, doubled that daies iourney, and went eight miles. Which ſhewes, that their *Iuſtum iter* was about eight mile: and ſo ſuteth the ſlowe conueiance of an Armie, with more probabilitie then that of Lipſius.

Lib. 5. de Mil. Ro. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. cap. 1.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pompey haſteth to Scipio. Domitius heareth *of the ouerthrowe.*

Caſar.

Pompey alſo, coniecturing at Cæſars purpoſe, thought it requiſite for him to haſten to Scipio, that he might ſuccour him if Cæſar ſhould chaunce to intend that way: but if it ſo fell out that he would not depart from the Sea-ſhore, and Corcyra, as expecting the legions and Caualrie to come out of Italie, he would then attack Domitius. For, theſe cauſes, both of them made haſte, as well to aſsiſt their Parties, as to ſurprize their enemies, if occaſion vvere offered: but Cæſar had turned out of the way, to goe to Apolonia; whereas Pompey had a ready way into Macedonia by Caudania. To which there happened an other incõuenience: that Domitius, who for many daies together had lodged hard-by Scipios Campe, vvas now departed from thence, to make prouiſion of Corne, vnto Heraclea Sentica, which is ſubiect to Caudania; as though Fortune would haue thruſt him vpon Pompey. Moreouer, Pompey had writ to all the States and Prouinces, of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, in farre greater tearmes then the thing it ſelfe was: and had noiſed it abroad, that Cæſar vvas beaten, had loſt all his forces, and fled away.

Which

Which reports, made the waies very hard and dangerous to our men, & drew many States from Cæsars partie: whereby it happened, that many Messengers beeing sent, both from Cæsar to Domitius, and from Domitius to Cæsar, vvere forced to turne back againe, and could not passe. Howbeit, some of the followers of Roscillus and Aegus (who as is before shewed, had fled vnto Pompey) meeting on the way vvith Domitius Discouerers (vvhether it were out of their old acquaintance, hauing liued together in the vvarres of Gallia; or otherwise, out of vaine-glorie) related all vvhat had happened; not omitting Cæsars departure, or Pompeis comming. Whereof Domitius being informed, and beeing but scarce foure houres before him, did (by the helpe of the enemy) avoide a most eminent danger, and met with Cæsar at Eginum: which is a towne situate vpon the frontires of Thessalia.

OBSERVATIONS.

IOy is an opening and dilating motion; and oftentimes openeth the bodie so wide, as it letteth out the soule: which returneth not again. And in like manner, the causes of all such exsultations, doe for the most part, spread themselues further then is requisite.

Pompey, hauing victorie in hope, rather then in hand, boasted as though all were his: Not considering, that the happinesse or disaster of humane actions, doth not depend vpon the particulars, rising in the course thereof, which are variable and diuers; but according as the euent shall censure it. Wherevpon, the Russes haue a saying in such cases, that Hee, that laughes afterward, laughes too: as Cæsar did.

Humanarũ actionum felicitas infelicitasque non è singularibus rerum particulis quæ multæ sunt et variæ, sed ex euentu iudicantur. Dionys. Hal. lib. 9.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Cæsar sacketh Gomphos, in Thessalia.

CAesar, hauing ioyned both Armies together, came to Gomphos, vvhich is the first towne of Thessalia by the way leading out of Epirus. These people, a few daies before, had of their owne accord, sent Embassadours to Cæsar, offering all their meanes and abilities to be disposed at his pleasure; requiring also a Guarizon of souldiers from him. But now they had heard of the ouer-throwe at Dyrrachium: which vvas made so great, and so preuailed vvith them, that Androstenes, Prætor of Thessalia (chusing rather to be a partaker of Pompeis victorie, then a companion with Cæsar in aduersitie) had drawne all the multitude of seruaunts and children out of the Country, into the towne; and shutting vp the Gates, dispatched Messengers to Scipio & Pompey, for succour to be sent vnto him, in that hee was not able to hold out a long siege. Scipio, vnderstanding of the departure of the Armies from Dyrrachium, had

had brought the legions to Lariſſa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neere vnto Theſſalia.

Cæſar, hauing fortified his Campe, commaunded Mantilets, Ladders, and Hurdles to be made ready for a ſurprize: which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the ſouldiers, and ſhewed them what need there was (for the relieuing of their vvants, and ſupplying of all neceſſaries) to poſſeſſe thẽſelues, of an opulent and full towne; as alſo by their example, to terrifie the other Citties: and what they did, to doe ſpeedily, before it could be ſuccoured. Where-vpon, by the ſingular induſtrie of the ſouldiers, the ſame day he came thither, giuing the aſſault after the ninth houre (notwithſtanding the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before ſunne-ſetting, and gaue it to the ſouldiers to bee rifled: And preſently remooving from thence, came to Metropolis, in ſuch ſort, as he out-went as well Meſſengers, as newes of taking the Towne.

After three of the clocke in the afternoone.

The Metropolitanes, induced with the ſame reſpects, at firſt ſhutte vp their gates, and filled their vvalls with Armed men: but afterwards, vnderſtanding by the Captiues (whom Cæſar cauſed to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they preſently opened their gates; and by that meanes vvere all preſerued in ſafetie. Which happineſſe of theirs, beeing compared vvith the deſolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Theſſalia (excepting them of Lariſſa; which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yeelded obedience to Cæſar, and did what he commaunded. And, hauing gotte a place plentious of Corne, which was now almoſt ripe, he reſolued to attend Pompeis comming; and there to proſecute the reſidue of that warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Lib. 5. Obſidio eius vrbis quam citò capere velis, et vrgenda et premẽda.

LIuie ſaith, that the ſiege of that Place which we would quicklie take, muſt be proſecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Cæſar obſerued: for, he followed it ſo hard, that he tooke the Towne fortified with exceeding high walls, in foure houres ſpace, or thereabouts, after he beganne to aſſault it. Which, Plutarch ſaith, was ſo plentifully ſtored of all neceſſarie prouiſion, that the ſouldiers found there a refection of all the miſeries and wants they ſuffered at Dyrrachium: inſomuch as they ſeemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage; by reaſon of the vvine, victuals & riches of that place: which were all giuen vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; *Lex inter omnes homines perpetua eſt, quando belligerantium vrbs capta fuerit, cuncta eorum eſſe qui eam ceperint, et corpora eorum qui in vrbe ſunt et bona.*

Lib. 6. de Inſti. Cyri.

Bello lex acquirendi iuſtiſsima. Diony. Halicar. in exper. legat.

Appian ſaith, the Germaines were ſo drunke, that they made all men laugh at them: and, that if Pompey had ſurpriſed thẽ in theſe diſorders, they might haue paid deare for their entertainement. Hee addeth moreouer (to ſhew the ſtiffeneſſe of the inhabitants againſt Cæſar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Perſonages, ſtiffe-dead vpon the ground, without appearance of any wound, hauing their goblets by them: and hee that gaue

gaue the poiſon, ſitting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the reſt. And as Phillip, hauing taken Acroliſſe, in the Country of the Ictirians, drew all the reſt to his obedience, through the feare they conceiued of their vſage: ſo the conſideration of the calamitie which befell Gomphos, and the good intreatie which the Metropolitans found, by yielding vnto Cæſar, brought all the other Cities, vnder his commaund. *Polyb. lib. 8.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Theſſalia: his Armie conceiued aſſured hope of victorie.

Pompey, a few daies after, came into Theſſalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, firſt gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios ſouldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and authoritie, commaunding the Trumpets to attend his pleaſure, for matter of direction, and that he ſhould vſe a Prætoriall Pauillion. *Cæſar.*

Pompey, hauing ſtrengthened himſelfe, vvith an addition of another great Armie, euery man was confirmed in his former opinion; and their hope of victorie vvas increaſed: ſo that the longer they delaied the matter, the more they ſeemed to prolong their returne into Italie. And albeit Pompey proceeded ſlowelie and deliberatly in the buſineſs, yet it was but a daies worke, howſoeuer hee might be well pleaſed with authoritie and commaund; and to vſe men both of Conſular dignitie, and of the Prætorian order, as his vaſſalls and ſeruaunts.

And now they began to diſpute openly, concerning rewards, and dignities of Prelacie: and quoted out thoſe, which from yeere to yeere were to be choſen Conſuls. Others begged the houſes and goods of ſuch as vvere with Cæſar. Beſides, a great controuerſie that further grew betweene them in open councell, whether L. Hertius were not to be regarded at the next election of Prætors, beeing abſent, and imploied by Pompey againſt the Parthians. And, as his friends vrged Pompey with his promiſe giuen at his departure, requiring hee might not now be deceiued through his greatneſſe & authoritie; the reſt, running a courſe of as great danger and labour, ſaw no reaſon (by way of contradiction) why one man ſhould bee reſpected before all others. And now Domitius, Scipio, and Spinther Lentulus, began to grow to high words in their daily meetings, concerning Cæſars Prieſthood: Lentulus alleadging, by way of oſtentation, the honour that was due to his age and authoritie; Domitius vaunting of the credit and fauour he had at Rome: and Scipio, truſting to Pompeis alliance. Moreouer, Atius Rufus accuſed L. Affranius to Pompey, for betraying the Armie in Spaine. L. Domitius

Domitius gaue out in councell, That all ſuch as vvere of the rank of Senators, ſhould be inquired vpon by a triple Commiſsion: and that thoſe which were perſonally in the warre, ſhould be of the Commiſsion to iudge the reſt; as well ſuch as vvere at Rome, as thoſe that did no ſeruice in this warre. The firſt Commiſſion, ſhould be to cleare ſuch as had well-deſerued, from all danger. The ſecond, Penall: and the third, Capitall. And to conclude, euery man laboured, either to haue a reward, or to bee auenged of his Enemie. Neither did they thinke ſo much of the meanes how to ouercome, as how to vſe the victorie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Comineus. THe Tale which the Emperour Frederick related to the Commiſsioners of Lewis the eleuenth, King of Fraunce (concerning the parting betweene them of the Territories of Charles, Duke of Burgundie) Not to ſell the skin before they had killed the Beare; might well haue fitted theſe of Pompeis Partie, that contended for offices before they fell, and diſpoſed of the skinnes ere they had tooke the Beares: Not ſparing out of their impatiencie to tax Pompey of ſpinning out the warre, for the ſweetneſſe he found in authoritie & commaund; as Agamemnon did at Troy. Inſomuch, as Plutarch reporteth, That one Fauonius, imitating Catos ſeuerity & freenes of ſpeech, went about throughout all the Campe, demaunding, Whether it were not great pittie, that the ambitious humour of one man, ſhould keepe them that yeere, from eating the figs and delicate fruite of Thuſculum? And all men, generally, ſtood ſo affected, as Pompey could not withſtand their inforcements. For, as Florus ſaith; *Milites otium, ſocij morã, principes ambitum Ducis increpabant.* Onely Cato thought it not fitte, to hazard themſelues vpon a deſperate man, that had neither hope or help, but in Fortune. But, as in moſt things beſides, ſo in this he ſtoode alone, and could not preuaile againſt a multitude.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

In orat. pro Planco. *PLacere ſibi ternas tabellas dari, ad indicandum ijs, qui erant ordinis Senatorij*, ſaith the ſtorie; which *Tabellas*, I haue tranſlated Commiſsions, as beſt ſuting our Engliſh phraſe: but the meaning was as followeth.

It appeareth by hiſtorie, that the Romaine people, as well in election of Magiſtrates, as in cauſes criminall, did giue their voices openly & aloud, for ſixe hundred yeeres together; vntill one Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, perceiuing that the Commons, for feare of the great Ones, durſt not diſpoſe of their voices freely, and as they would, publiſhed an Edict, that The people ſhould giue their voices by Balating. Which law, Tully commendeth; *Grata eſt tabella quæ frontes operit, hominum mentes tegit, datque eam libertatem quòd velint faciant.* And in another place, hee calleth it *Principiũ iuſtiſsimæ*

iuſtiſsimæ libertatis. Vpon an election of Magiſtrates, the balls were giuen according to the number of the Competitors; that euery man might chuſe as he pleaſed.

In criminall Cauſes, euery man had three: one marked with A. ſignifying Abſolution, and another with C. for Condemnation, and another with N. L. for *Non liquet*, which they called *Ampliatio*, deſirous to be further informed; which our Grand Iuries doe expreſſe by an *Ignoramus*. And in this manner, would Domitius haue had his fellow Senators either quitted or condemned. The balls which were giuen vpon the making of a law, were two: one marked with V. R. which ſignified *Vti rogas*, that it might goe on: and the other with A. ſignifying *Antiquo*; reiecting it. For, as Feſtus noteth, *Antiquare eſt in modum priſtinum reducere.*

And in this manner they would haue proceeded againſt Cæſars Partizans, beeing altogether miſtaken, in the aſſurance of their happineſs: the continuance whereof, depended vpon Vertue, and not vpon Fortune.

Virtus felicitatis menſura: non fortuna. Dio. Halicar. lib. 2.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæſar, finding the Enemy to offer battell in an *indifferent Place*, prepareth to vndertake him.

Cæſar.

PRouiſion of Corne beeing made, and the ſouldiers well reſolued (to which end he had interpoſed a ſufficient ſpace of time, after the battell at Dyrrachium) Cæſar thought it time now to try what purpoſe or will Pompey had to fight. And therefore, drawing the Armie out of the Campe, hee imbattelled his troopes, firſt, vpon the place, and ſome-what remooued from Pompeis Campe: but euery day following, he went further off his own trenches, and brought his Armie vnder the hills whereon the Enemy lay incamped: vvhich made his Armie daily the more bold and aſſured, keeping continually his former courſe with his horſemen; who becauſe they were leſſe in number by manie degrees then thoſe of Pompeis partie, hee commaunded certaine luſty young men, choſen out of them that ſtood before the Enſignes for their nimble & ſwift running, to fight amongſt the horſemen: and by reaſon of their daily practiſe, had learned the vſe of that kind of fight. So that one thouſand of our Caualrie, in open and Champaine places, would when need were, vndergoe the charge of ſeauen thouſand of theirs, and were not much terrified vvith the multitude of them. For, in that time they made a fortunate incounter, and ſlew one of the two Sauoiens, that had formerly fled to Pompey, with diuers others.

Pompey, hauing his Campe vpon a hill, imbattelled his Armie at the lower foote thereof, to ſee if he could get Cæſar to thruſt himſelfe into an vnequall and diſaduantageous place. Cæſar, thinking that Pompey vvould by no meanes bee drawne

drawne to battell, thought it the fitteſt courſe for him to ſhift his Campe, and to be alwaies in mooning: hoping by often remooues from place to place, he ſhould be better accõmodated for prouiſion of Corne; and withall, might vpon a march, find ſome occuſion to fight. Beſides, hee ſhould wearie Pompeis Armie, not accuſtomed to trauell, with daily and continuall iourneys: and there-vpon, he gaue the ſigne of diſlodging.

But, as the Tents were taken downe, it was a little before obſerued, that Pompeis Armie was aduaunced ſomewhat further from their Trenches, then ordinarily they were accuſtomed; ſo that it ſeemed they might fight in an equall and indifferent place. Whereupon, Cæſar, when his troopes were already in the gates ſetting out; It behoueth vs, ſaith he, to put off our remouing for the preſent, and bethinke our ſelues of fighting, as we haue alwaies deſired; for, we ſhall not eaſily hereafter find the like occaſion: and preſently drew out his forces. Pompey alſo, as it was afterwards knowne, was reſolued (at the inſtance of all that were about him) to giue battell; for, hee had giuen out in councell ſome few daies before, that he would ouerthrowe Cæſars Armie, before the troopes came to ioyne battell.

Prima egregiorum ducum ſapientia victoriã ſine periculo cõparare. Polyæ. li. 1. ſtratage.

And, as many that ſtood by wondered at it, I know, ſaith he, that I promiſe almoſt an incredible matter: but take the ground whereupon I ſpeake it, that you may vndergoe the buſineſs with more aſſurance. I haue perſwaded the Caualrie, and they haue promiſed to accompliſh it, that whẽ they come neere to ioyne, they ſhall attack Cæſars right Cornet on the open ſide; and ſo the Army being circumvented behind, ſhall be amuſed and routed, before our men can caſt a vveapon at them. Whereby, we ſhall end the warre without danger of the Legions, or almoſt without any wound receiued: which is not difficult or hard to doe, for vs that are ſo ſtrong in horſe; and vvithall, gaue order that they ſhould be ready againſt the next day, foraſmuch as the occaſion was offered (according as they had often intended) not to deceiue the opinion which other men had of their proweſſe and valour.

Labienus, ſeconding this ſpeech, as contemning Cæſars forces, extolled Pompeis reſolution to the skies. Doe not thinke, Pompey, ſaith he, that this is the Armie vvhere-with he conquered Gallia, or Germania; I was preſent my ſelfe at all thoſe battells, and doe not ſpeake raſhly vvhat Iam ignorant off. There is a very ſmall peece of that Army remaining: a great part of them are dead, as cannot otherwiſe be choſen, in ſo many battells. The Peſtilence (the laſt Autumne) in Italy conſumed many of them; many are gone home, and many are left in the Continent. Haue ye not heard, that the Cohorts which are now at Brunduſium, are made and raiſed of ſuch as remained behind there to recouer their healthes? Theſe forces that ye ſee, were the laſt yeere gathered, of the Muſters made in the hither Gallia; and moſt of them, of the Colonies beyond the Po: and yet all the flower and ſtrength of them, was taken away in the laſt two ouerthrowes at Dyrrachium.

When he had ſpoken theſe things, he tooke a ſolemne oath, not to returne into the Campe but with victorie, exhorting the reſt to doe the like. Pompey, commending him, tooke the ſame oath: neither was there any man that refuſed it.

Theſe

These things beeing thus caried in the councell, they rose vp, and departed, with great hope and ioy of all men; as hauing already conceiued victory in their minds: and the rather, because they thought that nothing could be spoken vainlie, by so skilfull a Commaunder, in so weightie and important a Cause.

OBSERVATIONS.

CONcerning the fashion of the Caualrie, in which either Partie reposed so much confidence, wee are to note, that the Romaines had two sorts of horsemen; the one compleatlie armed (according to their manner) and incorporated in the bodie of their Legions, whose entertainement, was thrice as much as the foote-men. *Aeque impotens postulatum fuit* (saith Liuie) *vt de stipendio equitum (merebant autem triplex ea tempestate) ara demerentur.* And the other, were as light-horsemen, which they called *Alarij*. *Lib. 7.*

The first sort were thus armed, as Iosephus witnesseth; They wore a sword on their right side, somewhat longer then that of the footmen, & caried a long staffe or speare in their hand, a Target at their horse side, and three or more Darts in a quiuer, with broad heads, and not much lesse then their staues; hauing such head-peeces and corselets as the foote-men had. *Lib. 3. Eucid.*

The light-armed men, had either light Darts, or Boawe and Arrowes. And doubtlesse, their chiefest seruice was with their casting weapons. And accordingly, Tully putteth his sonne in mind, of the praise hee had got in Pompeis Armie (where he commaunded a wing of horse); *Equitando, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.* *2 Offic.*

And, as their seruice consisted in breaking their Staues vpon an Enemy, & in casting their Darts; so wee exercise the practice of the former, in our triumphs at Tilt; and the Spaniards the later, in their *Iocuo di cane.*

Our moderne horsemen, are either Launciers, Petronelliers, or Pistoliers. The Petronelliers do discharge at a distance; making their left hand that holds the bridle, their rest: which is vncertaine, and to no great effect.

The Pistoliers, that will doe some-what to purpose, doe come vp close one to another, and discharge his Pistoll in his enemies necke, or vnder the corselet, about the flanke or seate of a man; and commonly misseth not.

I haue seene a deuice to vse a Musket on horse-backe, which if it prooue as seruiceable as is by some conceiued, will be of great aduantage.

CHAP. XXXI.

The manner of imbattelling their Armies.

Caſar.

AS Caſar approached neere vnto Pompeis Campe, hee obſerued his Armie to be imbattelled in this manner; There were in the left Cornet two legions, which in the beginning of theſe broiles, were by order and decree of Senate, taken from Caſar; whereof one was called the firſt, & the other the third: and vvith them ſtood Pompey. Scipio had the middle ſquadron, with the legions he brought out of Syria.

The Legion of Cilicia, ioyned with the Spaniſh Cohorts, vvhich Afranius brought with him, made the right Cornet. Theſe Pompey held to be very ſtrong. The reſt of the troopes were interlaced, betweene the middle Squadron, and the Cornets, and made in all one hundred and tenne Cohorts, vvhich amounted to fiftie-fiue thouſand men: beſides two thouſand old ſouldiers, and men of note, whom he had called out to that warre, and diſperſed them ouer all the Armie. The reſt of the cohorts, which were ſeauen, he had left in the Campe, or diſpoſed about the forts neere adioyning. The right Cornet was flanked with a Riuer, that had high & cumberſome banks: and thereupon he put all his Caualrie, together vvith the Archers and Slingers in the left Cornet.

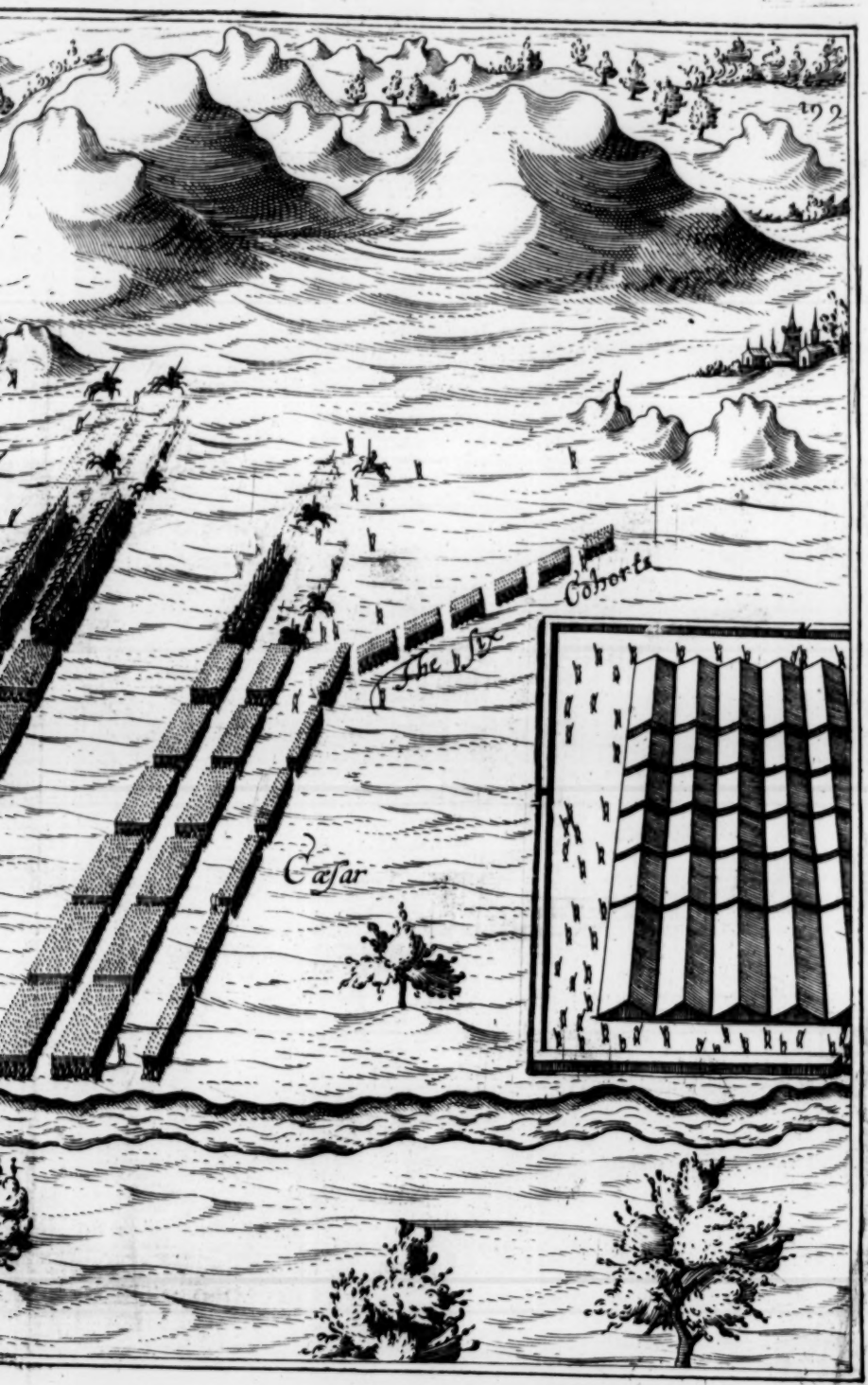
Caſar, obſeruing his former cuſtome, placed the tenth legion in the right Cornet, and the ninth in the left; albeit they were very much weakened in the fights at Dyrrachium: but to this he ſo ioyned the eight, that he ſeemed almoſt to make one of two, and commaunded them to ſuccour each other. Hee had in all about eighty cohorts, which made twenty-two M. men. He left two cohorts to keepe the Campe, and gaue the left Cornet to Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the middle Squadron to Cn. Domitius, and put himſelfe oppoſite to Pompey. And vvithall, hauing well obſerued theſe things (according as I haue formerly declared) fearing leaſt the right Cornet ſhould be incloſed about with the multitude of the Caualrie, he ſpeedily drew ſixe cohorts out of the third battell, & of them he made a fourth, to incounter the horſemen: and ſhewed them what hee would haue done; admoniſhing vvithall, that the victorie of that day conſiſted in the valour of thoſe cohorts, commaunding the third battell; and likewiſe the whole Armie not to ioyne battell without order from him: which when he thought fit, he would giue them notice thereof by an Enſigne.

In manibus veſtris quantus ſit Caſar habetis. Lucan. lib. 7.

And going about to incourage them to fight, according to the vſe of vvarre, he put them in mind of his fauours, and his carriage towards them from time to time; and ſpecially, that they themſelues were witneſſes, with what labour and meanes he had ſought for peace, as well by treaty with Vatinius, as alſo by imploying Claudius to Scipio: and likewiſe how he had indeauoured at Oricum with Libo, that Embaſſadors might be ſent to treat of theſe things. Neither was he willing at any time to miſſpend the ſouldiers blood, or to depriue the Cõmon-wealth of either of thoſe Armies.

This


Pompeij


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Cohorte
The Six
Cæsar

This ſpeech beeing deliuered, the ſouldiers, both requiring and longing with an ardent deſire to fight, hee commaunded the ſigne of battell to bee giuen by a Trumpet.

OBSERVATIONS.

COncerning the order vſed in diſpoſing theſe Armies, for the triall of this Cauſe, it appeareth by the ſtorie, that Pompey ſet two Legions in his left Cornet, which are heere named the firſt and the third. Howbeit, Lucan ſaith, that thoſe Legions were the firſt and the fourth.

——Cornus tibi cura ſiniſtri,
Lentule, cum primâ, quæ tum fuit, optima bello,
Et quartâ legione datur. ——

The middle ſquadron was ledde by Scipio, with the legions he brought out of Syria, which were alſo two; *Expectabat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas*, as it is in the ſecond Chapter of this booke.

In the right Cornet, was the Cilician legion, with the Cohorts that Afranius brought out of Spaine: which, amounting to the number of a Legion, made that Cornet equall to the reſt. And ſo of theſe ſixe Legions, which were the ſtrength and ſinowes of his Armie, hee faſhioned his battell into a middle Squadron, and two Cornets. His other forces, beeing young ſouldiers, hee diſpoſed in the diſtances, betweene the Cornets and that middle Squadron.

Frontinus, ſpeaking of this point, ſaith; *Legiones ſecundum virtutem, firmiſſimas in medio, et in cornu locauit; ſpacia his interpoſita Tyronibus ſuppleuit.* His number of men, by our text, was fiftie-fiue thouſand; but Plutarch maketh them not aboue fortie-fiue thouſand. *Lib. 2. cap. 3.*

Cæſar had not halfe ſo many men, and yet made a triple battell; but not ſo thick or deepe with Legions: for, in the right Cornet he put the tenth Legion, and in the left the ninth and the eight; beeing both weake and farre ſpent, by the former ouer-throwes. Of the other Legions he maketh no mention: but it ſeemeth they filled vp the diſtances betweene the Cornets and the bodie of the Armie; and were as fleſh to thoſe ſinowes & bones, which out of the prerogatiue of their valour, tooke the place of the Cornets, and the middle bulke of the battell. And fearing leaſt his right Cornet ſhould be circumuented, by the multitude of their Caualrie, hee drew ſixe Cohorts out of his third or laſt battell, to make a fourth battell to oppoſe the Caualrie: which gotte him the victorie. For, howſoeuer the Text ſaith, *Singulas cohortes detraxit:* yet Plutarch ſaith plainly, that Thoſe Cohorts he thus tooke, were ſixe, and amounted to three thouſand men: which riſeth to the number of ſo many Cohorts. And Appian, agreeing hereunto, ſaith, that his fourth battell conſiſted of three thouſand men. Frontinus likewiſe affirmeth, hee tooke out ſixe Cohorts, *et tenuit in ſubſidio, ſed dextro latere conuerſas in obliquum:* Where-vnto that of Lucan agreeth; *Singulas Cohortes detraxit.* *Lib. 2. ca. 3.*

Tenet obliquas poſt ſigna cohortes. *Lib. 7.*

Which is thus to be vnderſtood: that they turned their faces towards the left Cornet of Pompeis Armie, that they might bee the readier to receiue the Caualrie comming on to incloſe Cæſars right wing; as beeing ſure of the other ſide, which was fenced with a Riuer and a Mariſh.

Touching Cæſars Speech to the ſouldiers, it ſeemed like that of Themiſtocles, at the battell of Salamina; where Zerxes made a long Oration to encourage the Perſians, and loſt the day: Themiſtocles ſpake but a few words to the Greekes, and got the victorie. How-ſoeuer; one thing is not to bee omitted, that Plutarch, and ſuch others as haue dipped their pennes, either in the ſweat, or in the blood of this battell, doe all agree, that Cæſar had not aboue twentie-two thouſand men.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Battell beginneth; and Cæſar *ouercommeth.*

Cæſar.

Here vvas one Craſtinus, in Cæſars Armie, called out to this vvarre, vvho the yeere before had ledde the firſt companie of the tenth Legion; a man of ſingular valour: vvho vpon the ſigne of battell giuen, Follow me, ſaith he, as many of you as were of my company; and doe that indeauor to your Emperor, which you haue alwaies beene willing to performe. This is the onely battell remaining vnfought: which beeing ended, He ſhall be reſtored to his dignitie, and wee to our libertie. And vvithall, looking towards Cæſar, I will, ſaith hee, O Emperour, ſo carry my ſelfe this day, that thou ſhalt giue mee thanks, either aliue or dead. And when he had thus ſpoken, he was the firſt that ranne out of the right Cornet: & about one hundred and twentie elected ſouldiers of the ſame Centurie followed voluntarily after him.

There vvas ſo much ſpace left betweene both the battells, as might ſerue either Armie to meete vpon the charge. But Pompey had commaunded his men to receiue Cæſars aſſault, and to vnder-goe the ſhock of his Armie, vvithout mooving from the place wherein they ſtood (and that by the aduice of C. Triarius) to the end that the firſt running out & violence of the ſouldiers being broken, & the battell diſtended, they that ſtood perfit in their Orders, might ſet vpon thē that were ſcattered & diſperſed; hoping, the piles would not fall ſo forceablie vpon the Armie ſtanding ſtill, as when they aduaunced forward to meet them: And that it vvould fall out withall, that Cæſars ſouldiers, hauing twice as farre to runne, vvould by that meanes be out of breath, and ſpent vvith vvearineſſe.

Which, in my opinion, was againſt all reaſon: for, there is a certaine incitation and alacritie of ſpirit, naturally planted in euery man, vvhich is inflamed with a deſire to fight. Neither ſhould anie Commaunder repreſſe or reſtraine the ſame, but rather increaſe it, and ſet it forward.

Nor

Nor vvas it in vaine of ancient time ordained, that the Trumpets ſhould euerie vvhere ſound, and euery man take vp a ſhout; but that they thought theſe things did both terrifie the Enemy, and incite their owne Party.

But our ſouldiers, vpon the ſigne of Battell, running out vvith their Piles ready to be throwne, and perceiuing that Pompeis ſouldiers did not make out to meet them (as men taught with long vſe, and exerciſed in former fights) ſtopt their courſe of their owne accord, & almoſt in the mid-way ſtood ſtill; that they might not come to blowes vpon the ſpending of their ſtrength: And after a little reſpite of time, running on againe, threw their piles, and preſently drew their ſwords, as Cæſar had commaunded them. Neither were Pompeis ſouldiers wanting in this buſineſs; for, they receiued the piles which vvere caſt at them, tooke the ſhock of the Legions, kept their ranks, caſt their piles, and betooke them to their ſwords.

At the ſame time, the Caualrie, according as was commaunded them, iſſued out from Pompeis left Cornet, & the whole multitude of Archers thruſt themſelues out. Whoſe aſſault our horſemen were not able to indure, but fell backe a little, from the place wherein they ſtood: vvhereby Pompeis horſemen, beganne to preſſe them with more eagerneſs; and to put themſelues in ſquadrons, to incloſe the Army about. Which Cæſar perceiuing, he gaue the ſigne of aduauncing forward, to the fourth Battell, whom he had made out of the number of the Cohorts; vvho came with ſuch a fling vpon Pompeis horſemen, that none of them were able to ſtand before them; and turning their backs, did not onely giue place, but fledde all as faſt as they could, to the higheſt Hills: whereby, the Archers and Slingers, beeing left naked vvithout ſuccour, were all put to the ſword. And vvith the ſame violence, thoſe Cohorts incompaſſed about the left Cornet, notvvithſtanding any reſiſtance that could be made by Pompeis partie, and charged them behind, vpon their backs.

At the ſame time, Cæſar commaunded the third Battell, vvhich as yet ſtoode ſtill, and vvere not remooued, to aduaunce forward: by meanes of which freſh and ſound men, relieuing ſuch as vvere faint and wearie, as alſo, that others did charge them behind vpon their backs, Pompeis partie were able no longer to indure it, but all turned their backs and fledde.

Neither vvas Cæſar deceiued in his opinion, that the beginning of the victorie vvould growe from thoſe Cohorts vvhich hee placed in the fourth Battell, againſt the horſemen; according as hee himſelfe had openly ſpoken, in his incouragement to the ſouldiers. For, by them, firſt the Caualrie was beaten; by them, the Archers and Slingers vvere ſlaine; by them, Pompeis Battell vvas circumuented on the left Cornet, and by their meanes they began to flie.

As ſoone as Pompey ſaw his Caualrie beaten, and perceiued the part vvherein hee moſt truſted, to bee amuſed and affrighted, and diſtruſting the reſt, hee foorth-with left the Battell, and conuaied himſelfe on horſeback into the Camp. And ſpeaking to the Centurions that had the vvatch at the Pretorian gate with a loud voice, as all the ſouldiers might heare, ſaid, Keepe the Campe, and defend it diligently, to preuent any hard caſualtie that may happen. In the meane while, I will goe about to the other Ports, to ſettle the Guards of the Campe.

And hauing thus ſaid, hee vvent into the Prætorium, diſtruſting the maine point, and yet expecting the euent.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

POmpey ſo caried himſelfe in the courſe of this warre, as he rather ſeemed a ſufferer then a doer; neuer diſpoſing his Armie for any attempt or on-ſet, but onely when hee brake out of the place wherein he was beſieged at Dyrrachium. And accordingly he gaue order, that In the maine action and point of triall, his ſouldiers ſhould ſuffer and ſuſtaine the aſſault, rather then otherwiſe. But, whether hee did well or no, hath ſince been in queſtion. Cæſar vtterly diſliked it, as a thing contrary to reaſon. *Eſt quædam*, ſaith he, *animi incitatio atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ ſtudio pugnæ incenditur; hanc non reprimere ſed augere Imperatores debent.* *Plutarch.*

Agreeable whereevnto, is that of Cato the Great; that In caſes of battell, an Enemy is to be charged with all violence. And to that purpoſe it is requiſite, to put the ſouldiers (at ſome reaſonable diſtance) into a Poſterne of vaunting and defiance, with menaces and cries of terrour; and then to ſpring forward in ſuch manner, as may make them fall vpon their enemies with greater furie: As Champions or Wraſtlers, before they buckle, ſtretch out their limbes, and make their floriſhes as may beſt ſerue to aſſure themſelues, and diſcourage their aduerſaries; According as we read of Hercules & Antæus.

Ille Cleonæi proiecit terga Leonis,
Antæus lib.ci, perfudit membra liquore
Hoſpes, Olympiacæ ſeruato more Paleſtræ.
Ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem,
Auxilium membris, calidas infudit arenas. *Lucan. lib. 4.*

Howbeit, foraſmuch as all men are not of one temper, but require ſeuerall faſhions to tune their mindes to the true note of a battell, wee ſhall find ſeuerall Nations, to haue ſeuerall vſances in this point. The Romaines (as appeareth by this of Cæſar) were of auncient time accuſtomed to ſound Trumpets, and Hoboies, in all parts of the Armie, and to take vp a great clamour and ſhout: whereby the ſouldiers (in their vnderſtanding) were incouraged, and the Enemie affrighted. Where-as, contrariwiſe, the Greekes went alwaies with a cloſe and ſilent mouth, as hauing more to doe then to ſay to their Enemies. And, Thucidides, writing of the Lacedemonians (the flower of Greece for matter of Armes) ſaith, that Inſteed of Trumpets, and Cornets to incite them, they vſed the ſweet harmonie of Flutes, to moderate and qualifie their paſſions, leaſt they ſhould be tranſported with bridleſs impetuoſity. *Homer. Iliad. 3.*

It is reported, that Marſhall Biron, the Father, ſeemed to diſlike of our Engliſh march (hearing it beaten by the Drummes) as too ſlowe, & of no encouragement: and yet it ſo fitteth our Nation (as Sir Roger Williams then anſwered)

ſwered) as wee haue diuers times ouer-runne all France with it. Howſoeuer, the euent of this battell is ſufficient to diſproue Pompeis errour heerein, and to make good what Cæſar commaunded.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THeſe ſixe Cohorts, which made the fourth battell, did ſo incounter Pompeis Caualrie, that they were not able to with ſtand them. It is ſaid, that Cæſar gaue them order, not to fling their Piles as commonly they did, but to hold thē in their hands like a Pike or a Iauelin, and make onely at the faces of thoſe Gallants, & men at Armes on horſeback. For the holding of them in their hands, I doe not vnderſtand it, and can not conceiue how they could reach more then the next ranks vnto them in that manner. But for making at the faces of the Caualrie, Florus ſaith, that Cæſar, as he galloped vp and downe the ranks, was heard to let fall bloody and bitter words, but very patheticall, and effectuall for a victorie: as thus, Souldier, caſt right at the face; Wher-as Pompey called to his Men, to ſpare their fellow Cittizens. *Lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Eutropius, in his Epitome of Suetonius, affirmeth the ſame thing, both of the one and of the other: and Lucan ſeemeth to auerre the ſame, concerning that of Cæſar;

Aduerſoſque iubet ferro contundere vultus. *Lib. 7.*

Frontinus hath it thus; *C. Cæſar, cùm in partibus Pompeianis, magna equitũ Romanorum eſſet manus, eaque armorum ſcientia milites conficeret, ora oculoſque eorum gladijs peti iuſſit, et ſic aduerſam faciem cædere coegit.* *Lib. 4. cap. 7.*

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

AMongſt theſe memorialls, Craſtinus may not be forgotten, being the firſt man that began the battell, whom Plutarch calleth C. Craſsinius; and ſaith, that Cæſar ſeeing him in the morning, as hee came out of his Tent, asked him what hee thought of the ſucceſſe of the battell? Craſtinus, ſtretching out his right hand vnto him, cried out aloud, O Cæſar, thine is the victorie; and this day ſhalt thou commend mee, either aliue or dead: And accordingly, brake afterwards out of the ranks; and running amongſt the midſt of his Enemies, with manie that followed him, made a great ſlaughter. At laſt, one ranne him into the mouth, that the ſwords point came out at his neck, and ſo ſlew him. *In the life of Pompey.*

By him, and others of like courage and worth, was Cæſar raiſed from the extreamitie of his wants, and the diſgrace of his former loſſes, to the chiefeſt height of earthly glory: And heerein might well aſſume, vnto himſelfe, that which was formerly ſaid of the people, *Magna populi Romani fortuna, ſed ſemper in malis maior reſurrexit*; Together with that of Plutarch, *Res inuicta Romanorum* *Florus.*

Lib. 4. *Infelix, quanta Dominum virtute parasti?*

Romanorum arma. Lucan ſpeaking of Sæua, formerly mentioned, ſaith; He ſhewed a great deale of valour to get Rome a Lord: but vpon Craſtinus, hee laieth a heauie doome.

Dÿ tibi non mortem, quæ cunctis pœna paratur, ſed ſenſum poſt fata tua dent Craſtine morti. Cuius torta manu commiſit lancea bellum, primaque Theſſaliam Romano ſanguine tinxit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæſar preaceth hard after the Enemie, and *taketh the Campe.*

Cæſar.

Pompeis ſouldiers beeing thus forced to flie into their Campe; Cæſar, thinking it expedient to giue them no time of reſpite, exhorted the Armie to vſe the benefit of Fortune, and to aſſault the Campe: who, notwithſtanding the extreame heate (for the buſineſs was drawne out vntill it was high noone) vvere willing to vnder-goe any labour, and to yeeld obedience to his commandements. The Campe was induſtriouſly defended, by the Cohorts that had the guard thereof; but much more ſtoutly by the Thracians, and other ſuccours of Barbarous people. For, ſuch ſouldiers as were fledde thither out of the battell, vvere ſo terrified in mind, and ſpent vvith vvearineſſe, that moſt of them (hauing laid aſide their Armes, and Military Enſignes) did rather thinke how they might beſt eſcape, then to defend the Campe. Neither could they which ſtood vpon the Rampier, any longer indure the multitude of vveapons; but fainting with vvounds, forſooke the place: and preſently fledde into the high Mountaines adioyning vnto the Campe; being ledde thither by the Centurions, and Tribunes of the ſouldiers.

In the Campe were found tables ready laid and prepared with linnen, together with cupbords of plate, furniſhed & ſet out; and their Tents ſtrewed with freſh hearbes and ruſhes: and that of Lentulus, and diuers others, with Iuie, & many other ſuperfluities, diſcouering their extreame luxurie and aſſurance of victorie. Whereby it was eaſily to be conceiued, that they nothing feared the euent of that day; beeing ſo carefull of ſuch vnneceſſary delights. And yet for all this, they vpbraided Cæſars patient and miſerable Army, with riot and exceſſe: to whom there were alwaies vvanting ſuch requiſites, as vvere expedient for their neceſſary vſes.

Pompey, when as our men were come vvithin the Campe, hauing got a horſe, and caſt away all Enſignes of Imperiall authoritie, got out at the Decumane gate, and made towards Lariſſa, as faſt as his horſe could cary him. Neither did hee ſtay there: but with the ſame ſpeede (hauing got a few followers that eſcaped by flight) poſting night & day, came at length to the Sea-ſide, with a troope of thirtie horſe; and there went aboard a ſhip of burthen: complaining that his opinion onely

onely deceiued him; beeing (as it were) betraied, by ſuch as beganne firſt to flie: from vvhom hee hoped chiefely to haue had victorie.

OBSERVATIONS.

WHere-as it is ſaid, that a dilatorie courſe is very profitable and ſafe; wee are to vnderſtand it as a chiefe and maine point, in the dutie of an Embaſſadour, to temporiſe in things which are preſſed hard vpon him; as beeing accountable for words and time: but no way charged with expeditions of warre. Wherein Protraction is oftentimes the interrupter of abſolute victorie, and the onely ſupplanter of that which is deſired. *Vincere ſcis Haniball, ſed victoria vti neſcis,* was a common by-word, and happened then well for the ſtate of Rome. But now it fell out otherwiſe; hauing met with one that knew how to conquer, and how to follow victorie to purpoſe.

Vtilis et tuta res dilatio. Diony. Halic. lib. 8. Non cõmittuntur legatis triremes aut loca, aut legiones, aut arces; ſed verba et tempora. Demoſt. de falſa legatione.

For, notwithſtanding the battell he had fought, and the aduantage hee had thereby got, might haue ſeemed ſufficient for one daies labour, yet hee would not let occaſion paſſe, without taking the benefit that was then offered; and neuer ceaſſed, vntill he had forced the Campe, and ouer-taken thoſe that eſcaped the battell: and ſo made victorie ſure vnto him, by driuing the naile home to the head. In regard whereof, he did not vnfitlie vſe for his word or Motto, they call it, μηδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος, BY. DEFERRING. NOTHING.

1 Labor in negotio, 2 fortitudo in periculo, 3 induſtria in agendo, 4 celeritas in cõficiendo, were Cæſars properties.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

Cæſar beſieged thoſe that were eſcaped *into the Hills.*

Caſar.

CAeſar, hauing got the Campe, inſtantly required the ſouldiers not to looke after pillage and booty, and let ſlippe the meanes of ending the reſt of their buſineſs: which, after hee had obtained, hee began to incloſe the Hill about with works of fortification. They of Pompeis partie, diſtruſting the place, for that the Hill had no water, left it at an inſtant. And all thoſe that were partakers of that fortune, made towards Lariſsa. Which Cæſar obſeruing, diuided his forces, and commaunded part of the Legions to remaine in Pompeis Campe, and part he ſent back into his owne: leading foure Legions along with him, he tooke a neerer way to meet with them; and hauing gone ſixe miles, he imbattelled his forces. Which they perceiuing, betooke themſelues vnto a high Hill, vnder which ranne a Riuer.

Cæſar, perſwaded the ſouldiers, albeit they were ſpent with continuall labor all that day, and that night was now at hand, yet they would not thinke it much, to

to cut off the Riuer from the Hill by a fortification, to keepe them from watering in the night. Which worke beeing perfected, they beganne by Commiſsioners to treat of conditions of yielding themſelues. Some few of the Senators eſcaped in the night-time away by flight.

Cæſar, as ſoone as it was day, cauſed them all to come downe from the Hill into the Plaine, & there to caſt away their Armes: which they performed without refuſall; And caſting themſelues vpon the earth, their hands ſpred abroad, with ſhedding of many teares, deſired mercie. Cæſar, comforting them, commaunded they ſhould ſtand vp: and hauing ſpoken ſomewhat touching his clemencie, a little to eaſe them of their feare, he gaue them all their liues with ſafetie; commanding the ſouldiers not to hurt any of them, nor that they ſhould vvant any thing that was theirs.

Theſe things beeing thus atchieued with diligence, hee cauſed other Legions to meet him from the Campe, ſending thoſe he had with him to reſt themſelues: and the ſame day came to Lariſſa. In that battaile, hee loſt not aboue two hundred ſouldiers; but of Centurions, and other valiant men, hee loſt thirtie. And Craſtinus, fighting valiantly, was ſlaine (of whom wee formerly made mention) with a ſword thruſt into the face. Neither was that falſe which hee ſaid as hee vvent to the battell: for, Cæſar was perſwaded, that Craſtinus behaued himſelfe admirably in that fight, and did deſerue as well of him as a man poſsibly could.

There were ſlaine of Pompeis Armie, about fifteene thouſand: howbeit, there were of them that yielded themſelues, aboue twentie-foure thouſand. For, ſuch Cohorts as were in the Forts, did likewiſe yield themſelues to Sylla: and manie fledde into the next Townes and Cities. Of Military Enſignes, there vvere brought out of the battell to Cæſar, one hundred and foureſcore, with nine Eagles. L. Domitius, flying out of the Campe into the Mount, fainting for vvant of ſtrength, was ſlaine by the horſemen.

Interdum maiores copiæ ſternuntur a minoribus. Dion. Hal. lib. 8.

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus we ſee the iſſue of that battaile, and the victory which Cæſar obtained, at as cheape a rate as could be imagined: for, there were ſlaine twentie-three M. of the enemie, and as manie taken, by rendring themſelues, with the loſſe of two hundred ſouldiers, and thirty Centurions; amongſt whō was Craſtinus: whoſe death obliged Cæſar to make this honourable mention of his valour. But as it is obſerued by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, *Non Deus quiſpiam ſe ducibus, pro ſalute omniū qui certamen ineunt, ſponſorem ſiſtit: nec ea conditione imperium accepimus, vt omnes homines deuincamus nullo ex noſtris amiſſo.*

Lib. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Lælius attempteth to block-in the Hauen at *Brunduſium*: *and Caſsius fireth Cæſars* ſhippes at Meſsine.

(•.•)



Bout the ſame time, D. Lælius came with his Nauie to Brunduſium; and according as Libo formerly did, tooke the Iland in the mouth of the Port. And in like manner, Vatinius, Gouernour of Brunduſium, hauing furniſhed and ſent out certaine Skiffes, inticed out Lælius ſhips, and of them tooke a Galley, that was further ſhot out with two leſſer ſhippes into the ſtraights of the Port: & alſo had diſpoſed his Caualry along the ſhore, to keep the Mariners from fetching water. But Lælius, hauing the time of the yeere more fauourable and fitter for ſayling, ſupplied his Armie vvith vvater from Corfew and Dyrrachium: neither could he be beaten off his deſsigne, nor be driuen out of the Port, or from the Iland, either with the diſhonour of the ſhippes he loſt, or with ſcarcitie and want of all neceſſaries, vntill hee heard of the battell in Theſſalia. Cæſar.

About the ſame time alſo, Caſsius came into Sicilia, with the Nauie of Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia. And, vvhere-as Cæſars ſhips were diuided into two parts, Pub. Sulpitius, Prætor, beeing Admirall of the one halfe, and lying at Vibone in the Straights: and M. Pomponius, Admirall of the other halfe at Meſsana; Caſsius came firſt to Meſſana, and was arriued before Pomponius heard of his comming: by which meanes, he ſurpriſed him, diſtracted, and much amuſed, without any order or guardes. And finding a ſtrong and fauourable wind, filled the ſhippes of burthen, with Roſin, Pitch and Towe, and like matter of firing: and ſending them out to Pomponius Nauie, he burned all the ſhippes, beeing in number thirtie-fiue; amongſt which there were twentie that had decks. By meanes vvhereof, they conceiued ſuch a terrour, that albeit there was a legion in Guarizon at Meſſana, yet the Towne was hardly kept. And, but that certaine Meſſengers comming poſt, brought newes at the ſame inſtant of Cæſars victory, moſt men thought the Towne would haue beene loſt: but the newes comming ſo opportunely, the towne was kept. Conſtrata.

Caſsius departed from thence, & went to Sulpitius fleete at Vibone; where the ſhippes beeing brought to ſhore, vvere there laid, for feare of the like danger, as formerly they had accuſtomed. Caſsius, finding the wind good, ſent-in fortie ſhippes of burthen, furniſhed with matter to burne the Nauie. The fire hauing taken hold of both Cornets of the fleete, fiue of them were burned downe to the water. And as the flame beganne to be further caried with the vvind, the ſouldiers of the old legions, which were left for the defence of the ſhipping, and were of

of the number of them that vvere ſicke, did not indure the dishonour: but getting aboard of their owne accord, put the ſhippes from the ſhore; and ſetting vpon Caſsius fleet, tooke two Gallies, in one of the which vvas Caſsius himſelfe: but hee, being taken out, with a Skiffe fledde away. And furthermore, they tooke two Triremes: and not long after, certaine newes came of the battell in Theſſalia, ſo that Pompeis-party belieued it; for, before that time, it vvas thought to be but a thing giuen out by Cæſars Legats, & other of his friends. Where-vpon, Caſsius departed vvith his Nauie, and left thoſe places.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE branches of a Tree doe receiue life from the ſtocke, and the ſtock is maintained by the roote: which beeing once cut a-ſunder, there remaineth no life for ſtock or bough, leafe or branch. Accordingly it happened with this large-ſpred Partie; the roote whereof was then in Theſſalia: and beeing broken aſunder by the violence of Cæſars forces, it booted not what Lælius did at Brunduſium, or Caſsius, either at Meſſana, or Vibone. For, all the parts were ouer-throwne with the bodie: and the fortune of the battaile ouer-ſwaid other pettie loſſes whatſoeuer; beeing ſo powrefull, in the opinion of the world, *Vt quò ſe fortuna, eodem etiam fauor hominum inclinat.* Or, as Lucan ſaith, *Rapimur, quò cuncta feruntur.*

Pompeius Trogus. lib. 6. Lib. 8.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Cæſar purſueth Pompey: who is ſlaine *in Egypt.*

Cæſar.

CAeſar, ſetting all other things apart, thought it expedient for him to purſue Pompey, into what parts ſoeuer hee ſhould betake himſelfe, leaſt he ſhould raiſe new forces, and renewe the warre againe: and there-vpon, made forward euery day, as farre as his Caualrie was able to goe; commaunding one Legion to follow after by leſſer iourneis. There was a publication made in Pompeis name at Amphipolis, that all the youth of that Prouince, as well Greekes, as Cittizens of Rome, ſhould come to bee inrolled for the vvar. But it is not poſsible to diſcouer, whether Pompey did it to take away all cauſe of ſuſpicion, that he might the longer hide his purpoſe of flying away, or vvhether he went about by new leuies, to keepe Macedonia, if no man preaced hard after him.

Howſoeuer; he himſelfe lay at Anchor there one night. And calling vnto him his auncient Hoſts and Friends, hee tooke ſo much money of them, as would defray his neceſſarie charges: and vnderſtanding of Cæſars comming, within a few daies he arriued at Mitylen, where hee was kept two daies with foule vveather: and

and there, renforcing his fleet with ſome Gallies he tooke to him, he vvent into Cilicia; and from thence to Cyprus. There hee vnderſtood, that by the generall conſent of the Antiochians, and ſuch Cittizens of Rome as were there reſiding, the Citadell vvas already taken to keepe him out: and that Meſſengers vvere ſent about, to thoſe that were fled from his Party, into the bordering Citties, forbidding them to come to Antioche; for, if they did, they ſhould hazard it vvith the danger of their heads. The like happened to L. Lentulus, vvho the yeere before was Conſull; and to Pub. Lentulus, of Conſular dignity: and to ſome other at Rhodes. For, as many as fled thither after Pompey, and came vnto the Iland, were neither receiued into the Towne, nor into the Hauen; but were commanded by Meſſengers ſent vnto them, to depart from thence, and forced to wey anchor againſt their will: and now, the fame of Cæſars comming, was ſpredde abroad throughout all the Citties.

Where-vpon, Pompey, leauing off his purpoſe of going into Syria, hauing taken what money he found in Banke, beſides what he could borrow of his priuate friends, and putting aboard great ſtore of Braſſe for the vſe of vvarre; vvith eleuen thouſand Armed men (which he had raiſed partly out of the townes, and partly had forced vp, with Marchants, and ſuch others of his followers, vvhom he thought fit for this buſineſs) he came to Peluſium. There by chaunce was king Ptolomy, a child, within yeeres, with great forces making war againſt his ſiſter Cleopatra; whom a few Months before, by meanes of his Allies and Friends, hee had thruſt out of his kingdome: And Cleopatras Campe vvas not farre diſtant from his.

Pompey ſent vnto him, that in regard of ancient hoſpitalitie, and the amitie he had vvith his Father, hee might be receiued into Alexandria; and that hee would aide and ſupport him with his vvealth and meanes, being now fallen into miſerie and calamitie. But they that were ſent, hauing done their meſſage, beganne to ſpeake liberally to the Kings ſouldiers, which Gabinius receiued in Syria, and had brought them to Alexandria; and vpon the ending of the vvarre, had left them with Ptolomey, the father of this child. Theſe things being known, ſuch as had the procuration of the kingdome, in the minoritie of the Boy, whether they were induced through feare of gaining the Armie, vvhereby Pompey might eaſily ſeize vpon Alexandria & Egypt; or whether deſpiſing his fortune (as for the moſt part, in time of miſery, a mans friends doe become his enemies) did giue a good anſwere publiquely to ſuch as vvere ſent, and willed him to come vnto the King: but, ſecretly plotting amongſt themſelues, ſent Achillas, a chiefe Commaunder, and a man of ſingular audacitie, together with L. Septimius, Tribune of the ſouldiers, to kill Pompey. They, giuing him good words, and he himſelfe alſo knowing Septimius to haue led a Company vnder him in the vvarre againſt the Pirats, went aboard a little Barke, with a few of his followers: and there was ſlaine, by Achillas and Septimius. In like manner, L. Lentulus vvas apprehended by commaundement from the King, and killed in priſon.

V. OBSER-

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IF it be now demaunded, Where was Cæſars deſire of Peace? and Why hee purſued not a treatie of Compoſition, at this time when as his tale would haue been heard with gladneſs, and any conditions of attonement very acceptable to the vanquiſhed? The aunſwere is already made in the beginning of this Commentarie: That there was but one time of making peace: and that was, when both Parties were equall, which was now paſt; and Cæſar too farre gone, to looke back vpon any thing that might worke a reconcilement. The one was crept ſo high, and the other caſt downe ſo lowe, that they ſeemed not compatible in any *Medium*, although it were to the ſauing of the Empire. Howbeit, it is not denied, but that Pompey gaue great occaſion of theſe warres. For, Seneca ſaith; Hee had brought the Common-wealth to that paſſe, that it could not longer ſtand, but by the benefit of ſeruitude. And he that will looke into the reaſons of this confuſion, ſhall find all thoſe *Cauſæ corrumpentes*, which are noted by Ariſtotle to threaten the well-fare of a State, in the exceſſe of Pompeis exorbitancie: for, hauing nothing in a Meane, hee held all his fortunes by the tenure of *Nimium*; and was ouer-growne, firſt, with too much honour: ſecondly, with too much wealth: thirdly, with too much power: whereby he exceeded the proportion of his fellow Cittizens; and ſo blemiſhed the beautie of that State, whoſe chieſeſt graces were in a ſuting equalitie. And, adding to theſe the convulſions of feare, he made no difficultie to ingage Rome in a bloody warre; as hauing no other hope, but in the confuſion of Armes.

Pompeius eò redegit Reſpub: vt ſalua eſſe non poſſet, niſi beneficio ſeruitutis. 5 de beneficijs. 16. 5 Polit.

Nil nimium cupito, was writ in golden Letters at Delphos.

Iuſtum bellum eſſe ijs, quibus niſi in armis ſpes nulla eſt. Livius.

It is ſaid, that at his arriuall at Mitylene, he had much conference with Cratippus, whom Tully mentioneth in his Offices: wherein, amongſt other remonſtrances, the Philoſopher made it plaine, that his courſe of gouernment, had brought a neceſsitie of changing that State, from the liberty of a Common-wealth, to the condition of a iuſt Monarchie. And ſith it fell to Cæſars fortune, if there were any errour committed in the ſeizure, he may take the benefite of the generall pardon, exemplified by Trebellius Poliæ: That no Nation can ſhew a Man that is altogether blameleſſe.

Neſquam Gentium reperitur, qui poſſit penitus approbari.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

COncerning the ſtate of Egypt, wee are to note, that Alexander the Great being cut off by death, his Captaines laid hold vpon ſuch Prouinces and kingdoms as were vnder their commaunds: amongſt whom one Ptolomeus, the ſonne of Lagus a Macedonian, ſeized vpon Egypt, where he raigned 40 yeres; & of him were all his ſucceſſors called by the name of Ptolomy. This firſt Ptolomy, poſſeſt himſelfe of Egypt, about the yeere of the world 3640: which was 275 yeers before Pompeis ouerthrow. His ſon that ſucceeded, by the name of Ptolomey Philadelphus, cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated out of Ebrew into Greek by 70 Interpreters, which are called the *Septuagint*; and made the famous Librarie which was burned in theſe vvarres.

The Father of this young Ptolomey, was the ninth in ſucceſsion from the firſt; and at his death, made the people of Rome Tutors to his children. His eldeſt

eldeſt ſonne, and Cleopatra his daughter, raigned together ſixe yeeres; but in the end, fell to ſtrife and warres, and were deeply ingaged therein, when Pompey arriued: but ſhortly after, Cæſar ſo ordered the differences, that hee ſette the Crowne vpon Cleopatras head; who held it peaceably, vntill ſhe came to play that tragicall part with Anthony: which beeing ended, the kingdom was then reduced to a Prouince, vnder the obedience of the Romaine Empire.

Mors omnium par eſt: per quæ venit diuerſa ſunt, id in quod deſinit vnũ eſt. Epiſt. 67. Homines ſicut pomũ, aut matura cadunt, aut acerba ruunt. Plutar. in vita Pompei.

Concerning this miſerable end of Pompey, it is truly ſaid of Seneca, that Death is alike to all: for, although the waies are diuers by which it happeneth, yet they all meet in the ſame end. And, foraſmuch as Plutarch hath deſcribed particularly the manner of this Cataſtrophe, it ſhall not be impertinent to inſert his relation thereof.

When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolomy was in the Citty of Peluſium with his Army, making warre againſt his ſiſter, hee went thither, and ſent a Meſſenger before, vnto the king, to aduertiſe him of his arriuall, and to intreat him to receiue him. K. Ptolomy was then but a young man, inſomuch, that one Photinus gouerned all the whole Realme vnder him. He aſſembled a Councell of the chiefeſt & wiſeſt men of the Court, who had ſuch credit and authoritie, as it pleaſed him to giue them. They being aſſembled, he commanded euery man in the Kings name to ſay his mind, touching the receiuing of Pompey, whether the King ſhould receiue him or not. It was a miſerable thing to ſee Photinus, an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of Chio, an hired Schoolemaiſter to teach the young king Rhetorick, & Achillas, an Egyptian, to conſult among themſelues what they ſhould do with Pompey the great. Theſe were the chiefeſt Councellors of al his Eunuches, & of thoſe that had brought him vp.

Now did Pompey ride at anchor vpon the ſhore ſide, expecting the reſolution of this Councell: in the which, the opinions of others were diuers, for, they would not haue receiued him; the other alſo that he ſhould be receiued. But the Rhetorician, Theodotus, to ſhew his eloquence, perſwaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, quoth he, if wee receiue him, we ſhall haue Cæſar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do denie him, on the other ſide, Pompey wil blame them for refuſing him, & Cæſar for not keeping of him; therfore this ſhould be the beſt reſolution, to ſend to kill him. For, therby they ſhould win the good wil of the one, and not feare the diſpleaſure of the other: & ſome ſay moreouer, that he added this mock withall, A dead man bites not. They, being determined of this among themſelues, gaue Achillas commiſſion to doe it. He, taking with him Septimius (who had charge afore-time vnder Pompey) and Saluius, another Centurion alſo, vvith three or foure ſouldiers beſides, they made towards Pompeis Gallies, about whom were at that time the chiefeſt of his traine, to ſee what would become of this matter. But, when they ſaw the likelihood of their entertainement, & that it was not in Princely ſhew nor manner, nor nothing anſwerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men come to them in a fiſher boat; they beganne then to miſtruſt the ſmall account that was made of them, and counſelled Pompey to returne backe, and to launch againe into the ſea, beeing out of the danger of the hurling of a Dart.

In the meane time, the fiſher-boat drew neer, and Septimius roſe, and ſaluted Pompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as ſoueraigne Captaine: and Achillas alſo ſpake to him in the Greek tongue, and bade him come into his boat; becauſe that by the ſhore-ſide, there was a great deale of mud, & ſand banks, ſo that his Galley ſhould haue no water to bring him in. At the very ſame time, they ſaw a farre off diuers of the Kings Gallies, which were arming with all ſpeed poſsible, & all the ſhore beſides, full of ſouldiers. Thus, though Pompey & his company would haue altered their minds, they could not haue told how to haue eſcaped: and furthermore, ſhewing that they had miſtruſted them, then they had giuen the murderer occaſion to haue executed his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end, hee commaunded two Centurions to goe downe before him, into the Egyptians boat, & Philip, one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, with another ſlaue, called Scynes. When Achillas reached out his hand to receiue him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and ſonne, and ſaid theſe verſes of Sophocles vnto them;

The man that into Court comes free,
Muſt there in ſtate of bondage bee.

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpake vnto his people, when hee left his owne Gally, & went into the Egyptians boat, the land being a great way off from his Gally. When he ſaw neuer a man in the boat ſpeak friendly vnto him, beholding Septimius, he ſaid vnto him; Me thinks, my friend, I ſhould know thee, for that thou haſt ſerued with me heeretofore. The other nodded with his head, that it was true, but gaue him no anſwer, nor ſhewed him any curteſie.

Pompey, ſeeing that no man ſpake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hand, in which hee had written an Oration, that hee meant to make vnto King Ptolomey, and began to read it. When they came neer to the ſhore, Cornelia, with her ſeruants and friends about her, ſtood vp in her ſhip, in great feare, to ſee what ſhould become of Pompey. So, ſhe hoped well, when ſhe ſaw many of the Kings people on the ſhore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as Pompey tooke Philip his hand to ariſe more eaſily, Septimius came firſt behind him, and thruſt him through with his ſword: next vnto him alſo, Saluius & Achillas drew out their ſwords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, onely ſighing a little. Thus, being 59 yeeres old, hee ended his life the next day after the day of his birth.

They that rode at anchor in their ſhippes, when they ſaw him murthered, gaue ſuch a fearfull cry, that it was heard to the ſhore: then weying vp their anchors with ſpeed, they hoiſed ſaile, and departed their way, hauing wind at will, that blew a luſtie gale. As ſoone as they had gotten the maine Sea, the Egyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they ſaw they were paſt their reach, and vnpoſsible to be ouer-taken, they let them goe. Then, hauing ſtriken off Pompeys head, they threw his body ouer-board, for a miſerable ſpectacle to all thoſe that were deſirous to ſee him.

Philip,

Philip his enfranchiſed bond-man, remained euer by it, vntill ſuch time as the Egyptians had ſeen it their bellies full. Then, hauing waſhed his body with ſalt water, & wrapped it vp in an old ſhirt of his, becauſe he had no other ſhift to lay it in, he ſought vpon the ſands, and found at length a peece of an old fiſhers boat, enough to ſerue to burn his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As hee was buſie, gathering the broken peeces of this boat together, thither came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had ſerued vnder Pompey, & ſaid vnto him; O friend, what art thou, that prepareſt the funeralls of Pompey the great? Philip anſwered, that he was a bond-man of his, infranchiſed. Well, ſaid he, thou ſhalt not haue all this honor alone: I pray thee yet let mee accompany thee in ſo deuout a deed, that I may not altogether repent mee to haue dwelt ſo long in a ſtrange Country, where I haue abidden ſuch miſery & trouble; but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good hap, with mine owne hands to touch Pompeys body, and to help to burie the onelie and moſt famous Captaine of the Romaines.

The next day after, Lucius Lentulus (not knowing what had paſſed) comming out of Cyprus, ſailed by the ſhore-ſide, and perceiued a fire made for funeralls, and Philip ſtanding by it: whom he knew not at the firſt. So hee asked him, What is hee that is dead, and buried there? but ſtraight fetching a great ſigh, alas, ſaid he, perhaps it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a little, and was ſtraight taken and ſlaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not long after, Cæſar alſo came into Egypt, that was in great warres; where Pompeis head was preſented vnto him: but he turned his head aſide, and would not ſee it; & abhorred him that brought it, as a deteſtable murtherer. Then, taking his Ring where-with he ſealed his Letters, whereupon was grauen a Lyon holding a ſword, he burſt out a weeping. Achillas and Photinus he put to death. King Ptolomey himſelfe alſo, being ouer-throwne in battaile, by the Riuer of Nilus, vaniſhed away, & was neuer heard of after. Theodotus, the Rhetorician, eſcaped Cæſars hands, and wandered vp and downe Egypt in great miſery, deſpiſed of euery man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who ſlew Cæſar) conquering Aſia, met with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could poſsibly deuiſe, at the length ſlew him. The aſhes of Pompeis bodie, were afterwards brought vnto his wife Cornelia; who buried thē in a towne of hers, by the Cittie of Alba.

And, hauing in this manner paid the tribute which the law of Nature doth exact, the law of the Twelue Tables did free his Sepulchre from any further diſturbance; *Vbi corpus demortui hominis condas ſacer eſto.* Onely this may be added; That as Fabius was called Maximus, Scipio Magnus, and Pompey Magnus, which titles they caried, as markes of ſpeciall Nobleneſs, to raiſe thē aboue the cōmon worth of men: ſo their ends made them euen with the loweſt of the State. According to that of Seneca; *Interuallis diſtinguimur: exitu æquamur.*

Mors Naturæ lex eſt. Mors tributum officiumque mortalium. Sene. natural. quæſt. 6. Fabius dictus Maximus, Scipio magnus. Polianus lib. 8. Epiſt. 100.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Prodigious Accidents, happening vpon the *Battell in Pharſalia. Cæſar commeth* into Egypt.

This that followeth, ſeeneth of another ſtile.

Caeſar, comming into Aſia, found T. Ampius going about to take the money out of the Temple of Diana, at Epheſus: and for that cauſe had called together all the Senators that were in the Prouince, that hee might vſe them as witneſſes in the matter; but, beeing interrupted by Cæſars arriuall, hee fled away: ſo that two ſeuerall times, the money was ſaued at Epheſus by Cæſars meanes. It was further found very certaine, that in the Temple of Minerua at Elide (a iuſt calculation of the time beeing taken) the ſame day that Cæſar ouer-threw Pompey, the Image of victorie which ſtood before Minerua, & looked towards her portrature, did turne it ſelfe towards the Portall, and the Temple-gate. And the ſame day likewiſe, there was ſuch a noiſe of an Armie, twice heard at Antioche in Syria, and ſuch ſounding of Trumpets, that the Cittie ranne in Armes to keepe the walles. The like happened at Ptolomaida. And likewiſe at Pergamum, in the remote and hidden places of the Temple, which are called ἄδυτα, into which it is not lawfull for any man to enter but the Prieſts, were belles heard to ring. Beſides, at Tralibus, in the Temple of Victory (vvhere they had conſecrated an Image to Cæſar) there was ſhewed a Palme-tree, which in thoſe daies vvas growne from betweene the ioynts of the ſtones, out of the pauement.

Cæſar, ſtaying a few daies in Aſia, hearing that Pompey was ſeene at Cyprus, and coniecturing he went into Egypt, for the amities and correſpondencie hee had with that Kingdome, beſides other opportunities of the place; he came to Alexandria with two legions, one that hee commaunded to follow him out of Theſſaly, and another vvhich he had called out of Achaia, from Fuſius a Legate, together with eight hundred horſe, ten Gallies of Rhodes, and a few ſhips of Aſia. In theſe Legions, were not aboue three thouſand two hundred men; the reſt, were either vvounded in the fights, or ſpent with trauell, and the length of the iourney: but Cæſar, truſting to the fame of his great exploits, did not doubt to go with theſe weak forces, thinking euery place would entertaine him with ſafetie.

The Prieſts of Egypt ſaide, That whenſoeuer the Axe and the bundle of Rods, came into Alexandria, the power of their Kings ſhould preſently ceaſe: accor-

At Alexandria hee vnderſtood of Pompeis death: and as hee was going out of the ſhippe, he heard a clamour of the ſouldiers, which the King had left to keep the towne, and ſaw a concourſe of people gathered about him, becauſe the bundle of Rods was caried before him; all the multitude crying out, that the Kings authority was diminiſhed. This tumult being appeaſed, there were often vp-roares and commotions of the people for euery day after; and many ſouldiers were ſlain in diuers parts of the Cittie. Where-vpon, Cæſar gaue order, for other Legions to be brought him out of Aſia, which he raiſed and inrolled of Pompeis ſouldiers.

He

He himſelfe was ſtaied by the winds, called Eteſiæ, *which are againſt them that ſaile to Alexandria.*

ding as it vvas writtē in a Columne of gold, at Memphis.

In the meane time, foraſmuch as he conceiued, that if controuerſies between Kings, did appertaine to the people of Rome, then conſequently, to him, as Conſull; and ſo much the rather it concerned his office, for that in his former Conſulſhip, there was a league made by the decree of Senate, vvith Ptolomey the Father: In regarde hereof, he ſignified, that his pleaſure was, that both the king and his ſiſter Cleopatra, ſhould diſmiſſe their Armies, and rather plead their Cauſe before him, then to decide it by Armes.

There was at that time, one Photinus an Eunuch, one that had the adminiſtration of the kingdome, during the minoritie of the Child; he firſt began to cõplaine among his friends, and to take it in ſcorne, that the King ſhould be called out to pleade his Cauſe: and afterwards, hauing gotten ſome aſsiſtance of the Kings friends, he drew the Armie ſecretly from Peluſium, to Alexandria, and made Achillas (formerly mentioned) Generall of all the forces; inciting him forward, as well by his owne promiſes, as from the King, and inſtructing him by Letters & Meſſengers, what he would haue done.

Ptolomey, the Father, by his laſt Will and teſtament, had left for heires, the eldeſt of two ſonnes, and likewiſe the eldeſt of two daughters: and for the confirmation thereof, had in the ſame Will, charged and required the people of Rome, by all the gods & the league he made at Rome, to ſee this accompliſhed. For which purpoſe, he ſent a copy of his Will to Rome, to be kept in the Treaſury: and by reaſon of the publicke occaſions, which admitted no ſuch buſineſs for the preſent, were left with Pompey; and the Originall, ſigned and ſealed vp, was brought to Alexandria.

While Cæſar was handling theſe things, beeing very deſirous to end theſe controuerſies by arbitrement, it was told him on a ſuddaine, that the Kings Army, and all the Caualry, were come to Alexandria. Cæſars forces were not ſuch that he durſt truſt vpon them, to hazard battell without the towne; onely it remained, that he kept himſelfe in ſuch places, as were moſt fit & conuenient for him, vvithin the towne, and to learne what Achillas intended. Howſoeuer: he commaunded all the ſouldiers to Arme; and exhorted the King, that of thoſe vvhich were neereſt vnto him, and of greateſt authority, hee would ſend ſome to Achillas, to knowe his meaning.

Dioſcorides and Serapion, beeing deputed there-vnto, hauing beene both Embaſſadours at Rome, and in great place about Ptolomey the Father; they came to Achillas: whom as ſoone as they were come into his preſence, & before he would heare or vnderſtand what they would, commaunded them to be taken away, and ſlaine. Of whom, one hauing receiued a wound, was caried away by his own people for dead. The other was ſlaine out-right. Whereupon, Cæſar wrought to get the King into his owne hands; thinking that his Name & Title would preuaile much amongſt his people: as alſo to make it appeare, that this warre was rather mooued by the priuate practice of ſome ſeditious thieues, then by order & commandement from the King.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

THe multiplicitie of occaſions and troubles, which happen to ſuch as haue the ordering of any buſineſſes of import, doth make that of Plinie often remembred; *Veteribus negotijs noua accreſcunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur; tot nexibus, tot quaſi Catenis, maius in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.* For, albeit Pompey had now ſpent his malice, and was no more to appeare in Armes againſt Cæſar: yet his hap was by flying, to draw him (as it were by way of reuenge) into a place, where hee was neceſſarilie to be intangled in a dangerous warre.

Lib. 2. Epiſt. 8.

To theſe prodigies heere mentioned, may be added that of Aulus Gellius, that The ſame day the battell happened, there fell out a ſtrange wonder at Padua: where a certaine Prieſt, called Cornelius, of Noble race, and holie life, ſuddainlie fell into an extaſie, and ſaid, he ſaw a great battell afarre off; Darts and Piles flie thicke in the ayre, ſome flying, and ſome purſuing, great ſlaughter, accompanied with many lamentable groanes and cries: and in the end, cried out, that Cæſar had got the victorie. For which, he was mocked for the preſent; but, afterwards, held in great admiration.

Lib. 15. cap. 18

Plinie maketh the ſmall increaſe of Nilus, to bee a fore-teller of Pompeis death; *Minimumque Pharſalico bello veluti necem magni prodigio quodam flumine auerſante.*

Lib. 5. cap. 9.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Cæſar landeth his forces, taketh Pharus, and *cauſeth Photinus to be ſlaine.*

THE forces that were with Achillas, were neither for their number, or faſhion of men, or vſe or experience in war, to be contemned, hauing twentie-two thouſand men in Armes. Theſe troops cõſiſted of the Gabinian ſouldiers, which were now growne into a cuſtome of life and liberty of the Egyptians: and hauing forgot the name and diſcipline of the people of Rome, had there maried vwiues, and moſt of them had children. To theſe were added ſuch as were gathered from the thieues and robbers of Syria, the Prouince of Cilicia, and other finitimate Regions: beſides many baniſhed men, and others, condemned to die, that fledde thither. And for all our fugitiues, there was euer a ſure and certaine receipt at Alexandria, and a certaine condition of life: for, vpon giuing vp of his name, he

he was presently inrolled a souldier: and if one chaunced to be taken and apprehended by his Maister, hee was presently rescued by the concourse of souldiers; who, beeing all in the same condition, did striue for him, as for thē selues: these required the Kings friends to be slaine. These were accustomed to rob rich men of their goods to better their pay, to besiege the Kings house, to expell some out of their kingdome, and to send for others home, according to an old custome and priuiledge of the Alexandrian Armie.

There were, besides, two thousand horse, that had beene of auncient continuance in many of the warres held at Alexandria, and had brought back Ptolomey the father, and restored him to his kingdome; had slaine Bibulus two sons, and had made warre with the Egyptians: and this vse and knowledge they had of warre. Achillas, trusting to these forces, and contemning the small number of Cæsars troopes, did take and possesse Alexandria; and further, assaulting that part of the towne which Cæsar held with his men, did first of all indeauour to breake into his house: but Cæsar, hauing disposed the cohorts in the streets & waies, did beare out the assault. At the same time, they fought likewise at the Port, and it came at length to a very forcible incounter: for, hauing drawne out their troopes, the fight began to be hot in diuers streets and lanes; and the Enemie (in great troopes) went about to possesse themselues of the Gallies, of which there were L. found there, that were sent to serue Pompey, and returned home againe after the battell in Thessalia. These were all Triremes, and Quinqueremes, rigged, and ready to goe to sea.

Besides these, there were twenty-two, which were alwaies accustomed to bee the best, for the defence of Alexandria, and were all furnished with decks: which if they had taken, together with Cæsars shipping, they would haue had the Hauen and the Sea at their commaund; and by that meanes, hindered Cæsar frō succours and prouision of victuall: in regard whereof, they fought hard on both sides; Achillas expecting victory, and our men for their safetie. But Cæsar, obtained his purpose: and because he was not able to keepe so many seuerall things with so small forces, he set them all on fire, together with those that were in the Road, & presently landed some souldiers at Pharus; which is a tower in an Iland, of a great height, & built with strange workmanship, taking that name from the Iland: this Iland lieth ouer against Alexandria, and so maketh it a Hauen. But former Kings had inlarged it 9 hundred paces in length, by raising great mounts in the Sea: and by that meanes, had brought it so neere to the towne, that they ioyned them both together with a bridge.

In this Iland dwelt diuers Egyptians, and made a Village, of the bignesse of a Towne: and what shippes soeuer had fallen off their course, either by tempest or errour, were there robbed by those Egyptians. For, by reason of the narrowe entrance, no shippes can come into the Hauen, but by the fauour and leaue of them that hold Pharus. Cæsar, beeing afraid of this, while the Enemie was busie in fight, landed his souldiers, tooke the place, and there put a guarison. Whereby he brought it to passe, that both corne and succours might safely come by sea to supply him: for, he had sent to all the confining Regions for aide. In other places of the towne they so fought, that they gaue ouer at length vpon equall conditions:

which

which happened by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the paſſages: And a few of each ſide beeing ſlaine, Cæſar tooke in ſuch places as were moſt conuenient for him, & fortified them in the night. In this quarter of the Towne, was contained a little part of the Kings houſe (wherein, hee himſelfe at his firſt arriuall, was appointed to lodge) and a Theater ioyned to the houſe, vvhich was in ſteed of a Caſtle, and had a paſſage to the Port, and to other parts of Road. The daies following, he increaſed theſe fortifications, to the end he might haue them as a wall againſt the enemy, and thereby need not fight againſt his will.

In the meane time, the younger daughter of King Ptolomey, hoping to obtaine the Crowne, now in queſtion, found meanes to conuay herſelfe out of the Kings houſe, to Achillas, and both ioyntly together, vndertooke the managing of that warre: but preſently there grew a controuerſie betweene thē, who ſhould cōmand in Chiefe; which was the cauſe of great largeſs and rewards to the ſouldiers, either of them beeing at great charges and expences to gaine their good wills.

While the Enemy was buſied in theſe things, Photinus, the Gouernour of the young King, and Superintendent of the kingdome on Cæſars partie, ſent Meſſengers to Achillas, exhorting him, not to deſiſt in the buſineſs, or to bee diſcouraged. Vpon the diſcouering and apprehenſion of which Meſſengers, Cæſar cauſed him to be ſlaine. And theſe were the beginnings of the Alexandrian warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

PHarus is a little Iland in the Sea, ouer-againſt Alexandria; in the midſt whereof, Ptolomey Philadelphe built a tower of an exceeding height, all of white Marble. It contained many Stages, and had in the toppe many great Lanternes, to keepe light in the night, for a marke to ſuch as were at Sea. The Architector ingraued there-vpon this inſcription; *Soſtrates Gnidien, the ſonne of Dexiphanes, to the Gods, Conſeruators, for the ſafety of Nauigators.*

It was reckoned for one of the ſeauen Wonders of the world. The firſt whereof was the Temple of Diana, at Epheſus. The ſecond, was the Sepulchre which Artemiſia, Queene of Caria, made for her Husband, Mauſolus, whoſe aſhes ſhe dranke. The third, was the Colloſſus of the Sunne, at Rhodes. The fourth, was the Walls of Babylon. The fift, was the Pyramides of Egypt. The fixt, was the Image of Iupiter Olympian, at Elide, which was made by Phidias, and contained three-ſcore cubites in height; and was all of Iuorie, and pure Gold. And the ſeauenth, was this Pharus.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.
41	2	*Enſignes*	*eaſineſſe.*
125	25	*vncaple*	*vncapable.*
133	30	*ergo*	*ego.*
150	3	*ſopken*	*ſpoken.*
205	19	*they*	*as they.*

THE MANER OF OVR MODERNE TRAINING, OR TACTICKE PRACTISE.

FOR as much as my purpoſe was to make this taske of Obſeruations as a paralel to our moderne Diſcipline, I did not thinke it fit to mingle the Tacticke Practiſe of theſe times with the vſe of foregoing ages, but rather to ſhut vp theſe Diſcourſes therwith, as the ſecond line of this warlike paralell, which is thus drawne in the beſt faſhion of moderne Art.

In the knowledge of marſhalling an Armie, there is nothing more eſpecially to be regarded, then that from a confuſed companie of men, hauing choſen the fitteſt for the warres, we ſhould ſo place and digeſt a conuenient number of them, that in marches, in incamping, in battels we may be able with a few well ordered to incounter a farre greater armie in confuſion, and to ouerthrow them. From hence *AEneas* did define the Art of warre, to be the knowledge of warlike motions.

Before this vnexpert armie ſhall be able to be moued in ſuch faſhion, it ſhal not be amiſſe to acquaint it with the moſt vſuall termes, wherewith they ſhall be often commanded into diuerſe poſtures as occaſion ſhall be offered. For as in the art of Fencing, no man ſhall be able to turne and wind his bodie for his beſt aduantage to offend his enemie, or defend himſelfe, vnleſſe firſt his maiſter ſhall inſtruct him in the ſeuerall parts and poſtures thereof: ſo euery ſouldier or the whole troope as one bodie, or one ſouldier ſhall neuer be readily inſtructed to transforme or turne it ſelfe by diuerſe motions into different formes, vnleſſe they firſt vnderſtand what is meant by Fronts and Flanckes, by Files and Rankes, what by Leaders and Followers, by Middlemen and Bringers vp. By this meanes each ſouldier vnderſtanding what the terme doth ſignifie, ſhal readily both apprehend and execute ſuch commandements as the Captaine or Officer ſhall direct them.

A File.

A File is a certaine number of men following ſingly one Leader vnto the depth of 8 or 10, as they ſhall be commaunded. The auncients haue called this File *Seriem, ordinationem,* or *decuriam*: it conſiſteth of Leaders and Followers, placed according to their worth and valor: and eſpecially there ought to be regarded, the Leader or *Decurio*, the fifth, ſixth or Middlemē, & the tenth

and laſt called the Bringer-vp or *Tergiductor*.

The Leader.

Frſt therefore euery ſouldier being aptly fitted vnto his ſeuerall armes according to his worth, age and ſtature, they are to be diſpoſed into ſeuerall files, wherein euery one is eſpecially to acknowledge his leader or foremoſt man to be the author of all his motions, and therefore duely attending what directions ſhall be commaunded, each follower ſhall according to the motions of his leader or foremoſt man, order his owne; and is to be excuſed if he attend the motions of his leader before he moue himſelfe.

A Ranke or Front. Battallion.

When many files are thus diſpoſed together, all the leaders making one and the ſame front, and their followers obſeruing likewiſe one and the ſame proportion of diſtance before, and after, and on each ſide; theſe Files thus ioyned make one Battallion, the front whereof is called a Rancke, and ſo likewiſe the ſecond and third in depth, according to the number of men in each file. The firſt, ſecond and third, and ſo forward in each file, are called Sidemen in reſpect of the ſame numbers in the next file. Neither muſt euery ſouldier onely regard the motions of their Leader, but he muſt alſo diligently reſpect his ſidemen, and ſuch as ſhall be placed on his right and left hand called his ranckes: ſo that both in files and ranckes he may alwaies be found in the ſame diſtance wherein he is commaunded.

Sidemen.

The number of ſouldiers in a Battallion vncertaine.

It ſhould be impertinent to the purpoſe to preſcribe a certaine nũber of ſoldiers vnto theſe Battallions, onely thus much for the proportion: that it ought neuer to exceed ſo much, but that it may eaſily vpon any occaſiõ be changed into ſuch a forme or faſhion to fight, as may be thought fitteſt for the preſent.

The length.

The length of this Battallion is diuerſly tearmed amongſt the Latines, as *Frons, Facies, Adſtructio, Iugum, &c.* but in our moderne practiſe, moſt familiarly the Front or Rancke.

Bredth or depth.

The breadth of the Battallion, which is from the leader to the bringer vp with the diſtance betweene all the followers, is ſaid to be the length or depth of one file or flancke.

Dignities in places to be obſerued.

In the diſpoſing of ſouldiers into files and ranckes, beſides their obſeruing a right line in their places and ſtanding, we muſt likewiſe eſpecially reſpect the different worth and qualitie of the ſouldiers, that euery one according to his woorth may be ſuted vnto his proper place, and accordingly receiue aduancement, as the death of his Leaders, and true value of his deſert by his Commaunder ſhall giue occaſion.

The firſt rãke

Firſt therefore there muſt be eſpeciall choice made of the leaders of each file, or firſt front or ranckes of the Battallion, of the moſt expert, ableſt and beſt armed men: becauſe that as from them the reſt are to receiue directions of their after motions: ſo in them the greateſt hope of the day doth conſiſt.

The bringers vp or Tergiductores or laſt ranke.

Next vnto the firſt it muſt be prouided, that the bringers vp or laſt rancke called *Tergiductores* be litle inferiour, well experienced, wiſe and valiant, that they may both know when to reprehend their former Ranckes, and vrge thẽ forward, if they ſee them declining or yeelding vpon falſe occaſions, as alſo to be able vpon any ſudden allarme giuen in the reare, to turne faces about and make themſelues a Front for the beſt reſiſtance.

Neither

The seco̅d & ninth rankes.

Neither muſt it be neglected concerning the ſecond and ninth ranckes, that they alſo may be furniſhed with the next moſt ſufficient men, both becauſe of their neareneſſe vnto daunger, as alſo that if their leaders or bringers vp ſhall either be ſlaine or diſabled by wounds, they may preſently ſucceed in their places and make them good.

The fifth and ſixth rankes.

There is alſo a good decorū to be obſerued in the middlemen, or fift and ſixt ranckes, both for the men themſelues and their armes, that in our marches when the middlemen or ſixt ranckes ſhalbe called vp to front with their leaders, they may in ſome ſort and proportion anſwer their places, as alſo when we double our front by calling vp middlemen to fight in a greater breadth, they may not be vnſutable: but eſpecially in marches, that they may be able to make the beſt reſiſtance, when they ſhall become the flanckes of the Battallions.

Files.

The right hand file.

As theſe reſpects ought to be obſerued in ranckes, ſo the files alſo are not without their different degrees of dignitie. As the leader of the right hand file is accounted to haue the firſt place of honour in the Battallion: for he doth not onely leade the reſt in his owne file, but he is the author and beginner of the motions of the whole Battallion.

The left hand file.

The leader of the left hand file hath the next place, becauſe that he with the leader of the right hand file do alwaies in their marching and imbattelling rectifie or rancke the whole front of the battallion: & ſo conſequently all the next of their files as they ſtand in order, euen vntill the middle, who are accounted the laſt in dignitie.

Diſtances betweene files and rankes.

The Battallion being thus diſpoſed into files and ranckes, and each file and rancke according to his worth and experience rightly aduanced: it followeth that there ſhould be a iuſt diſtance proportioned betweene either, that at all times vpon all occaſions, they might be found readie, and in comelieſt faſhion, either to offend their enemie, or defend themſelues. Theſe diſtances which euery follower muſt obſerue in reſpect of his leadet: and euery leader and follower in reſpect of the ſidemen, may be reduced vnto three ſeuerall Orders, as followeth.

Open order.

The firſt is called open Order; the diſtance whereof is twelue feete betweene euery follower and his leader, or betweene euery ranke; and ſixe feete betweene them and the ſidemen, or betweene euery file. This order is commonly vſed vpon marches when the enemy is knowne to be farre off, as alſo in priuate exerciſing of ſouldiers for their ſeuerall managing of their armes. It differeth ſomewhat from the *Ordinatus Miles* amongſt the *Romaines*, who alwayes obſerued but foure cubits in files and rankes.

Order.

The ſecond diſtance is called Order, when we contract the battallion both in length and breadth, and gather the ſouldiers within a nearer ſcantling both in files and rankes, that is, by obſeruing ſixe feete in their files betweene the follower and leader, and three feete betweene the ranks or ſidemen. This diſtance is vſed when we march toward an enemie neare at hand, or in marches by reaſon of the oportunitie of the place ſuſpitiouſly dangerous. This is alſo neare vnto *Denſatus ordo*, but onely that that was but two cubits in both files

and rankes.

Close order, pouldron to pouldron.

The third & laſt order, is when either we attend the enemy his preſent aſſault, or that we intend to charge him vpon our ſecureſt and beſt diſtance; when euery follower ſtandeth three feete or his rapier length behind his leader, and a foote and a halfe from the ſidemen or files; or when euery ſouldier occupieth but one foot and a halfe for his owne ſtation, ioyning pouldron to pouldron, or target to target. This differeth from *Conſtipatus ordo*, becauſe that alloweth but one cubit for files and rankes, and this cloſe order alloweth one cubite in the file, but two in the rankes.

The maner of charging with fiue rankes.

This diſtance doth agree alſo beſt with the length of our pikes of 15 or 16 feet long. For it is thought fit oftentimes that the battallion conſiſting of ten ranks, there ſhould not charge more at one time then the 5 formoſt, ſo that the pikes of the fift ranke might be three feete ouer the formoſt ſhoulder, and the other fiue ranks ſhould in this cloſe order or nearer if it be poſſible, follow the other charging, with their pikes aduanced, vntill ſome occaſion ſhould require their chrage. In the meane time they ſhould performe their dutie in keeping the fiue formoſt ranks from retiring, and beſides adde ſtrength vnto the charge or ſhocke.

The maner of exerciſing of compoſed Battallions with their different motions.

THE files and rankes being thus vnderſtood, diſpoſed and ordered, and all parts and members of the battallion being ioyned in their iuſt proportion and diſtance, able and fit to be altered vpon any ſodaine occaſion (as if it were but one entire body) into ſeuerall and diuers poſtures, and to make reſiſtance vnto what forces ſoeuer ſhall oppugne the ſame: it might be thought needleſſe to haue made the diſpoſition of the members ſo exact, vnleſſe by continuall practiſe and exercife they might be made nimble and ready, not only to defend themſelues and their whole body on all ſides, but alſo to be able to offend whenſoeuer they ſhall eſpie the leaſt occaſion of aduantage.

The termes of direction or commaund, which are commonly vſed in this moderne diſcipline of martiall exerciſe, as they are not many, onely anſwering to the different poſtures which are required in the Battallion, ſo they are and muſt be ſhort and perſpicuouſly plaine, that by this meanes being ſodainly vttered, eaſily apprehended and vnderſtood, they may as ſpeedily be put in execution by thoſe which ſhall be commaunded.

Stand in frõt. In arecto ſtare.

Firſt therefore that the Battallion may be commaunded into ſome one faſhion or poſture, from whence it ſhall be fit to conuert it ſelfe into all other, the Captaine or Officer ſhall bid them ſtand in front. When euery particular ſouldier compoſing himſelfe after his foremoſt leader, ſtandeth comely in file and rancke, fronting vnto ſome certaine place, or to the Captaine, as ſhall be thought beſt for the preſent.

In

In this and all other directions whatſoeuer, it ſhall be eſpecially obſerued, that euery follower attending what is commanded, marke his next leader, and accordingly moue himſelfe, as he ſhall ſee him moue firſt.

Faces to the right or left hand. Declinate in haſtam vel in ſcutum.

The Battallion therefore thus fronting, if the enemie ſhould ſuddenly either aſſault the right or left flancke, it ſhall be commaunded to turne faces to the right or left hand, when euery ſouldier obſeruing his leader ſhall turne his face and make his flanke his front according to the direction.

Faces about to the right or left hand. Duplicata declinatio or mutatio

There is alſo a doubled motion or declination to the right or left hand, when euery ſouldier obſeruing his leader ſhall turne their bodies twiſe to the right or left hand, and by that meanes become turned with their faces where their backes were, as if they expected an enemy in the rere, or being to performe ſome other motion that may be offered: beginning this alteration from the right or left hand as ſhall be commaunded.

As euery particular ſouldier in the troope is thus commanded at ſometimes to turne his face to the right or left hand, or about, the Battalion ſtanding in order, that is, according to the diſtance before named; ſo the whole Battallion being reduced into their cloſe order, is commaunded to turne as one body to the right or left hand. It is performed thus: imagine the Battallion ſtand firſt in order, it ſhall be commaunded that they cloſe their files to the right hand; when the right file ſtanding ſtill, the reſt turning their faces to the right hand, march into their cloſe order & returne as they were: next that they cloſe their rankes from behind, when euery follower marcheth forward to his leader vnto his rapiers point as is ſaid before. This done, (the leader of the right file ſtanding immoueable) all the reſt (as the body of a ſhip or a great gate) turne about that leader, as about the hinge or center, euery one keeping the ſame diſtance and order wherein they were firſt placed, as if they were but one entire body.

Wheele to the right or left hand.

Conuerſio in haſtam vel ſcutum.

When the ſame Battallion is to be reſtored into the ſame ſtation wherein it was firſt, it is commaunded; Faces about to the left hand, and march into your order from whence you were cloſed. Then let your leaders or firſt ranks ſtand ſtil, and the reſt turning faces about, march ranks in order as before: then turn as you were, and you are reſtored.

As you were.

Reuolutio. Reuerſio.

When the whole Battallion being in their cloſe order ſhould turne about & make the Rere the Front, it is done by a double turning or declination, and commaunded to wheele about, which is anſwerable to the former faces about or mutation.

Wheele about.

Inflexio militū.

There is alſo another wheeling in this ſort, when the front changeth the aſpect thriſe; for as wheeling about maketh the Front the Rere, ſo this wheeleth from the right hand to the left, or contrariwſe: which faſhion is ſo ſeldome vſed, that we ſcarce affoord it a name.

Reflexio.

In all ſuch motions and alterations, it is moſt fit that all men performe their directions with their pikes aduanced, being in that ſort moſt eaſie to be commaunded, as alſo leſſe troubleſome to their followers and leaders.

Countermarching Files and Rankes.

THere is alſo another meanes to preuent the enemy his aſſaulting vs in the reare or flanke, leſt he ſhould find our worſt men leaſt able to make reſiſtance; and this is performed by countermarching both files and rankes three diuers wayes apeece.

Files.

The firſt was vſed by the Macedonians, after this faſhion: Firſt the leader turneth his face about towards the right or left hand, and ſo the next follower marching behind his leader turneth alſo, and ſo the third and fourth, vntill the bringer vp haue caried himſelfe out into a new place in the rere further from the enemy, as he was before next vnto him. But this neither was nor is accounted ſafe or ſecure, becauſe it doth ſomewhat reſemble a flying or running away from the enemy, which might giue him no ſmall incouragement, and therefore it is not much in practiſe.

Frõ the rere through.

Euolutio Macedonica.

Only at ſome times, the bringers vp marching throughout beyond the leaders, vntill they poſſeſſe the ſame ſpace before them which they did behind them, all turning their faces about, make their leaders to affront the enemie, who were before fartheſt from them.

Frõ the front through.

The Lacedæmonians vſed the contrarie, as it were purſuing the enemy: the bringer vp firſt being turned face about, and ſo the next marching before him, and ſo the third, vntill the leader himſelfe became alſo turned, and in the foremoſt front vnto the enemie. Which with vs is ſomewhat otherwiſe, but yet both affronting, and as it were purſuing the enemie: becauſe our leaders firſt begin this motion, and ſo countermarching through on the right or left hand, become in the front in a new ſpace of ground, who were before in the rere.

Laconica euolutio.

The third and laſt was inuented by the Perſians, whom when the place or neare approch of the enemy would not ſuffer to change their ground, they were wont to countermarch the front to the right or left hand: & being come vnto the depth of the bringers vp, to ſtand ſtill vntill the other halfe file had likewiſe marched forth, and fallen vpon their leaders in euery file. In all theſe it is eſpecially commaunded, to march ſtill in the ſame diſtance, and by whole rankes, to preuent confuſion, which (eſpecially the enemy at hand) muſt needes be moſt dangerous, and therefore carefully to be auoided.

Frõ the front and ſtand.

Chorica euolutio.

In like ſort the rankes may countermarch, when either the right wing wold be ſtrẽgthened by the left, or the left by the right, alwayes marching by whole files towards the right or left hand, according as they ſhall haue the direction, either changing the ground, or vpon the ſame ground, as in the former countermarches.

Countermarching of rãks.

There is vſed alſo another kinde of ſtrengthening both the front and flanke when occaſion ſhall be offered, vz. by doubling either files or rankes. And this, either by doubling the number of ſouldiers in the ſame files or ranks, keeping ſtill the ſame bredth and depth of ground, or elſe by doubling the ground keeping the ſame number of ſouldiers. The files are doubled, when the ſecond file ſhall inſert it ſelfe into the firſt, the leader thereof putting himſelfe

The doubling of files to the right or left hand.

ſelfe a follower vnto the leader of the firſt, and the next follower [illegible] to the next in the firſt file, and ſo forwards. And likewiſe the fourth file inſerting it ſelfe into the third, and the ſixth into the fifth. And this is to be performed when the Battallion ſtandeth in his order. *By men.*

To double the place or depth, is when the ſame number of men ſhall put themſelues out of their order into their open order, either by aduancing forward, or by falling backwards, as they ſhall be commaunded. Duplicare altitudinem. *By ground.*

The rankes are doubled two manner of wayes, either by inſerting the ſecond into the firſt to the right or left hand, as before in the files; or elſe (the enemie being at hand) by ioyning whole troopes together to the right or left wing, according as occaſion ſhall be offered: and this is held to be the ſafeſt when the enemy is neare, to auoid confuſiõ. It is performed either in the ſame ground, or by doubling the ground, when either we deſire to exceede the front of our enemie his battallion, or to preuent leſt we our ſelues be included. The termes to both are, Double your files or rankes to the right or left hand: and when you would haue them returne againe into their proper places, it is commaunded; As you were. *Doubling of rankes by inſerting, or adding newe troopes.* Duplicare longitudinem.

The ordinarie directions which are eſpecially giuen in theſe martial exerciſes are, firſt that no man in the time of exercifing or marſhalling ſhalbe lowder then his Officer: but euery one attending to his place, when he is commaunded, ſhall diligently hearken to ſuch directions as ſhall be giuen. The Captaine in the front ſhal ſpeake, and the Sergeants in each flanke ſhal giue the word vnto the Lieutenant or Enſigne in the rere: who as in his proper place, ſeeth all things executed accordingly as the Captaine ſhall commaund. It ſhall be vnpoſſible to performe any thing herein, vnleſſe firſt euery one do exactly obſerue his leader and his ſideman: and to this purpoſe it is often commaunded, Keepe your files, Keepe your rankes. *Silence to be kept.*

Of Marches.

IN champions there needs no great labour to marſhall particular troopes for their after marches: becauſe they may march either by whole diuiſions, obſeruing onely their courſe of indifferencie, that euery diuiſion may euery third day haue the vantgard; or elſe in ſuch forme and faſhion as the Generall hath propoſed for a day of battell, according as the danger of an expected enemy ſhall giue occaſion. But becauſe all countries will not affoord a champion for the marching of an armie, and therefore not poſſible to march farre with many troopes in front, nor many files of any one troope or diuiſion, by reaſon of often ſtraights, and paſſages betwixt hilles, woods, or waters. It is prouided, though by long induction, the whole armie ſhall be extended into a thinne length and few files, yet the ſouldiers well diſpoſed ſhalbe as readily able to defend them ſelues and offend the enemy on their flankes (from whence only in ſuch ſtreights the daunger is eminent) as if they were to affront an enemie with an entire battallion in a champion country. *In a champiõ.* *In ſtreights or narrow paſſages.*

How to marſhall a diuiſion for ſuch a march.

Therefore a diuiſion or Battallion being ordred and drawne before the Quarter, into one euen front of iuſt files, ten in depth; the musketters equally diuided on the right and left flankes of the pikes, all ſtanding in their order, that is to ſay, ſixe feete diſtant in files and rankes; the Captaine carefully prouideth, that the firſt, fifth, ſixth and tenth rankes be alwayes well filled and furniſhed with his moſt able and beſt armed ſouldiers. Which done, he commaundeth firſt the middlemen or halfe files to come a front with their leaders; ſo that the diuiſion becommeth but fiue in depth. Next he commaundeth to turne faces to the right or left hand, as direction ſhall be to march from that quarter: and ſo the whole diuiſion reſteth readie in his faſhion to march fiue in front, the one halfe of the musketters in the vantguard & the other in the rere, the pikes in the battell, and both flankes well furniſhed with the ableſt and beſt men to offend or defend as there ſhalbe occaſion: that is to ſay, the right flanks with the firſt and fifth rankes, and the left with the ſixth and tenth rankes. If occaſion afterwards ſhall be giuen of a halt in a champion or before the quartering, the Captaine commaundeth firſt vnto all, (they being firſt cloſed into their order) Faces as you were; next vnto the halfe files; Faces about, & march out, and fall againe vpon your files. By which meanes the diuiſion becometh againe reduced into the ſame front and faſhion from whence it was firſt tranſformed, readie to encounter an enemy, or to be drawne into the Quarter.

To reduce the againe into their firſt Front.

The manner of charging pikes with pikes.

Fiue rankes onely.

By the whole depth.

When pikes are to charge pikes in a champion, it vſeth to be performed two ſeueral wayes: firſt the whole diuiſion being commanded into their cloſe order, the fiue firſt rankes charging their pikes, euery follower ouer his leaders ſhoulder directeth his pike as equally as he can, and the firſt ranke ſhall haue three feet of his pike ouer the formoſt ſhoulder. The other fiue ranks with their pikes aduanced follow cloſe vp in the rere, either readie to ſecond the formoſt, or to be employed in the rere as occaſion ſhall be offered. Otherwiſe and moſt vſuall, when the whole depth of the files throughout the diuiſion ſhall charge together, all faſt locked and vnited together, and therefore moſt able to make the ſtrongeſt ſhocke offenſiue or defenſiue: prouided alwayes that none mingle their pikes in others files, but the whole file one in anothers ſhoulder.

To charge with musketters.

In charging with musketters, it is obſerued no way conuenient that there ſhould be too many in a ranke, or that the rankes ſhould be too long. For the firſt ranke is commanded to aduance ten paces before the ſecond, and then to diſcharge, and wheeling either to the right or left hand, falleth into the rere; and ſo the ſecond aduancing to the ſame diſtance, diſchargeth and wheeleth as before; and likewiſe the third, and ſo forward as long as the Officer ſhall be commaunded. Which ſhal not ſo well be performed the rankes being extraordinary long, becauſe it will require ſo long a time to wheele from the front that the ſecond may ſucceed, vnleſſe by direction the ranke may diuide it ſelfe the one halfe to the right hand and the other to the left in wheeling to the rere.

There muſt not be too many in a ranke.

In the retreit.

In the retrait the whole rankes hauing turned their faces about, are to march three or foure paces forward, their chiefe officer comming in the rere, firſt commaundeth the laſt ranke to make readie and then to turne faces about and diſcharge, and wheele about to the head or front of the diuiſion: and being clearely

clearely paſſed the next ranke to performe as much: and ſo the reſt in order.

Where the paſſages are narrow, and the diuiſion can not come to charge in front, as betweene two waters or woods, the manner of charging is different, for there being fiue or ten files led in the induction, that file which flanketh the enemie diſchargeth firſt onely, & the reſt marching continually forwards, it ſtandeth firme vntill the laſt ranke be paſſed, and then fleeueth it ſelfe on the left flanke and makes readie; and ſo the ſecond file and the third, ſo long as the enemy ſhall continue, there being a continuall diſcharging by files as before by ranks. Vnleſſe it be in the paſes of Irelād, meeting with an irregular enemy, where they vſe to intermingle their files of ſhot with pikes, that the one may be a defence for the other, when the enemy ſhal come vp to the ſword, as they vſe there verie often.

The maner of charging by files in narrow paſſages.

In the paſes of Ireland.

How directions are deliuered in the warres.

ALL directions in the warres haue euer bene deliuered either by ſignes ſubiect to the eye, by word of mouth, or the ſound of a drumme, or ſome ſuch warlike inſtrument. Concerning thoſe viſible ſignes diſplayed vnto the ſouldiers, the falling of miſts, the raiſing of duſt, ſhowers of raine and ſnowe, the beames of the Sunne, hillie, vneuen and crooked paſſages, by long experience haue found them to be moſt doubtfull and vncertaine; as alſo becauſe as it was a matter of great difficultie to inuent different ſignes vpon all ſodaine occaſions, ſo it is almoſt an impoſſibilitie, that the common ſouldier (who oftentimes is found ſcarce capable of the vnderſtanding of plaine words diſtinctly pronounced) ſhould both apprehend and vnderſtand ſodainly, and execute directly the true ſenſe and meaning of his Commanders ſignes.

By ſignes.

The Drumme & Trumpet are yet vſed, but becauſe many different ſounds are not eaſily diſtinguiſhed in ſouldiers vnderſtanding without ſome daunger of confuſion, we onely commaund by the inarticulate ſoundes, to arme, to march, to troope, to charge, and to retreate: with all which ſeuerall notes the ſouldier is ſo familiarly to be acquainted, that ſo ſoone as he heares them beaten, he may be readie ſodainly to put them in execution, as if he heard his Captaine pronouncing as much.

By drumme or trumpet.

The directions by word of mouth are infinite, according to the different occaſions which ſhall be offered; yet alwayes with this caueat, that they be ſhort, yet perſpicuous, without all ambiguitie, and plainly pronounced, firſt by the Captaine, then deriued by the Sergeants through the diuiſion or Battallion. Though infinite, yet the moſt vſuall are theſe: To your armes: Keepe your files, keepe your rankes: Follow your leader: Leaders looke to your files: Keepe your diſtance: Faces to your right hand: Faces to your left hand: Cloſe your files: Cloſe your rankes: Stand as you are: As you were: Faces about to the right hand: Wheele about to the right or left hand: Double your rankes: Double your files: Leaders countermarch through to the right or left hand: Leaders countermarch to the right or left hand and ſtand: Middlemen

By word of mouth.

The moſt vſual directing termes in exerciſing a battaliō or diuiſiō

come foorth and fall vpon your leaders. Beſides many fit termes commanded in managing particular armes, as pikes and muskets, which are omitted.

And this much touching the Tacticke practiſe of our moderne warres, which I haue the rather added in regard that diuerſe ſouldiers, as vnacquainted both with the manner and the value thereof, do thinke a heape of people vnmartialled, to be as auailable for a great deſſigne, as any other number diſtinguiſhed in files and parts, and diſpoſed for facile and eaſie motions, according to the powerfull circumſtances of time and place. Wherein, howſoeuer the practiſe of the Turke and the Hungarian may ſeeme to giue warrant to that opinion, yet the vſe of Armes amongſt the Græcians and the Romaines, whoſe conquering armies are pregnant witneſſes of the excellencie of their militarie diſcipline, ſhall ſpeake ſufficiently for order and Tacticke motion as moſt neceſſarie partes in a well ordered warre.

There are diuerſe faults eſcaped in printing, as it often falleth out in ſuch works, which the Reader may be pleaſed to amend.

FINIS.